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VOLUME TWO

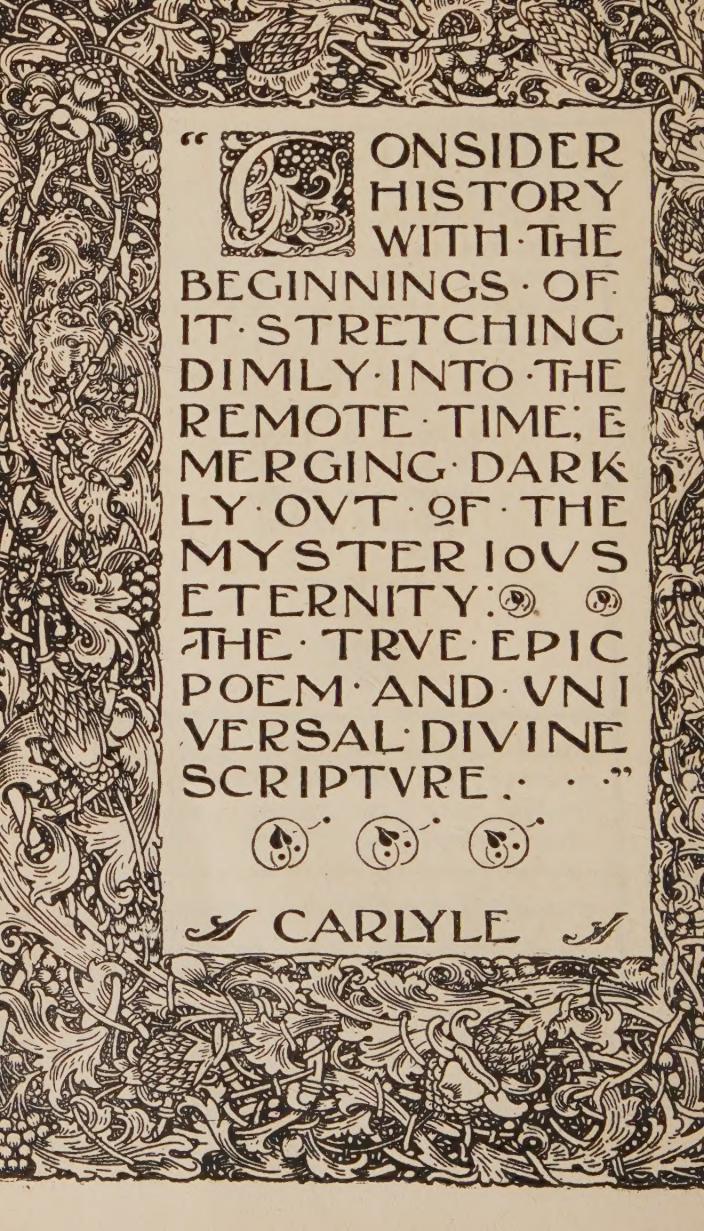
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LY OUT OF THE
MYSTERIOUS
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THE TRUE EPIC
POEM AND UNI
VERSAL DIVINE
SCRIPTURE . . .”



✓ CARLYLE ✓

§ A SHORT
HISTORY OF
FRANCE : By
VICTOR DURUY
VOLUME TWO



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A SHORT HISTORY OF FRANCE

ELEVENTH PERIOD—THE WARS OF RELIGION: REVIVAL OF FEUDAL AND COMMUNAL ANARCHY

(1559-1598)

CHAPTER XLIII

FRANCIS II. (1559-1560)

The Sixteenth Century.—Voltaire, struck by the contrast between the misery and the grandeur of this period, by its artistic glory and by the polish of the court, brilliant even in the midst of crimes, cried, "It was a bloody robe of silk and gold." The silk and gold have already been depicted; it remains to display the blood and ruins.

The Sons of Henry II.—At his death Henry II. left by Catherine de Medici four young sons. Born sickly and early worn out by their excesses, three of these mounted the throne in rapid succession without leaving any direct heirs. As a result, the sceptre of absolute power, so difficult to wield, fell for a quarter of a century into the hands of children or of youths without experience. Grandsons of the most brilliant of French kings, and inheriting the blood of the Medici through their mother, they had time to display excellent mental qualities and grave faults of character. They were eloquent speakers, poets on occasion, always patrons of literature and art. But they were guilty of those vices by which states are ruined, and the crimes to which their treacherous and passionate natures led them have caused their intellectual gifts to be forgotten. The eldest, Francis II., could not escape the evil results of these contradictions in his nature; he reigned—fortunately for his reputation—for less than a year and a half.

Catherine de Medici.—The law fixed the completion of the thirteenth year as the date of a royal majority ; at the age of sixteen, Francis II. was still without will power and in tutelage. Under a prince mentally and physically feeble, the queen-mother was naturally possessed of great influence. The widow of Henry II. was as yet unknown. She was supposed to be intelligent but superstitious ; to be full of taste for arts and for delicate pleasures, but without moral strength. Her husband had excluded her from all public affairs and so far she had only given evidence of a rare capacity for enduring insults and an infinite address in ordering her conduct in the midst of intrigues. Suddenly transported from the strife of cliques to that of parties, from petty intrigues to civil war, she was unequal to her new rôle. She had intellect but no convictions ; she was unscrupulous, and she used the *finesse* of the boudoir in the management of affairs of state. She preferred devious methods to the adoption of a clear and direct policy. She hoped to rule men through their worst passions and thus increased corruption ; she tried to play off party against party and thus increased their violence. The long series of outrages which she had endured at the hands of the triumphant Diana of Poitiers destroyed in her mind all sense of the distinction between right and wrong and left in her heart only one respectable emotion, love for her children. All her efforts were directed to preserve power for her sons, and to secure this end she employed without hesitation every means from gallantry to assassination. Her perverse policy became her punishment ; in the hands of this Italian the crown of Valois, stained with blood, fell in the mud of the streets and was broken.

Mary Stuart.—It was Mary Stuart, wife of Francis II., who for a time excluded Catherine de Medici from power. Henry II. had married his son to this daughter of James V. and Marie of Lorraine, in order to secure the help of Scotland against England. Beautiful, accomplished, witty, and clever, Mary Stuart had not yet made those mistakes which were followed by so long an expiation, which were atoned by her death. In the brilliant court of France, in the midst of *savants*, poets, and artists, all of whom were her servants, she enjoyed without thought of the future the seductive influence of her wit and beauty, which even to-day arrests hard words on the lips of the historian. The influence of the young queen and the ascendancy which she held over the king might have resulted in good for the state if she had been surrounded by able advisers, but she concerned herself only with amusements and committed

all affairs to the care of her two uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Duke Francis of Guise.

Aspirants to Power.—The family of Guise, a younger branch of the ducal house of Lorraine, though but recently introduced into France, had risen rapidly. Claude, its chief, had secured in return for his service the government of Champagne and the erection of his territory of Guise into a duchy; his brother John had become a cardinal. Two of his sons were destined to play a great part. The eldest, Francis, had defended Metz and recovered Calais; another, Charles, had succeeded to the cardinalate of his uncle John, and eventually secured possession of twelve sees, including three archbishoprics. The young king confided to Francis "all that concerned the militia," while Charles had charge of civil affairs. The whole administration of the country was thus placed in their hands, though Catherine de Medici held "the general superintendence of the government"; a high-sounding title but nothing more.

There were other aspirants to power, some on the score of birth, others from ambition. These were the Bourbon princes and the family of Montmorency. The chiefs of the Bourbon family at that time were Anthony, who had married Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, and his two brothers, Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, and Louis, Prince of Condé. They were the nearest relatives of the Valois, and in event of a minority Anthony might claim the regency. But since the treason of the Constable, the Bourbons had been in disgrace and for the time being they demanded nothing.

The stern old Constable Montmorency, who had been defeated at St. Quentin, was less disinterested, but the king declared that, out of consideration for his age, he would relieve him of the burden of office. The two Guises thus remained masters of the king, of the court, and of power, but a new enemy arose against them.

Calvin: Progress of the Reformation.—Forty years had passed since Luther began to preach against the Church and Europe was already divided into two communions. All the north, England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, half Germany, and Switzerland, were separated from Rome, while the south, Italy and Spain, remained obedient to her. If France went over to the side of the Reformation its triumph would be complete, and hence the great dispute which followed in that land possessed a European importance.

Under Francis I. and Henry II. the Sorbonne had condemned

the new opinions without consenting to discuss them. Preaching in rural districts had been forbidden by the parliament, the death penalty had been decreed against heretics, and the establishment of an inquisitorial tribunal for clerks had been sanctioned. Numerous *autos-de-fé*¹ at Paris, Toulouse, Vienne, and Montpellier, and the execution of the Vaudois, sufficed to indicate that the government, if in its foreign policy it supported Protestants, had no intention of making any concession to them at home.

The French reformers had so far been without guidance. Calvin supplied this want. He was the son of a notary of Noyon, where he was born on July 10, 1509. At the age of twelve he had been provided with a benefice in the cathedral of that town; at the age of eighteen, he obtained a parish without taking orders. But becoming acquainted at the University of Bourges with heretical opinions, he adopted and modified them, personally preached them at Poitiers, Paris, and Nérac, and was the first to explain and to defend them in a lucid and methodical manner in a work which he entitled *The Institutions of the Christian Religion*. He prefaced this book with an eloquent address to Francis I. He attacked the supremacy of the holy see, the authority of general councils, the episcopal and priestly offices, the real presence, and the adoration of saints. After many wanderings he settled at Geneva, where he secured such influence that his word was obeyed rather than the commands of the magistrates. From 1541-1564 he reigned as an absolute master, regulating doctrines and reforming manners; he was severe to the point of cruelty, causing a writer of libertine verses to be condemned to death, as he caused Michael Servetus to be burned for denying the dogma of the Trinity, and he showed that in an age of earnest belief the persecuted will be not less intolerant than the persecutors. Under the guidance of this austere and pitiless legislator the Reformation in France secured definition; it diverged farther than that of Luther, since it denied absolutely the real presence in the sacrifice of the mass, and proscribed as abominations all the splendours of the Catholic faith. The Reformation in France became Calvinism, and Geneva became the Rome of Protestantism. The Calvinists or Huguenots (probably a corruption of *eidgenossen*, confederates) increased in the midst of persecution. The Council of Trent (1545) and the new religious order of the Society of Jesus, created explicitly to

¹ A Spanish term meaning the execution of a sentence pronounced by the Inquisition.

combat heresy, were powerless to arrest its progress. "In spite of edicts, in spite of executions," says the Catholic Michael de Castelnau, a great friend of the Guises, "they are so obstinate and so resolute in their religion that, however determined authority may be to put them to death, they will not for that abandon their meetings; the more they are punished the more their numbers increase." Tumultuous and bloody scenes had already occurred in Paris, and this fact explains the hurried peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. The two kings felt that it was more important for them to check the progress of heresy than to take a few more towns. By a secret convention arranged by the Guises and Granville, or at least by formal promises, Philip II. and Henry II. undertook to extirpate heresy.

Execution of Anne Dubourg.—Henry at once engaged on this work, publishing the Edict of Écouen, which imposed the death penalty upon Protestants and their accomplices (June, 1559). Hearing that the Huguenots had found defenders even in the courts of justice, he appeared in the parliament of Paris some days before the fatal tournament and ordered it to continue the debate on this edict in his presence. Two members, Dufaur and Anne Dubourg, did not conceal their sympathy with the persecuted; the latter even assumed the part of an accuser. "I know," he said, "that certain crimes must be pitilessly punished, such as adultery, blasphemy, and perjury. But of what are those accused who are condemned to the stake?" The king conceived that he was insulted and defied to the face; he at once caused them to be seized and commanded their trial to begin. His death did not stop the case, which continued in the midst of the most violent agitation. The ministers of the reformed church held their first synod at Paris in order to draw up a petition in favour of the accused. Between five and six in the evening of December 12, 1559, the president, Minard, a violent enemy of Dubourg, was shot as he left the meeting. This shot was the death-sentence of Dubourg, who was burned on the Place de Grève.

Power of the Reformed Party: Political Discontent.—But the reformers organised their forces. The ministers of the national synod availed themselves of the presence of the reformers at Paris to form the basis of a union of their churches and to establish relations with the German Protestants. Some great personages were already included in their party, which was increased not only by those who formed a religious, but also by those who formed a political, opposition. The princes of the blood, Anthony of Bourbon and Condé, were angered by their

exclusion from the government. The higher nobility saw power in the hands of foreigners, of a Scottish queen, an Italian queen-mother, and of the Guises, the Lorraines, with annoyance. The last secured everything in France, even that which the nobles valued more than political power, the privileges of *etiquette*, for they claimed as foreign princes to walk immediately behind the princes of the blood, before the heads of the most illustrious families. The lesser nobility of the provinces had not received, in compensation for their privileges which monarchical power had abolished, places and honours; these were reserved exclusively for the nobles who followed the court, and they leaned towards theological innovations as a result of their political discontent. A certain section were favourably impressed by the austere and independent doctrines of Calvinism; some could not refrain from thinking of the rich domains of the Church which the lords in Germany and England had secularised, and of their privileges which they might possibly recover in the general confusion; these dangerous thoughts greatly assisted conversion. When the civil wars are carefully considered it will be seen that all these grounds of discontent, all these vague hopes, combined together to destroy both the old religious system and the new political system.

Conspiracy of Amboise (1560).—The two Guises, the duke and the cardinal, harsh and proud, were just the men to precipitate a crisis. They exercised their power with arrogance and partiality. They suppressed the titles and pensions of their opponents in order to lavish them on their friends. They disbanded the old regiments in which a number of poor gentlemen served and replaced them by Germans and Italians, who were more devoted to the Guises. Many who had made the Italian campaigns at their own expense came to Fontainebleau to seek indemnity and rewards. The Cardinal of Lorraine caused a gallows to be erected at the door of the château and ordered all such applicants to leave the town within twenty-four hours under penalty of being arrested.

This dexterous method of balancing accounts caused righteous indignation; many men threw themselves into a conspiracy, as they were not yet able to throw themselves into a civil war. They fancied that they could count on the two Bourbons, and were at least sure of Condé; they expected that they would easily win over the three Châtillons, nephews of Montmorency, one of whom was Cardinal-Bishop of Beauvais, another, Coligny, was Admiral of France, long an enemy of Duke Francis, and the third, Dandelot,

was colonel-general of the infantry. Coligny was said to have told the king that he would rather die than go to mass.

It was proposed to seize the king, that by taking him out of the power of the Guises the authority of the latter might be destroyed. The Prince of Condé was the secret leader of the conspirators, but the enterprise was entrusted to a man of determined character, La Renaudie, a gentleman of Limousin. It was arranged that a certain number of Huguenots should go to Blois, where the court then was, to demand religious liberty ; La Renaudie, at the head of five hundred well-armed gentlemen and of a thousand soldiers, was to follow them and effect a *coup*. Calvin, vaguely consulted as to the attempt, expressed his vigorous disapproval: " If a single drop of blood be shed, all the rivers of Europe will be bloodstained." All was ready, when an advocate, who had at first heartily approved of the plan, revealed it all through fear.

Francis of Guise removed the court to the château of Amboise, which lent itself better to defence, ordered Condé and the Châtillon brothers to come to the king's service, and by an edict suspended the persecution of the reformers in order to divide his opponents. La Renaudie would not abandon his enterprise. On March 16 he marched upon Amboise ; being surprised in the forest of Château-Renaud, he was killed. The Duke of Guise, nominated lieutenant-general of the kingdom with unlimited powers, showed himself merciless. He caused the conspirators, who had been dispersed, to be collected by bodies of troops, and for a month they were beheaded, hanged, or drowned. The court, including even the ladies, assisted at the executions, but they heard terrible threats. One day, a gentleman, M. de Villemongris, who was reserved as the last to be executed, dipped his hands in the blood of his companions and raising them to Heaven cried, " Lord, behold the blood of thy children and avenge it."

" The chief mute," Condé, whom no one had seen but of whom every one talked, was compromised by the evidence of many prisoners. He declared that all who had been hanged had lied, but no one doubted that he was the author of the plot. As he had committed nothing to writing, and as he had shown himself to no one except to La Renaudie, who was dead, he loudly demanded a solemn assembly of the princes, and defied to single combat any one who dared to accuse him. The Duke of Guise had no sufficient proofs ; as he was unable to destroy Condé, he wished to appear to save him. He offered to act as his second,

and when this was known, no one dared accept the challenge. Guise waited for Condé to commit some new blunder.

The Chancellor l'Hôpital : Edict of Romorantin (1560).—The Guises had gained one of those victories which weaken the victors. All these executions on account of a plot which it would have been easy to counter, created horror. The Chancellor Ollivier died crying to the Guises in his agony, "Cardinal, thanks to you, we are damned." The Duchess of Guise fled in terror. "Ah, madame," she cried to the queen, "who can doubt that after this some great misfortune will fall upon our house?" Mary Stuart was not troubled; her precocious intellect had misled her heart. But the young king wept and remarked that the name heard most often in the curses of the condemned was not his but that of his uncles. The queen-mother understood popular sentiment even better, that "there was in all this more political discontent than Huguenotism." She gave the seals to Michel de l'Hôpital. He was "one of the best souls struck from the mould of antiquity, another Cato the Censor; he looked his part, with his long white beard, his pale face, his grave manner." The new chancellor rendered an initial service to France. The Guises, exalted by their success, demanded the introduction of the Inquisition, pure and simple. "What need is there," said l'Hôpital, "for so many butchers, so many tortures? Full of virtue and protected by good morals, heresy can be resisted." But he caused the Edict of Romorantin to be published (May, 1560), which gave information in cases of heresy to a tribunal of bishops, a great concession to the clergy, but preferable to the establishment of that terrible tribunal which then filled Spain with butchers and roused the horror even of the Italian Catholics.

Preparations for Civil War.—In order to combat the Guises, l'Hôpital needed some ground of support. He assembled the notables at Fontainebleau. Coligny appeared, fell on his knees before the king, and presented to him the petition of the Huguenots of Normandy, who demanded liberty of conscience. The Cardinal of Lorraine opposed this concession. But Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, secured the suspension of all persecution until the meeting of the States-General. It was decided that the States should assemble on December 10, 1560. It was needful that the voice of the people should be raised above the tumult of rival ambitions and conflicting creeds. The Guises had allied themselves to the merciless policy of the King of Spain, who wrote to them, "If you wish to chastise rebels, I am at your disposal," and they

gathered an army. The two Bourbons and the Châtillons levied troops of gentlemen, and with the help of an agent of Calvin, they organised resistance in the provinces of the south. At many points conflicts had already occurred.

Arrest of Condé: Death of Francis II. (1560).—In the midst of this disturbance the deputies of the States arrived at Orleans. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé appeared despite the advice of their friends. The Guises, who now had proofs against Condé, caused him to be arrested as soon as he entered the town and in order to free themselves from his brother, against whom they could prove nothing, they proposed to murder him in the royal antechamber. The king's heart failed him; he dared not give the signal. This idea of assassination was destined to turn one day against those who had formed it; the two Guises fell in this same way. But a commission was appointed to carry through the trial of Condé with all haste; the fate of the prince was determined beforehand; he was condemned to death and would have perished had not l'Hôpital refused to sign the sentence and gained some respite for him. To gain time was to gain life for Condé, for the young king was on his deathbed. He expired on December 5, after a reign of seventeen months.

France would soon have forgotten this unhappy young man if his reign had not been associated with two memories, the one terrible—the power of the Guises and the beginning of the wars of religion; the other touching—that of young Mary Stuart. Forced by the death of her husband to abandon the land of her adoption in order to return to her savage Scotland, she wept long at leaving France, where “misfortune had left her and good fortune had taken her by the hand.” Supported on the poop of her galley, her eyes full of tears fixed on the horizon, she remained, says Brantôme, for five hours in that attitude, repeating incessantly, “Adieu, France! Adieu, France!” When night came she caused a hammock to be stretched in the same place and lay there, refusing all food. At daybreak she could still see a point on the horizon, and cried, “Adieu, dear France. I shall never see you more.” She went to find a crown; she also found chains and a captivity of eighteen years; where she looked for a throne she found a scaffold.

CHAPTER XLIV

CHARLES IX. (1560-1574)

Regency of Catherine de Medici: The States of Orleans (1560).—

The death of Francis II. deprived the queen-mother of one of her children, but it gave her power, since her second son, Charles IX., was only ten and a half years old. She took the regency and, abandoning all violent measures, such as had hitherto been the rule, confirmed the Guises in their offices, but at the same time she appointed Anthony of Bourbon lieutenant-general of the kingdom and released Condé. Her chief adviser was l'Hôpital, who proposed to hold the ambitious in check and to weaken the factions by the adoption of a sage religious toleration and by civil reforms. Catherine adopted this statesmanlike programme; she saw in the scheme by which the chancellor hoped to extinguish party strife a means by which she might set faction against faction.

The Guises, fearing that they would not command a sufficient majority in the States which were on the point of meeting, wished to send the deputies home on the ground that the death of the king invalidated their powers and that the States were in any case a dangerous institution. The chancellor answered that royal authority did not die, since the power of the dead passed at once to his heir, and that "it was an act as worthy of the king's dignity to hold the States, as it was to give audience to each individual and render justice to them."

The States did not render those services which l'Hôpital had expected. The debt amounted to 43,480,000 livres, which would amount to-day to 350,000,000 francs, while the annual revenue was only 12,260,000 francs. The king was, indeed, as the chancellor declared him to be, "the most embarrassed and indebted orphan that one could find in any rank or condition of life." The nobles offered nothing; the clergy, who since the reign of Francis I. had granted tithes almost annually, agreed to supply a free gift of 1,600,000 livres for six years, and to redeem in ten years 630,000 livres of interest on a capital of 7,560,000 livres. The third estate, which bore the weight of taxation, demanded its reduction, the abolition of the sale of offices, of internal customs barriers, and the assembling of the States every five years. On the religious problem the three

orders were divided. The clergy desired the extermination of heresy; the third estate desired toleration of worship; the nobles were divided in opinion.

Measures of l'Hôpital: Ordinance of Orleans (1561).—The chancellor acted with resolution, hoping to induce the nation to follow him. He restored the balance between expenditure and revenue by reforms in the royal household and by the reduction of pensions by one-third. The Edict of Romorantin was confirmed and royal letters (January, 1561) ordered the suspension of all prosecutions on religious grounds. Three days later the famous Ordinance of Orleans appeared, which restored canonical elections, forbade exactions for the administration of the sacraments, insisted on residence of the clergy, and, completing the reform initiated by Louis XII., definitely withdrew the administration of justice from the bailiffs and seneschals, who were generally soldiers ignorant of law, and transferred it to their lieutenants, who were to be members of the legal profession or of the judicature. There were three great benefits to the state in this: the first application of the principle of toleration, a reform in the administration of justice, and a reform of the discipline of the Gallican Church. The Duke of Guise, Marshal St. André, and Montmorency, threatened with the danger of having to refund the sums which they had extorted from the easy generosity of previous kings, left the court and formed a secret alliance, the *Triumvirate*, to defend their money and the cause of religion, which they declared to be in peril.

Edict of July: States of Pontoise (1561).—L'Hôpital did not allow himself to be turned from the course which he was pursuing. By the Edict of July, he declared preaching to be illegal, but also granted a general amnesty and suspended the execution of any sentence passed on the ground of religion until the meeting of a general council. At the States of Orleans it had been agreed that thirty commissioners from each order should meet with full powers to decide the question of subsidies. The chancellor assembled them at Pontoise (August). At the same time he called a conference of the theologians of the two creeds at Poissy that they might, if possible, arrange a compromise which should end disputes. The States, in which there were many Calvinists, demanded that they should be summoned every two years, that religious toleration should be established, that judicial and financial offices should be reformed and converted into mere commissions for three years, and, finally, to extinguish the national debt

they demanded that the goods of the Church should be sold to the estimated value of 120,000,000 livres, the clergy being compensated by pensions, an idea which was eventually adopted at the time of the Revolution. The clergy could only parry this blow by offering to free the state from the loans secured on the *aides*, *gabelles*, and *demesnes* by means of an annual gift of 1,600,000 livres for nine years. "This undertaking we still carry out," said Abbé Marly in 1789.

Conference of Poissy (1561).—The conference at Poissy had no such good results. It was opened by l'Hôpital with a serious speech. "We have behaved," he said, "like bad generals, who advance to attack the enemy leaving their camp denuded and undefended; we ought to fight with the weapons of charity, prayer, persuasion, and the word of God, which are suitable for the conflict in which we are engaged." He added, "Abandon those devilish words, nicknames of parties and watchwords of sedition, Lutherans, Huguenots, Papists; do not alter the one name of Christian." The conference began well, the Catholic doctors allowing Theodore Beza to expound his doctrine. But when he denied the real presence in the Eucharist the whole assembly groaned. The Cardinal of Lorraine cried out against the abominations which he was hearing. Lainez, general of the Jesuits, one of those present, opposed the queen by claiming for the pope alone the right of deciding on religious disputes, and he caused the rapid dissolution of the meeting.

Edict of January in Favour of the Calvinists (1562).—But the queen supported the chancellor, and even went further than he did. Her letters to the pope demanded great reforms in discipline and ceremonies; she allowed l'Hôpital to issue the Edict of January (1562), by which Calvinism was authorised in the rural districts and forbidden in walled towns, all penalties against heresy were suspended; the Calvinists were forbidden to trouble the ancient faith, to hold assemblies, or to raise troops, but the authorities were ordered to protect them in the free exercise of their religion. This was the first real measure of toleration. The government acted as Castelnau describes in his *Mémoires*. "Since no progress had been made in France against the Lutherans, by death, fire, and other penalties, during a period of thirty years, the experiment of adopting another method was tried; an attempt made to gain something by gentleness."

Impatience of the Parties.—Mercy, unhappily, was hardly appreciated amid the passions of the time. The more tolerant the government, the more violent the mutual hatred of Catholics

and Protestants. The monks, and still more the Jesuits, whose legal existence had been for two years recognised in France, exalted the fervour of the faithful and excited them to undertake the defence of religion which the queen had abandoned. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the doctors of the Sorbonne secretly implored the help of Philip II., who made threatening representations to Catherine. The Protestants on their side, believing that their cause was victorious, were not content with what had been granted to them, but aimed at overstepping the limits of the January edict.

Agrippa d'Aubigné, a man of vigorous spirit, a character reminiscent of past ages, related that some time after the executions he passed through the town of Amboise with his father and saw the corpses of the slain still hanging from the gallows. His father bared his head before these mutilated remains, pointing to them and crying, in the midst of the crowd, "The executioners have decapitated France." Then, placing his right hand on his son's head, he threatened him with his curse if he ever deserted the holy cause of these martyrs. "My child, neither your head nor mine must be spared in order to win vengeance for these chiefs, full of honour." These men had souls of iron like their armour.

While the reformers gave such lessons to their children it is hardly surprising that there were disputes and quarrels on every side. One day l'Hôpital, answering the calumnies with which he was assailed, spoke these fine words: "I know well that I speak the truth when I say that I will not be defeated by the hatred of those who despise my old age. I would pardon them their impatience if they could gain by a change. But when I look all round me I am greatly tempted to answer them, as did a saintly old bishop who had, like me, a long white beard. He pointed to it, saying, 'When this snow has been melted there will be nothing but mud.'" L'Hôpital used the wrong word; he should have said, "blood," for it was blood that was about to flow.

Massacre of Vassy (1562).—"The clergy, part of the nobility, and almost all the people," says Castelnau, "considered that the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise were veritably called by God to preserve the Catholic religion." At this time they had that interview with the Count of Würtemberg at Saverne, of which so strange an account is extant. They were recalled to Paris by St. André and the King of Navarre, who had abandoned Calvinism in the hope of securing from Philip II.

the restoration of his little kingdom, that they might oppose l'Hôpital. On March 1, 1562, the Duke of Guise passed through Vassy in Champagne. It was a Sunday, and he halted to hear mass. He heard the hymns of some six or seven hundred Protestants who were assembled in a neighbouring barn. Some of his men wished to silence a noise which they declared to be an injury and defiance of their duke ; when the Protestants refused to stop they attacked them sword in hand. The others defended themselves with stones. The Duke of Guise, hastening to the support of his men, was struck on the cheek ; his men at once fell upon the unarmed wretches, killed sixty and wounded more than two hundred, making no distinction of age or sex. Some days later others were massacred at Sens, of which the Cardinal of Lorraine was archbishop, as they returned from hearing a preacher.

First Civil War (1562).—This was the signal for the outbreak of a war which, seven times interrupted by precarious truces, always began again and which for thirty-two years covered France with blood and ruins. At the news of the massacre of Vassy, the Huguenots everywhere took up arms ; the Duke of Guise forcibly removed the king and his mother from Fontainebleau and transferred them to Paris, where there were not many Protestants. Castelnau says that the strength of the reformers there consisted only of three hundred gentlemen, experienced soldiers, more than four hundred students, and some of the bourgeoisie, volunteers without experience ; “ and what could they avail against an innumerable people ? It was the contest of a mouse against an elephant.” But outside Paris the Huguenots were supposed to number one-tenth of the population, and they had the greater part of the rural nobility on their side.

They proclaimed Condé defender of the king and protector of the kingdom ; in some weeks they captured more than two hundred towns, among which were Rouen, Lyons, Tours, Montpellier, Poitiers, Grenoble, Orleans, and Blois. The Guises had not expected such prompt action ; they were ill-prepared, but they had the king in their power. They declared the Calvinists to be rebels and Condé guilty of high treason. Philip II., the champion of Catholicism throughout Europe, gave them a force of 3000 Spanish veterans, men of cold and fierce bravery. Condé, on his side, had recourse to the Protestant Elizabeth, who sent him soldiers to defend Rouen, on condition that Havre was handed over to her as security for the sums which she advanced. Thus both parties were guilty of appealing to the foreigner.

Montluc and Baron des Adrets.—In the south war broke out everywhere at once without order or plan, according to the promptings of hatred and vengeance. City attacked city, château attacked château, house attacked house. At Toulouse the Calvinists had seized the Capitol; there they were besieged by the parliament and a battle occurred which lasted for eight days. At Montpellier, Baron Crussol, in order to defend the place against the Catholics, caused all the suburbs to be destroyed, including six beautiful convents, four churches, and the tower of the university. Predatory bands ranged over the rural districts, robbing and plundering; Protestants slew as well as Catholics; but the Protestants also destroyed churches, desecrated tombs, and broke statues. Many masterpieces perished at that time, and the churches of France still bear traces of these devastations. Two party leaders distinguished themselves above all others for their cruelty: the Catholic Blaise de Montluc, the royalist butcher in Languedoc and Guienne; and the Protestant des Adrets in Provence and Dauphiné. The former was always accompanied by two executioners, whom he called his lacqueys; one day he strangled with his own hands a Protestant minister who had come to negotiate with him. "He was not mild," he says of himself, "but contrary to his natural manner, he practised not merely severity, but cruelty." One day he killed between thirty and forty men on a road; on another occasion he hanged seventy to the pillars of a hall, "which caused great fear in the country, since one hanging has more effect than a hundred shootings." Holding this opinion, he increased the number of hangings. "It is easy to tell where I have passed, for the signs appear on the trees by the roadside." These cruelties made him master of Guienne, which he held by controlling the Garonne and the Dordogne.

Baron des Adrets secured a like reputation by similar acts. After the capture of Montbrison he caused half the defenders of the place to be executed and compelled the rest to throw themselves off a high tower on to the pikes of his soldiers.

Siege of Rouen (1562).—The leaders of the two parties were in the north; there the war was more systematic and its issue was decided. At the head of a Catholic army, which Anthony of Bourbon joined, the Duke of Guise advanced upon Rouen. That city, dominated from the neighbouring heights, was not tenable; but it resisted all the same. Anthony of Bourbon was mortally wounded, and at the end of some days the place was taken. Montaigne relates that at this siege a Protestant gentleman was

found who was charged with the task of murdering Guise. The duke pardoned him. "For," he said, "I wish you to know that the religion which I hold is much more gentle than that which you profess; *yours* counsels you to kill me without hearing me, having received no injury from me; *mine* orders me to pardon you, though wholly convinced that you wished to slay me without reason." Such fine words are often on the lips of the ambitious, who desire every kind of glory and sometimes achieve it, but whose lives belie them. The duke who was now so magnanimous had not been so at Vassy or at Amboise, where he replied to one of his victims, "My business is not to speak but to cut off heads." He was not altogether magnanimous even at Rouen. "That great city," says Castelnau, "full of every kind of wealth, was pillaged for eight days, with no regard for either religion. And that notwithstanding the fact that it had been proclaimed on the morrow of its fall that every company and regiment of whatever nationality should leave the city under pain of death." After the pillage of the town came judicial executions and the war assumed that character of cruelty which is characteristic of all civil wars.

Battle of Dreux (1562).—Condé, with a reinforcement of 7000 men which he had received from Germany, tried to repair the loss of Rouen by an attack on the suburbs of Paris. Repulsed by the Spaniards, he retired to Havre, where he was joined by the English. He again advanced in greater strength, but was stopped on his return by the Duke of Guise near Dreux (December, 1562). Fifteen or sixteen thousand men were engaged on either side. "Every one," says La Noue, "felt that those who were attacking were not Italians or Spaniards, but Frenchmen, brave men indeed, among whom might be their own companions, relations, and friends. Each thought that in an hour he would be driven to kill them, and thus the conflict became horrible, though the courage of the two armies was unimpaired." Condé forced the centre of the Catholics, wounded the constable and took him prisoner. But the Swiss resumed the battle, and the Duke of Guise completed the victory by a flank attack, Condé being captured.

Death of the Duke of Guise (February, 1563).—Guise had gained a great success. Of the two who might dispute his influence, one, St. André, was killed and the other, Montmorency, was a prisoner, while he himself held the leader of the Huguenots captive. He treated Condé chivalrously, wished him to share his bed, and slept well beside his mortal foe, who vowed

that he had been unable to close his eyes. Catherine de Medici had been told that the battle was lost ; she answered calmly, " Very well, then ; we will pray to God in French." The Guises terrified her ; when she learned the truth, they terrified her still further, despite the joy which she affected to feel at their success. She talked of negotiating and issued a decree of amnesty for all those who laid down their arms. But Guise did not intend to spare those whom he had beaten ; he pressed his victory with energy and besieged Orleans in order to cut the communications between the northern and southern Protestants. But for a fanatical crime the city would not have resisted long. A Protestant, Poltrot de Méré, excited by the examples of Judith and Deborah, Ehud and Jael, entered the camp of Guise as a deserter, and finding the duke alone one evening, mortally wounded him with a pistol shot.

Guise was a great commander. France owed Calais to him ; he had held Metz for her. But she owed him also the wars of religion which checked her progress by thirty years of blood and ruin. It cannot be asserted dogmatically that the wars could have been avoided. Yet had Guise possessed less weight in the government, l'Hôpital might have developed the wise policy which was embodied in the Edict of Amboise and afterwards in that of Nantes. It would, indeed, have been impossible to tolerate those madmen who regarded as a meritorious act the killing of any one who prayed to God otherwise than as they prayed ; toleration was to such men a meaningless word. But a policy which was impossible after Vassy and Amboise and Orleans might have been possible before. Blood cried out for blood ; slaughter continued because slaughter had begun. And the guilt rested with the man who began.

Peace and Edict of Amboise (March, 1563).—Guise being dead, Condé and Montmorency prisoners, the queen-mother remained mistress of the government. She saw clearly that the party leaders, while no doubt desiring the triumph of their respective creeds, desired still more the acquisition of power. She realised that civil war would ruin respect for royal authority. When Montluc mentioned Charles IX. to some Huguenot gentlemen as the king, they answered, " What king? We are all kings and he whom you mention is only a little kinglet ; we will whip him and make him get his living like the rest." The peasants in turn refused to pay their ancient dues to the gentlemen. " Show us from the Bible whether we ought to pay or not," they said. " If our ancestors have been beasts and fools, we do not wish to be

like them." The whole structure of society was crumbling. To end the agitation Catherine offered peace to Condé ; he signed it at Amboise, in return for an edict which authorised the reformed worship in the houses of nobles, in the demesnes of lords having rights of justice, and in one town in each bailiwick.

Recovery of Havre (1563).—To demonstrate the reality of their union, Catholics and Protestants made a common expedition against Havre, which the English wished to retain and which they valued more than Calais. "All were eager to do well ; even those who were most favoured at the court, despising all danger, were found in the trenches." The town, skilfully attacked and badly defended, opened its gates at the end of some days. The clergy paid the cost of this expedition, handing over goods to the value of 450,000 livres.

Philip II. and the Court of Catherine de Medici.—The Council of Trent, assembled in order to restore peace to Christendom, had failed to do so. At this period, no one understanding religion as a matter of conscience between God and man, each wished to secure the triumph of the creed he held, aiding that triumph by arms and butchery. Philip II., King of Spain, employed all his forces and staked the whole future of his monarchy in this cause. He stifled heresy in Italy and Spain ; he proposed to stifle it also in the Low Countries, in England, and in France. The Guises shared in his plans ; and when their great leader was dead, Philip tried to secure Catherine herself.

She had honestly carried out the Treaty of Amboise, but the extremists of the two parties did not accept this compromise. The parliament long refused to register the edict of pacification ; Tavannes would not carry it out in his government of Burgundy ; Coligny reproached Condé "with having ruined the churches by a stroke of the pen, a result which all the forces of the enemy would not have been able to accomplish in ten years." Private animosities blazed forth ; assassination took the place of civil war. Catherine tried to distract the gentlemen from these fierce passions, increasing fêtes and temptations at her court, "flowers of pleasure stained with blood." Manners became worse and peace was no better secured.

Conference of Bayonne (1535).—The queen, though satisfied with the decline of the Guises, found the Bourbons too powerful. As she had already, when faced by the great Guise, leaned towards the reformers, so in face of Condé she leaned towards the Catholics. She gradually diminished the liberties which had been granted to the Protestants at Amboise. Crimes committed

against them were not investigated. In a progress which she made with Charles IX. through the provinces of the south and during which she was able to see that the bulk of the people were still Catholic, she removed governors who were suspected of Calvinism and caused citadels to be built in the cities where that religion was predominant. The journey ended at Bayonne (June, 1535) in a conference with the Duke of Alva, the most terrible instrument of the will of Philip II., who, like his master, believed in the lawfulness of useful crimes. The Protestants were easily convinced that an alliance between the two crowns, concluded under the auspices of such a man, could have no other object than the extirpation of heresy and from that time the sword hardly remained sheathed.

After Philip II., the holy see was distressed by the temporising policy of Catherine. A rigid pope, Pius V., had ascended the throne of St. Peter, and as pontiff he continued that war against the new doctrines which he had begun as Grand Inquisitor. A numerous militia, the Jesuits, fought throughout Europe with enthusiasm and intelligence for the Catholic cause. They preached to the people, instructed the young, and waged against heresy a constant and mortal combat. The time for negotiation was passed.

Ordinance of Moulins (1566).—One man still hoped. L'Hôpital had taken for his motto those beautiful verses of Horace which accorded so well with his stoical temper in the midst of the miseries of his age :

*" Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae."*

In the midst of such preparations for war, in the midst of such bloody expectations, the illustrious chancellor continued his reforms. In 1566, as a last protest against these furies, he issued his Ordinance of Moulins for the general reform of justice. It declared the royal demesne to be "inalienable and imprescriptible"; fixed the method of nomination and examination of judges in order to minimise the evils of the sale of offices; restrained the privileges of officials of the crown; deprived towns of civil jurisdiction and left them only the care of local police; and submitted the lower courts to inspection by the higher. In short, it brought the state nearer to centralisation of authority, justice, and procedure. His efforts failed to profit his contemporaries, though succeeding ages profited from them. Some of the rules for civil procedure which l'Hôpital laid down

still maintain. Noble souls find their recompense sooner or later. Their immediate reward is found in the satisfaction of their own conscience; their ultimate reward is granted to them by posterity.

Second Civil War (1567–1568).—Meanwhile the Protestants, threatened by the court, renewed their meetings, amassed money, and prepared armies. Catherine reorganised the royal forces by raising 6000 men in Switzerland. The Duke of Alva was in the Low Countries with considerable forces which were intended for use against the Protestants of Holland and France. The reformers, in order to anticipate their enemies, formed a new conspiracy of Amboise. The court was at Monceaux in Brie, and on September 27, 1567, a body of 500 gentlemen appeared near that place. Catherine had only time to take refuge in Meaux, from which place the court regained Paris, under the protection of the Swiss infantry.

Battle of St. Denis (1567).—The *coup* had failed; war was inevitable. Condé dared to blockade Paris, and the inhabitants compelled the aged Montmorency to repulse him. The constable, says Brantôme, “was a great despiser of persons, having on his lips only such words as ‘ass’ and ‘sot’; he was brave and bore the marks of seven wounds.” He was also an extremely incapable general, his plan of campaign was bad, and he was killed—at the age of seventy-seven. The battle was indecisive; if the Catholics held the field, the Huguenots were at any rate able on the following day to offer battle again, which the Catholics declined.

Catherine de Medici rejoiced over this battle as a victory. “I am under two great obligations to Heaven,” she declared, “the first, that the constable has avenged the king on his enemies; the second, that the enemies of the king have taken vengeance on the constable.” Marshal Vieilleville had a more just appreciation of the event when he said to the king, “Your Majesty has not gained a battle, still less has the Prince de Condé done so; the victor is the King of Spain, since on one side and the other there have died enough valiant captains and enough brave French soldiers to have conquered Flanders and all the Low Countries.”

Peace of Longjumeau (1568).—Some time afterwards Condé received 9000 German landsknechts who demanded their pay on the first day; all the Huguenot army, chiefs and soldiers alike, being taxed to supply it. Condé advanced to Chartres in order to interrupt communications between Paris and Beauce.

The queen-mother, jealous of her power, had no wish to appoint a successor to the constable, and had no soldiers to oppose to the Huguenots. L'Hôpital regained his influence and spoke of peace, which was made at Longjumeau, on condition that the Protestants should restore the places which they had seized, but that the Edict of Amboise should be fully restored (March 23, 1568).

Disgrace of l'Hôpital (1568).—The peace was lame and uneasy. Catherine de Medici had signed it only in order to make another war. It was indeed impossible for arms to be laid down in France at that time. The Catholics, under the strong influence of Rome, recovered the energy of an earlier age; already in part of Champagne a *holy league* had been signed. The war of religion raged everywhere; in Great Britain between Elizabeth and Mary Stuart; in the Low Countries between Alva and the *gueux*¹; even in Spain itself, between Philip and his son, Don Carlos. The latter, being suspected of heresy, or at least of tolerance, was thrown into prison and died there, perhaps being slain by his father's order. Catherine also wished to end this war, which constantly revived by some Italian *coup*.

L'Hôpital was not the man to forward such a policy, and he was disgraced. It was alleged that there was a plan to seize Condé and Coligny in Burgundy on the same day; also Jeanne d'Albret, widow of Anthony of Bourbon, in Béarn, in order that they might suffer the fate of Counts Egmont and Horn, who were executed at Brussels with nineteen other Walloon lords by the bloodthirsty Duke of Alva. All three escaped. Condé and Coligny, after a journey of a hundred leagues, reached La Rochelle, which had declared for them in the last war. Jeanne d'Albret joined them there with her son, Henry of Navarre. "She was a woman only by her sex; her whole mind was devoted to manly pursuits; she had statesmanlike ability and a heart which was invincible in adversity. She offered her life, her means, and her children for the defence of the cause; to repair the ruin which had been effected she gave up her land and pawned her jewels, her great collar of emeralds, her large rubies, and two pieces of the cabinet of the King of Navarre."

Third Civil War (1568-1570).—Catherine in her turn had failed to effect a *coup*, but she believed herself to be ready for war. She declared it by publishing an edict which forbade, under penalty of death, the exercise of the "pretended reformed religion," and which ordered Protestant ministers to leave the kingdom within fifteen days. All members of the parliaments

¹ Poor or wretched people.

and the universities were forced to take an oath of adherence to Catholicism. Great military strength was necessary to enforce such edicts, and the court only had an army of 18,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. It was placed under the command of the young Duke of Anjou, whom Catherine wished to bring to the front in order that she might be able, if necessary, to oppose him to Charles IX. Tavannes and Biron directed him.

All the south-west was now in the power of the Calvinists, La Rochelle was their stronghold. "We have driven them from Orleans," says a contemporary, "because from so near they might scent our good city of Paris, but the town of La Rochelle has not yet been captured. It is not so large or so pleasant a place as Orleans, but it has compensating advantages, among which is its situation on the sea. All provisions come in abundance to its port, the people are rather warlike than commercial, the magistrates are prudent, and all are devoted to the reformed faith."

Battle of Jarnac: Death of Condé (1569).—A preliminary campaign in the midst of a hard winter was without result. In the following spring, Marshal Tavannes attempted to cut off the Protestant army in the south from the reinforcements which it was expecting from Germany and to defeat it before their arrival. The two armies manœuvred for some time on the Charente; at last Tavannes surprised Coligny, with the rear-guard only, near Jarnac (March 13, 1569). Condé, at the news of the attack, hastened up with three hundred horse. Already wounded in the arm, he received, at the moment of the charge, a kick from a horse which lamed him. But he charged the enemy, crying, "Remember in what state Louis of Bourbon entered battle for Christ and country." This impetuous charge broke the enemy's lines, but Condé's horse was shot; he fell and a terrible combat took place around him. An old man, La Vergne, who had brought twenty-five men-at-arms, his sons, grandsons, and nephews to the battle, was seen to make the last effort to protect Condé; but La Vergne was slain and fifteen of his men fell with him "in a heap." Condé gave his gauntlet to a gentleman when the captain of the Duke of Anjou's guards recognised him and blew out his brains.

The loss of this brave and energetic prince, who had been for nine years the brain and arm of his party, was serious. The Protestants thought of abandoning the campaign and shutting themselves up in La Rochelle, but a woman revived their spirit. Jeanne d'Albret appeared in the midst of the disheartened army

at Saintes with her son, Henry of Navarre, and the young Prince of Condé. "My friends," she said, "here are the two new leaders whom God has given to you, and two orphans whom I entrust to your care." Henry of Navarre, who had been born at Pau and brought up severely like a country gentleman, was then fifteen. Brave, witty, able to find words to express his thoughts, he pleased every one; he was named *generalissimo*, with Coligny as his adviser and lieutenant.

Coligny: Battle of Moncontour (1569).—Coligny had many of the qualities necessary to a leader in such a war. A convinced and austere Protestant, he was loved and respected alike by ministers and soldiers. He was not perhaps a great general, and Catherine, with all the Italians of the court, despised him; nor was he a profound politician. But he never permitted himself to be beaten, which gave him great force; he had just views, knew how to make use of every resource, and if with him as leader Protestantism could not hope for a decisive victory, it was at least secure from irreparable defeat. Two things besides his name recommended him: his defence of St. Quentin and his last political scheme, the conquest of the Low Countries, where he wished to settle his Huguenots in order by one stroke to give France fair provinces and peace. In his great desire to avoid internal discord and to secure religious liberty, he had conceived another way of accomplishing the same design, the Protestant colonisation of America, wishing in the sixteenth century to do that which the English Puritans did in the seventeenth. Had he succeeded, French language and French blood would to-day dominate North America. Jarnac was only a rearguard action and the Protestants lost only 4000 men. Coligny was still strong enough to defend Cognac and Angoulême; being joined by 13,000 Germans, he resumed the offensive and inflicted a check upon the Catholic army near Roche-Abeille. But Tavannes retrieved the situation. German Catholics and Spaniards sent by Alva, and Italians sent by Pius V., increased the forces of the Duke of Anjou, who recrossed the Loire, relieved Poitiers, which the admiral had besieged for six weeks, and attempted to surprise the Protestant army between the Dive and the Thoué, near Moncontour. The Huguenot position was extremely bad and they lost 6000 soldiers.

But this victory was as useless as that of Jarnac. Charles IX., jealous of the laurels which his brother was winning, came to the army, and instead of pursuing the Protestants to the Pyrenees, wasted time in besieging Niort and St. Jean d'Angély.

Coligny crossed the south and suddenly appeared in Burgundy at the head of all the Protestant nobility of Dauphiné and Provence. A Catholic army of 12,000 men attempted to check him at Arnay-le-Duc ; he cut his way through and reached Loing a short distance from Paris.

Peace of St. Germain (1570).—Catherine de Medici excelled in diplomacy. This now appeared clearly. No conclusion could be reached by fighting with a foe who though constantly defeated as constantly recovered from defeat ; it was necessary to adopt a different plan. To disarm the Protestants, she granted them the Peace of St. Germain under very favourable conditions : the free exercise of their religion in rural districts and in those towns in which their faith was established ; the admission of Calvinists to all offices ; and four cautionary towns, La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, which the reformers were allowed to garrison.

St. Bartholomew (1572).—At the news of this peace a cry of indignation went up from the Catholics at home and abroad. Catherine was not disturbed and continued to follow her new policy. The marriage of Henry of Navarre with Marguerite, sister of Charles IX., was to cement the peace, and she hastened it. It was to the interest of France to employ in foreign war the martial and disorderly spirit of the Protestant nobility, and she accepted the suggestion of Coligny that he should lead his co-religionists into the Low Countries where the Duke of Alva had executed 18,000 persons and where the *gueux* of Holland were founding the Dutch Republic. Such a scheme delighted the Huguenots, and appeared to be a return to the older ideas of foreign policy which had been abandoned since the death of Henry II. Coligny saw in a war with Spain a means by which the internal peace of France might be maintained with glory and security.

Charles IX. was then twenty-one years old. Though he was intelligent, he was feeble and violent, eager to possess absolute power, surrounded by Italian favourites who corrupted his mind ; he played the part which his mother had assigned to him with readiness, and sometimes of his own accord. More than once he had found the Huguenot leaders proud and haughty and he remembered the murderous advice which Alva is said to have given him at Bayonne : “A thousand frogs’ heads are not equal to the head of one salmon.” But he was now impatient under his mother’s control and jealous of the victories which she ascribed to his brother. Impulsive and passionate he entered

with ardour into the new projects, writing to Coligny and to Jeanne d'Albret, and urging the speedy conclusion of the marriage of Henry with his sister. The Queen of Navarre and the admiral decided to visit Paris. "At last we have you, my father," said the young king as he embraced the latter, "and we shall not let you escape us when you wish." Following the example of their leader, a number of Huguenot gentlemen came to take their part in the fêtes and to share in the favour of the king.

Catherine herself was alarmed ; she had succeeded too well. The king saw only with the eyes of Coligny ; he pressed for the arrival of the dispensation for the marriage, which the pope was anxious to refuse ; he caused troops to be raised for Coligny and assembled a fleet against Flanders. The Protestants, encouraged, drew up at La Rochelle a confession of faith, which still obtains in their communion in France. Catherine remonstrated with her son, who received her rebukes with impatience ; he had decided to win glory and renown by a Spanish war, and he told his mother that she and the Duke of Anjou were his greatest enemies. But passion fought for Catherine. The Duke of Anjou, the Guises, Tavannes, and all the Catholic nobles who had fought against the reformed faith ; saw with anger that power had passed to their enemies. Philip II., threatened in the Low Countries, lavished money among the people in order to excite disturbance. When the court came to Paris, with its new following of Huguenot gentlemen and ministers, dull anger seized the city. Emotion was aroused by the sudden death of Jeanne d'Albret, who was supposed to have been poisoned, though there was no proof (June 9). When the marriage was celebrated (August 18) there was great difficulty in preventing a riot at the gate of Notre-Dame ; the churches re-echoed with curses against the Huguenots, who on their side were guilty of provocations in the streets.

Catherine then adopted a Machiavellian plan. She designed that Coligny should be assassinated by the Guises. The Huguenots would then take vengeance on the murderers of their leader, and the royal troops would be able to fall on both as violators of the public peace. On August 22, Coligny was wounded, as he left the Louvre, by a pistol shot fired by Maureval, a professional assassin in the pay of the Guises. At the first news of this crime, Charles IX. hastened to the admiral: "Yours is the wound, mine the pain," he said, and he swore to avenge him.

On the following day, the king appeared to be of the same mind. But the queen began to work on him, assisted by the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Angoulême, Tavannes, the Chancellor Birague, Marshal de Retz, and the Duke of Nevers, of whom the three last were Italians. The queen represented that the two parties were both ready to take up arms, that each had chosen a chief, that the king would possess merely the royal title, even if that were still left to him. "War is inevitable," said Tavannes, "and it is better to win it at Paris than to risk all on the issue of a campaign." The king resisted; his mother quoted the Italian proverb that "Cruelty is often mercy, and mercy cruelty"; she threatened to quit the court with her other son, the Duke of Anjou, that she might not witness the ruin of her family, that she might no longer be offended by such timidity and cowardice. She had calculated well the effect of this last remark on a violent mind. Charles, hitherto unmoved and quiet, cried suddenly that as it seemed good to kill the Admiral, he would have all the Huguenots in France slain, that "no one may be left to reproach me." One of the Italian councillors had already said that it was advisable to kill them all, since the sin of a few murders was as great as the sin of many.

The municipality of Paris was ready. For some time it had considered this possibility, and all was prepared to ensure its success. The provost of the merchants was summoned to the Louvre; he received from the king an order to close the gates and to hold in readiness such captains, lieutenants, and bourgeoisie as were trustworthy. The clock of St. Germain l'Auxerre was to give the signal at three o'clock on the night of August 24, the festival of St. Bartholomew. The conspirators did not wait till then; at ten o'clock the bell rang, and a little later the tocsin made answer from all the churches.

Henry of Guise, d'Aumale, and the Bastard of Angoulême rushed to the hotel of Coligny. A German, Behme, was the first to enter. Coligny was awake. "Are you the Admiral?" cried Behme. "I am," he answered, his expression calm and untroubled. "Young man, you should respect my white hairs, but do as you will, for you will not greatly shorten my life." Behme stabbed him in the breast. The Duke of Guise cried from below, "Behme, have you done it?" "It is done," was the answer. "Throw him from the window then." Coligny still breathed. Behme and the others threw him into the courtyard, where Guise, having spurned the corpse with his foot, abandoned

it to the insults of the people. The houses of the Huguenots had been marked with chalk and a list prepared of those who inhabited them. Téligny, the Admiral's son-in-law, La Rochefoucauld, a friend of the king with whom he had spent the evening happily, Pardaillan, La Force, whose second son feigned death and remained all day hidden under the corpses of his father and elder brother—these were murdered after the Admiral, the majority being surprised in bed. "Kill," cried Tavannes, as he ran through the streets, "killing is as good in August as it is in May."

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé took refuge with the king, who threatened them with death if they did not recant. Some were slain even in the Louvre, and the ladies of the court went in the morning to see the dead bodies. Different estimates are given of the number of the slain; some say ten, others four, others two, thousand. The last estimate is the most probable.

If l'Estoile may be believed, the king sat during the morning at a window of the Louvre, jeering at those who passed, and firing with an arquebus at the Protestants who fled down the Faubourg St. Germain. But during the day, when he had seen the dead borne down the Seine, his lust for slaughter passed. He was filled with horror at what had been done and wrote to the provinces to prevent the spread of the massacre, throwing all the blame of the feud on the Guises and the Châtillons. But Catherine made him fear that the profit of the crime would pass to his most dangerous enemies. A hawthorn was found in second bloom; this was regarded as a miracle and reanimated fanaticism. The mob, with the instincts of a brute beast which are ever present in the depth of its mind and in the heart of every great city, once more began to kill. Not only Huguenots, but also creditors, rivals, personal enemies were slain. Robbers, with a cross in their caps and a white handkerchief on their arms, killed as alleged Huguenots those whom they wished to pillage. The slaughter continued in the following days, and murders did not cease until September 17.

The king, following his mother's advice, assumed in a full session of the parliament the responsibility for this terrible night, and sent new orders to the governors of the provinces, which resulted in massacres at Meaux, La Charité, Orleans, Saumur, Lyons, Bourges, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and other places. From 15,000 to 20,000 victims perished. At Angers the massacre was checked by the moderation of the municipal council,

but the survivors were imprisoned, and their goods, with those of the dead, were confiscated by express order of the Duke of Anjou. "Monseigneur," said the agent, "may well make more than a hundred thousand francs in this way." St. Bartholomew enabled some to balance their accounts and to fill their purses.

Some governors refused to obey the court, among others Montmorency in the Ile de France, Longueville in Picardy, Charni in Burgundy, De Gordes in Dauphiné, Joyeuse in Languedoc, and St. Hérem in Auvergne. The rudest lesson was given to the murderers by the public executioner at Troyes; he refused to aid in the slaying, saying that his office did not compel him to execute any one except as a result of judicial condemnation. The hangman of Lyons made the same answer.

Vezins, lieutenant of the king in Quercy, had a mortal foe, Regnier, chief of the Protestants of that province. They had long been opposed to each other, seeking only for an opportunity to cut one another's throats. At this time they were both in Paris. When the massacre began, Regnier saw Vezins enter his chamber with a drawn sword followed by fifteen soldiers. He thought that his last hour had come, but Vezins ordered him to go down, mount his horse, and follow him. They left Paris, and took the road to their own province; Vezins did not utter a word. Regnier travelled a hundred leagues, protected against all attack by the name of his escort and arrived home safe and sound. Then Vezins spoke to him. "Do you think that the service I have done you has been done in order to win your friendship? It has been rendered that I may take your life honourably." Regnier answered, "It is yours and you may use it as you will." "Are you then such a coward," cried Vezins, "that you will abandon the treason which you have supported?" "No," said Regnier, "I am at the service of all brave men, friends and enemies alike." Such incidents relieve the picture of the cowardly treachery of the court.

L'Hôpital must be included among the victims of this terrible outburst of fanaticism. A band of assassins, employed by the Duke of Anjou, came to Vignay, near Étampes, where the chancellor lived in retirement with his family. He was urged to hide, but refused, saying, "If the postern is not large enough for them to enter by, open the great gate." The assassins were about to enter the château when some knights met them and checked them. Their leader told the old man that his death was not ordered, that he was pardoned. "I do not know that I have merited either death or pardon," said l'Hôpital. Grief and shame

killed him in six months : he died, crying, “ Perish for ever the memory of that dreadful day.”

Fourth Civil War: Peace of La Rochelle (1573).—This great crime was useless, as crimes always are. The Protestants had lost their chiefs ; when the first moment of stupor had passed, they took up arms in many towns with the rage of despair. The royal army experienced the effects of this at the sieges of Sancerre and La Rochelle. The peasants, who had taken refuge in the first of these towns, had no weapons. They made slings and used them with such vigour and effect that they revived for a while the reputation of these ancient arms, which were called the *arquebuses of Sancerre*. The Duke of Anjou commanded before La Rochelle and was unable to take it, though accompanied by his brother, the majority of the nobles, and almost the whole court. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been forced to accompany him and to aid those who wished to murder their brothers and to exterminate their other friends. But religious enthusiasm was excited by fifty-seven ministers who were shut up in La Rochelle, while Nîmes, Montauban, and a hundred other towns, in which the Protestants were in the ascendancy, closed their gates. At the same time, the queen saw that among the Catholics there were some who, if not favourable to the Calvinists, were at least hostile to the Guises, to their ambition and furious intolerance. Montmorency and his brothers were not with the royal army ; they began to form a third party, which soon afterwards appeared. Ready enough to assassinate, they were not inclined for war. The resources of the crown were exhausted sooner than the courage of the Rochellois. After four assaults no advance had been made ; the Duke of Anjou, anxious to go and receive the Polish crown, began negotiations. Charles IX. was obliged to grant to the Protestants the Peace of La Rochelle, by which they received liberty of conscience, at the very moment when he received, for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the eager and enthusiastic congratulations of the courts of Rome and Spain.

Death of Charles IX. (1574).—The shame of this reverse, remorse, the effects of a violent disposition and of vigorous exertions in hunting, to which he was passionately devoted, wore out the young king. A dreadful disease attacked him ; he suffered from fits and from an access of delirious fury, during which blood poured from his skin, his nose, and his ears. Bloody visions terrified him, and he heard in the air lamentable cries. On the night before his death, the doctors excluded every one

from his chamber, except "La Tour, St. Prox, and his nurse, whom he loved deeply even though she was a Huguenot. Lying on a chest, she began to doze ; then hearing the king groan, weep, and sigh, she went gently up to him. He took her hand, and sighing and weeping so violently that clots of blood choked his utterance, he began to say, ' Ah, my nurse, my mother, what blood and murders. I have followed evil counsel. My God, pardon me ; I know well that I am damned.' The nurse said, ' Sire, the murders and blood are those which you have been made to commit ; as you did not consent to them, believe that God will not hold you guilty for them and will shield you under the mantle of His Son. But, for the love of God, cease to weep.' Then she took a handkerchief with which she wiped away his tears and he signed to her that she should go and rest."

Such is the story of this royal homicide, dying at the age of twenty-four, tormented by gloomy visions, abandoned by all save his Huguenot nurse. It is a story which illustrates the powerlessness of crime to sear the conscience of the guilty.

CHAPTER XLV

HENRY III. (1574-1589)

Henry III.—The Duke of Anjou, heir-presumptive of Charles IX., was in Poland at the time of his brother's death. As the result of lengthy negotiations, Catherine de Medici had secured from the Polish nobility a crown for her favourite son, for him whom she called the victor of Jarnac and Moncontour. Henry was soon filled with disgust at this *Sarmatian land*, where the rude and masculine nobility was ignorant of the luxury and depravity which the corrupted civilisation of Italy had spread in France. At the news of his brother's death, he fled from his capital by night, like a criminal. Pursued by his subjects, who wished to keep him, he did not halt until he reached Austrian territory. The pleasures of Vienna and of Venice delayed for some time his return to France, and he did not set foot in his new kingdom until two months after his stealthy flight from the old.

No prince could have been less fitted to deal with the situation which existed at the death of Charles IX. The victories which Tavannes had gained in his name had exaggerated his reputation. Abuse of pleasure had cooled his original heat, which had

at first rendered him as brave as his ancestors ; he had no taste left for anything except passing his time with some boy or woman, in whose company he gave himself up to monstrous debaucheries. The depravity of his court served to vitiate his intellectual gifts ; he was eloquent only in lying, able only in deception. It may be an exaggeration to say that his piety was merely a species of impiety, but his religion did not amount to more than the performance of certain outward ceremonies. He believed that by means of fasting and some strokes of the discipline he might satisfy Heaven and his conscience alike. His brother, Charles IX., had on occasion formed ideas and projects worthy of a king ; Henry was engaged only in puerile activities, and d'Aubigné, seeing a man so careful over his toilet, concerned about his complexion, and eager to preserve the whiteness of his face and hands, did not know whether he was looking at " a female-king or a male-queen." Charles IX. committed crimes occasionally and from passion ; Henry constantly and from principle ; he read only the works of Machiavelli, and he was without that redeeming quality of remorse which makes it possible to pardon many of his brother's misdeeds.

His first acts showed what might be expected of him. At Turin he repaid with prodigal magnificence the hospitality of the Duke of Savoy by ceding to him Pignerol, Perugia, and Savigliano, the last remnants of the conquests of Francis I. beyond the Alps. As soon as he had entered France, he ordered the Protestants to revert to Catholicism or leave the kingdom. His words were threatening enough, but the Protestants were relieved to see that his actions were limited to the sending of some officials into the southern provinces, which were then very disturbed, and to joining in religious processions, in which he mingled with the flagellants who walked through the streets scourging themselves for the remission of their sins. He made a solemn entry into Paris which scandalised the serious, as he was surrounded by a number of apes, parrots, and small dogs. At Reims, according to l'Estoile, " When he was crowned, he said aloud that the crown hurt him, and it twice slipped from position as if it wished to fall to the ground." This was regarded as a bad omen and the foreboding was justified. Henry's head, which could not bear a crown, was unable to conceive those strong and virile plans which were needed for the crown's defence.

The Politiques.—France needed an able, honest, and strong leader, to take charge of the reins of government. Castelnau

estimated that "there have already died on account of the civil wars over a million persons, all under pretext of religion and the public good, the excuse which both parties put forward." Catherine de Medici had with great difficulty prevented a fresh outbreak in the last days of Charles IX. and during the two months of her regency. Between the extreme Catholics and the fanatical Protestants, a third party had formed, the *Politiques*, composed of moderate Catholics who desired the restoration of public peace by religious toleration and the repression of all factions. The three Montmorency brothers, Damville, Thoré, and Méru, were the most eminent members of this party, which included a great number of magistrates and rich bourgeoisie. A prince of the blood, the Duke of Alençon, assumed its leadership, less from patriotism than from ambition, since he fancied that it would serve his private ends. The Guises led the extreme Catholics, the Bourbons the Protestants; the duke thought that, avoiding alike isolation and the second place in either of the contending factions, he could form a third party which would be devoted to his cause. Henry of Navarre called him, with justice, "A double heart, a soul as malign and deformed as his body." But it must be admitted that two things redound to his credit: he wished to be a Frenchman, the foe of the Spaniards in word and deed, as he himself said, and he did lend himself to the slaughter of the Huguenots.

Alliance between the Politiques and the Huguenots : Fifth Civil War (1575-1576).—The massacre of St. Bartholomew and the civil war had caused the disappearance of the great Protestant leaders. The Calvinists had only such men as the King of Navarre to guide them, who put their personal interest first, their religion second. This practice easily extended among men with whom ambition or patriotism extinguished religious enthusiasm. Already during the illness of Charles IX., the Duke of Alençon, the King of Navarre, the new Prince of Condé, and the Montmorencies had formed a project for securing control of the government. At the critical moment, the Duke of Alençon's heart failed him and he revealed everything. Condé alone was able to escape; Catherine secured the persons of the King of Navarre and of the two Montmorencies, Thoré and Méru, of whom for a time she thought of making an example. But their party still existed; at a later date it absorbed the other two, while for the present it formed a third faction in the state. Condé and Damville, the Protestants and the *Politiques*, concluded through their envoys at Milhaud in Rouergue a treaty

of alliance, in order to secure the release of the princes, liberty of conscience, and the assembling of the States-General.

Battle of Dormans : the Balafre (1575).—The new king soon discovered the designs of his brother and as he had learned only one lesson from his mother and from Machiavelli, he attempted to assassinate him. Alençon was often in danger of death, but he succeeded in escaping and hastened to conclude in the south the alliance between the Protestants and the *Politiques*. Damville in Languedoc assembled some 15,000 soldiers and Condé sent from Germany, where he had taken refuge, an advance guard of 5000 men. The Lorraines had regained favour ; the king married a princess of their house and they prepared energetically for war. But Catherine distrusted them and negotiated on all sides. The Duke of Guise left her to her own devices and set out against the Germans whom he defeated at Dormans near Château-Thierry in Champagne (1575). The danger which he ran in this battle, in which he was wounded in the face, increased his popularity ; he was henceforward the hero of the Catholics, the *Balafre*¹, a worthy heir to the great Guise. But Condé made his way without opposition at the head of 18,000 men and sixteen cannon across Champagne and Burgundy ; he crossed the Loire and joined Alençon at Moulins. The escape of the King of Navarre increased the hopes of his party. One evening as he was chanting under his breath the words of the psalm which treats of a man abandoned by his friends, d'Aubigné, the poet-historian, suggested flight to him. "Let us go," answered Henry ; "they killed my mother, the Admiral, and all my best servants at Paris ; I will never return there unless they drag me."

Peace of Monsieur (May, 1576).—To support this war, Henry attempted to "pick the pockets of the people of Paris" ; he drew from them remonstrances and murmurs. After the success of Guise at Dormans, he was still further pressed to treat. Alençon came forward as mediator and arranged at Beaulieu the peace which bears his name, "the Peace of Monsieur," the latter being the title borne by the king's eldest brother. His mediation was not disinterested. He caused Anjou to be handed over to him, and himself assumed the title of duke of that province ; he also received Touraine and Berry with all regalian rights, being bound only to homage. The King of Navarre secured the government of Guienne ; Condé that of Picardy. The free exercise of religion was accorded to the Protestants in the whole kingdom, except at Paris and in the court, until the

¹ From *balafre*, a cut on the face.

approaching meeting of the States-General and of a free general council of the Church; all sentences given since the reign of Henry II. on religious grounds were annulled, and the marriage of priests was recognised as lawful. By rehabilitating the memory of Coligny and of the victims of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the widows and children of whom received exemption from taxation; by the cession of several cautionary towns, and by the establishment of mixed tribunals of Catholics and Protestants, the monarchy sought pardon for the past and gave guarantees for the future.

The Holy League.—This peace was regarded as a betrayal of the Catholic cause. The feeling of passionate unrest, which had for a moment been calmed by the great sacrifice of St. Bartholomew, revived with extreme energy. Men asked how the king stood after reigning for two years. He had levied certainly millions enough from his good towns, raised loans enough from the clergy, created enough offices, onerous or injurious to the country. But all had been swallowed up by his fêtes and by the greed of his favourites, the *mignons*. The property of the clergy had been handed over for a loan of 200,000 livres, in order to pay German mercenaries who ravaged the provinces. The court had abandoned the Catholics, but the Catholics would not abandon themselves.

A Seigneur d'Humières, Governor of Peronne, refused to hand over that town to Condé, who was named governor of the province, and caused prelates, lords, and bourgeoisie to sign "a most Christian union, that they would employ their goods and their lives in order to preserve the town and province in obedience to the king and in maintenance of the Catholic faith." Already under Charles IX. attempts had been made in various districts to form similar leagues, in Burgundy, Anjou, and elsewhere. The example of the Seigneur d'Humières was now contagious. The clergy, and especially the Jesuits, whose numbers and activity increased with the danger, urged on the mob; soon each province had its league. It remained to unite and to direct the efforts of this religious zeal towards a common end, and this task was undertaken by political ambition.

Henry of Guise, a less able and less magnanimous warrior than his father, had more ambitious designs, more extensive plans, and a much greater capacity for making religion serve his political purposes. He was able to unite under his own control all the threads of this great Catholic conspiracy, designed for the defence of the faith. He drew up and circulated throughout the

whole of France the constitution of the *Holy League*. Princes, lords, gentlemen, and all other members swore that "they would maintain religious worship according to the formularies of the Holy Catholic Church ; that they would maintain King Henry III. in his royal estate, splendour, and power, and preserve to him that authority over his subjects which was due to him ; that they would restore to the provinces those rights, franchises, and liberties which they had possessed in the time of Clovis ; that they would proceed against those who opposed their union without regard of persons ; that they would obey promptly and faithfully to the death the chief who should be chosen."

Pretensions of Guise.—The chief of the League was chosen beforehand, but Henry of Guise carried his ideas to a far greater length, and the League was for him merely a stepping-stone to the throne. Henry III. was already ruined in the opinion of the people ; the most daring pamphlets denounced his hypocrisy and his conduct. The new Duke of Anjou was abused as an accomplice of the Huguenots and was doomed to an early death. After these two men, the only heirs were the Bourbons, heretic princes, unworthy to fill the throne of the Most Christian King. If they were excluded, the path lay open to the faithful allies of Philip II. and of the holy see, to the murderer of Coligny, to the man who had signed an alliance with orthodoxy in blood on the day of St. Bartholomew. More impatient spirits did not even reach this conclusion by such devious paths. New genealogies traced the house of Guise back to the dynasty of Charlemagne ; the descendants of Hugh Capet reigned only by virtue of usurpation, and Henry of Guise was called upon to restore at once legitimate monarchy and the orthodox faith, by confining the last Valois in a cloister, "as his ancestor, Pippin, had confined Childeric." Such was the scheme found in the memoirs of an advocate who had died at Lyons on his return from Rome.

First States-General of Blois (1576).—The States-General, which met at Blois in December, 1576, revealed to Henry III. the extent of the danger. The League, by the use of every method of fraud and violence, had excluded the *Politiques* and the Calvinists from the electoral meetings, and among the deputies there was only one Protestant. Elected under the influence of Guise, the States attacked not only the liberty of the Protestants but also the authority of the king. At the same time as they demanded the restoration of religious unity, they demanded also that those resolutions which they reached unanimously should have the

force of law, and that thirty-six members, chosen by themselves, should have the right of sitting in the royal council.

But all was not yet lost. The masses of the people were not included in the League; the bourgeoisie even regarded it with a certain apprehension. The *quarteniers* and *dizainiers*¹ of Paris, who went from house to house collecting signatures, were generally ill-received. It was thought this new idea was merely a method for emptying purses.

Henry III. declares Himself Chief of the League.—Henry rejected the political demands of the States, but he placed himself at the mercy of the extreme Catholic party. He signed the league and declared himself its chief, thinking that he had made a master-stroke; he supplanted the Guises and secured the subscriptions demanded from each member of the League. He thus descended from the position of a king to that of a party chief, and at the same time declared war against the Calvinists. The latter took his action for what it was, seized Périgueux, La Réole, and Marmande and protested in writing against the illegal States of Blois.

Violent Declarations against the Reformers.—The States, at the request of the king, decided upon the suppression of the reformed religion. It was easy enough to vote this, but the vote meant war, and money was needed to make war. Bodin, author of the *Treatise on the Republic*, vainly tried to secure the triumph of principles of toleration. "The power to do all does not convey the right to do all," he said openly to Henry III. and the League. He met with more success when, under pretence of defending the interests of the third estate, he refused the king means for carrying on the war. The partisans of Guise took the opportunity of showing the impotence of monarchy and the king had neither subsidies nor the right to make over portions of the crown lands in order to meet expenses, "since the capital is the property of the provinces and the king has only a life-interest." "This is too cruel," said Henry, "for they will neither help me with their property nor allow me to help myself from mine." He had thought to suppress the Guises; they had produced a deadlock.

Sixth Civil War: Treaty of Bergerac (1577).—The peace promised to the Huguenots had not been kept; war against them was badly conducted. Henry III. would not employ the Duke of Guise from fear of increasing his power. The Duke of Mayenne, appointed to the command in Poitou in preference to his elder

¹ Guardians of wards or quarters of Paris.

brother, only succeeded in taking Brouage ; the Duke of Anjou, placed at the head of the army of the Loire, rested on his laurels after taking La Charité and Issoire. Henry profited from these slight successes to conclude the Peace of Bergerac with the Huguenots. He negotiated it personally and called it his own peace, in opposition to the previous treaty, the Peace of Monsieur. By it the Protestants were granted a more extensive liberty of conscience than in the previous treaties and it was better defined ; they were given special judges in the eight parliaments and eight places of security ; while the abolition of all confederations was decreed. The king hoped thus to attack the League itself, under a show of providing securities against the Huguenots.

The Order of the Holy Spirit (1578): Ordinance of Blois (1579).—Henry really desired peace. To win over some of his opponents he instituted the *Order of the Holy Spirit* in memory of the fact that he had ascended the thrones of Poland and of France on the day of Pentecost. He hoped by granting this decoration to the chief partisans of the Guises and Bourbons to attach them to himself. He placed too much reliance on men's love for baubles. It is a curious fact that in the midst of these disastrous times important legislative reforms were accomplished. In the midst of the clash of arms and the violence of factions, the magistrates continued their great work of improving the civil law. The Ordinance of Blois, consisting of three hundred and sixty-three articles, contains excellent and liberal legal maxims, but it also indicates the strength which Catholicism had recovered after some years of peril. The king preserved the right of nomination to bishoprics and benefices, with the proviso that he should observe certain conditions as to age, character, and learning in the persons nominated. Plurality in archbishoprics, bishoprics, and cures was forbidden. Residence was made obligatory ; simony was prohibited. Marriage, which a priest alone might celebrate, was protected by the most severe provisions ; a father might disinherit a son who had contracted a clandestine marriage. Useful provision was made against the usurpation of the title of nobility, the sale of offices, the creation of too many offices, and dishonesty in the administration of justice.

The Court of Henry III.—But the conduct of the king destroyed the effect of the wisest measures. Merciless pamphlets reveal the character of the licentious and ferocious court of the last Valois, where murders alternated with pleasures. The evenings were filled with fêtes and balls ; the mornings with duels and murderous encounters, when, indeed, the duel was not anticipated by a

treacherous assassination. Thus St. Mégrin was murdered by the men of the Duke of Guise ; Dugast by those of the King of Navarre ; Bussy d'Amboise by the Count de Monsoreau. A favourite of the king, Villequier, killed his wife ; a wife killed her husband ; Cimier killed his brother. Each prince had assassins in his pay who slew secretly, as well as favourites who killed openly. Three *mignons* of the king fought one day with three favourites of the Duke of Guise. Four of the combatants were left dead, among them two friends of the king. Henry gave every sign of a scandalous grief, and replaced his dead favourites by Joyeuse and Épernon, who were no better. At the wedding of the former the enormous sum of 1,200,000 crowns was expended.

To meet these wild expenses, the *taille* was every year increased ; new financial edicts were constantly reaching the parliament, which only registered them after a lengthy resistance. Discontent was general. One day the clergy ceased to provide the interest on the loans at the Hôtel de Ville, which it had promised to pay ; as a result a number of persons were ruined. On another occasion the States of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, and Auvergne summoned the king to restore taxation to the state in which it had been in the time of Louis XII. and threatened "to oppose by all proper and possible means the extraordinary levies of money and pernicious edicts."

Seventh War: Peace of Fleix (1580).—A short war, which arose without cause and ended without reason, indicated the progress made by the sentiment of disorder. Henry, who had more taste for petty intrigues than for great affairs, intervened in the quarrels between the King of Navarre and his wife Queen Marguerite, in order to embitter their relations. Although unscrupulous, Henry of Navarre did not tolerate such interference in his private concerns, and taking up arms in anger he began a short war which was known as the *Lovers' War* from its origin. He distinguished himself by the capture of Cahors, which he stormed after a fight of four days and four nights. But Marshal Biron beat the people of Navarre several times, and peace was restored by the Treaty of Fleix, a repetition of that of Bergerac.

Expedition of the Duke of Anjou into the Low Countries (1581-1583).—It was necessary to occupy these turbulent minds with some great idea, to engage them in some serious enterprise, to resume, in short, the project of Coligny, and to enter upon a foreign war, in order that civil war might cease. France had a

choice between two fields of battle, one of which lay at her very door and was entirely favourable to her. Philip II. of Spain had invaded Portugal, and Catherine de Medici had pretensions to that crown. The Low Countries were occupied by the Spaniards and several provinces demanded a liberator. Henry III. gave a fleet to Don Antonio del Crato, the claimant to the throne of Portugal, and an army to his brother, the Duke of Anjou, whom the Flemings had called in ; both were insufficient, and the king openly disavowed both enterprises. The fleet was annihilated ; the Duke of Anjou, after being proclaimed Duke of Brabant and Count of Flanders, being left without money and having alienated his supporters in the Low Countries, was forced to evacuate that country. He died less than a month after his return to France (June, 1584). The provinces of the Low Countries, which lost at the same time William of Orange, who was assassinated by a fanatical Catholic, made a tempting offer to Henry III. ; they would give themselves to France if he would free them from the Inquisition and from Philip II. But it was too late.

Revival of the League after the Death of the Duke of Anjou.—

The death of the Duke of Anjou, brother and heir-presumptive to the king, raised definitely a question which was bound to rekindle in France every religious and political passion. Hitherto it had been vaguely anticipated that a Bourbon, a relapsed heretic, might become the heir of the Valois. Now he actually was the heir. Henry III., the last surviving son of Henry II., had no heir, and was only expected to live for a few years. The League had been for some time disorganised ; " Its members," says l'Estoile, " were all disgusted with it, some condemning it, others laughing at it." Suddenly, without its leaders making any move, it revived and extended its hold upon the popular mind ; in place of a secret society it became a great revolutionary party. The authors of this change were not, as l'Estoile declares, " pots and pans of the Sorbonne, good councillors of state, who all their lives had been shut up in a college, playing the pedant and devouring poor students of theology," but Jean Boucher, curé of St. Benedict ; Prevost, curé of St. Severin ; Launoï, an ex-Protestant minister who had become a canon ; La Chapelle-Marteau, master of finance ; Crucé and Bussy-Leclerc, solicitors ; and almost all the preachers of the churches of Paris. The League spread from the capital to the provinces and established wherever it was powerful a reign of terror.

Treaty of Joinville between the Duke of Guise and Spain (1584).—Henry of Guise saw clearly that the moment for striking

his great blow had come, and he signed the Treaty of Joinville with Philip II. without hesitation. By it the contracting parties engaged to extirpate sects and heresies, to exclude heretical princes or those who granted public immunity to heretics from the throne of France, and to assure the succession of the Valois to Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon. This Charles was merely put forward to conceal the pretensions of the Guises until they could openly avow them. But having taken this precaution, the Guises received a free hand from Pope Gregory XIII. "It was not good," so the pope was alleged to have declared, "to attempt the king's life; but it would be well to seize his person and to surround him by those who would hold him in check." The manifesto of the League appeared in the following year (March, 1585). The signatories swore that they would not lay down arms "until the Church of God had been restored fully to the Catholic faith, the nobles reinstated in their franchises, and the people relieved from the new taxes." Action soon followed. Guise raised Champagne; Mayenne, Burgundy; Elbeuf, Normandy; Mercœur, Brittany; Aumale, Picardy. The cities of Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, Rouen, Angers, Reims, Châlons, Soissons, Peronne, Amiens, Abbeville, Caen, Dijon, and others declared for the League. The whole kingdom was in a blaze.

Treaty of Nemours between the King and the Duke of Guise (1585).—The position of Henry III. became very difficult. Importuned by Elizabeth, by the deputies of the United Provinces, by Henry of Navarre, who offered him his aid, he was inclined to declare against the Guises whom he detested, but he demanded that Henry of Navarre should become a Catholic, promising in that event to recognise him as his heir. Henry refused. "He was the most crafty and cunning prince in the world," says d'Aubigné. He was resolved only to alienate the Protestants on good conditions, for specific gains and not for mere promises. He answered the manifesto of the League by assuming against the conspirators the rôle of champion of the king and the laws of the state. It was a clever move; he recovered the alliance of the *Politiques*. Montmorency, "the King of Languedoc," joined him, and he took up arms in Guienne and Poitou.

Henry found himself between the two enemies whom he had long hoped to use against each other, between the Guises and the Bourbons, between the Catholics and the Protestants. All the great towns were not in the League and the royal name preserved a certain prestige. The king was still obeyed; taxes were still

paid to him, and from them he was able to raise soldiers. The League, well suited for a riot, was not prepared to wage a war, since it included few of the nobles and few of the bourgeoisie. Épernon defeated some of the League's troops at Gien, Joyeuse beat others in Touraine. But Paris was disaffected; Guise entered it with 12,000 men, and a reverse there would have meant complete destruction. Henry III. approached the Lorraines, hoping that he might once more deceive them. By the Treaty of Nemours he signified his approval of all that had been done in the cause of religion; handed over to the head of the League nine cautionary towns; on his return to Paris, he published an edict which prohibited the reformed faith under penalty of forfeiture, giving fifteen days to ministers and to Protestants to leave the kingdom. As he came out of his palace the king was loudly applauded by the people. He was not accustomed to such treatment; but the applause was not for him; it was for the war against the Huguenots. The pope urged the war with all his power. Sixtus V. declared that the two Bourbons, Henry and Condé, had lost their rights as princes of the blood and were unworthy of the succession to the throne. Parliament vainly protested against the violence thus done to consciences, "which are exempt from the power of fire and sword," and against a papal bull which it described as an attempt against the liberty of the crown. There was no longer any place for moderation.

Henry of Navarre.—But the prince who was to be the leader of the moderate party was able to face all these dangers. There are two Henrys of Navarre. The first is that of tradition, the second that of history. The former is the more heroic figure and, thanks to Voltaire, the more popular. The other, beneath his cunning geniality, is the more able and, owing to the suppleness of his character, much the better fitted to restore a crumbling social edifice than a man whose character was more sincere would have been. Henry of Navarre was brilliantly brave; this quality is one which is common to the warriors of that and of all other ages, but which is pleasing in a prince, while a chief who is ever ready to bear his life at the point of his sword is secure of the devotion of his soldiers. Brought up among the mountaineers of the Pyrenees, he had their agility and his body was insensible to fatigue. The vicissitudes through which he had passed had rendered his religion uncertain. When Charles IX. said to him "Death or the mass!" he chose the mass; later he had abjured it, and this abjuration was not his last. He had no hatred for

those who professed a different creed ; his temperament made fanaticism odious to him, and his position urged him to tolerance. To toleration he remained attached. He was a brave soldier and a joyous companion ; little affected by good or evil fortune ; bending and not breaking under disaster ; finding resources in the most desperate situations ; loving pleasure but not as Henry III. loved it ; humane by his good nature and from his experience of life ; having friends who, it is true, received from him rather good words than good things. But he had an open heart when his hand was closed, and that because for twenty years he was the leader of a party obliged to give much and take little, unless from an enemy. His forced residence at the court of the Valois was fatal to his morals. For some years he forgot the part which he had to play and his destiny. After the death of the Duke of Anjou, Duplessis-Mornay wrote to him, " The past is no longer in season. It is time that you should make love to France." Henry knew this well ; he abandoned pleasure and assumed the cuirass.

Every one attacked him ; he had an answer for everything and every one. A protest, posted up in the Vatican, declared his excommunication by Sixtus V., the *soi-disant* pope, null and void, and entered an appeal to the court of peers. Duplessis-Mornay, who was called the Pope of the Huguenots, drew up a declaration by which the King of Navarre and his allies " undertook the support of the king's cause against the leaders of the League, the authors of all the evils of France." Condé in Poitou, Damville in Languedoc, Lesdiguières in Provence, Henry himself in Guienne, held all the south. The Queen of England and the German princes, after insistent appeals, promised prompt aid. Elizabeth had written to Henry III. after the Treaty of Joinville " in brave language and in a pleasant style that she might make him ashamed of having treated with rebels: ' For the love of God, wake from your long sleep.' "

Anarchy in the Kingdom.—The king was only half asleep. He was still anxious to pursue his balancing policy between the two parties. But the horizon was dark with clouds ; the Prince of Orange had been already murdered by a man whose heirs Philip II. had rewarded ; Elizabeth answered this murder by another, that of Mary Stuart. At Paris, the chiefs of the sixteen quarters formed a council in the heart of the League, in order to increase its activity, and the terrible memories of St. Bartholomew were revived. A preacher declared openly from the pulpit that " a blood-letting of St. Bartholomew is needed to

put an end to the illness," and the men of the halls said that "it was necessary to begin the game of destroying the king."

In the provinces anarchy reigned supreme. Under pretence of restoring unity of religion the leaguers as well as the Huguenots sacrificed the unity of the state. Each governor was encamped in his province, and counting on the early dissolution of the monarchy lived as master; feudalism had risen from the tomb in which monarchy had interred it. The cities, on their side, demanded their old liberties, "the franchises which the provinces had possessed in the time of Clovis." Historically this expression is absurd; as a political idea it has great significance. At Paris, at Marseilles, at Toulouse, at La Rochelle, in a hundred other places, the municipal magistrates resumed that military authority which they had lost in the fifteenth century, and that civil jurisdiction which l'Hôpital had attempted to take from them. They no longer recognised any bounds to their financial action. The communes attempted to regain their power because feudalism was reviving. The Bible was then in all hands—not the Gospel which rendered unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and the spirit of which is that of charity and peace—but the Old Testament in which the prophets utter so many stern rebukes, so many threats and cries of revolt against tyrants. To the League the tyrant was the king, secretly favourable to the Bourbons; to the Huguenots, he was also the king, the instrument of the Guises. Francis I. had believed monarchy to be everything; it would apparently soon be nothing.

Eighth Civil War, or War of the Three Henrys (1586-1589): Battle of Coutras (1587).—No hostilities of importance occurred in 1586, but in the next year the help arrived which had been promised by the allies of the two parties and greater blows were struck. Henry III. conceived a plan which was not without ability of a Machiavellian order. He put himself at the head of a good army which was to hold the line of the Loire, sent Joyeuse with a strong force against the King of Navarre in Guienne, and gave the Duke of Guise too weak a force to enable him to withstand the Germans. His hope was that the King of Navarre would be defeated by Joyeuse, and Guise by the Germans, after which he himself, in the centre, would be able to crush by the superiority of his forces what remained of these three armies, the Leaguers, the Calvinists, and the Germans. But all went ill for him.

Henry of Navarre was unable to cut his way through the two

armies of the king and Joyeuse in order to join his German allies north of the Loire, but he drew Joyeuse southwards into a wholly Huguenot country. The two armies met at Coutras at the junction of the Isle and the Dronne. When the Huguenots saw the enemy their ministers chanted the verse of the Psalm, *So he bringeth them unto their desired haven* and at the same time fell on their knees. "They tremble," cried the foolish youths who accompanied Joyeuse, "the cowards are confessing." "You are wrong," answered an old captain, "when the Huguenots behave in that way they are resolved to conquer or to die." "Cousins," cried the King of Navarre to Condé and Soissons, "I say nothing to you but that you are of Bourbon blood, and by the living God, I will show you that I am your senior." "And we will show you that our house has a good younger branch." Navarre had mingled musketeers with his cavalry; he awaited the charge of Joyeuse at a distance of fifteen paces, opened fire at that close range, and then charged in his turn. In an hour every man in the royalist army was dead, wounded, or in flight. At the end of the battle, the King of Navarre fought hand to hand with a cornet, Château-Renard. "Surrender, Philistine," he cried to him, and made him prisoner. Joyeuse gave up his sword to two Huguenots, but a third blew out his brains with a pistol. The victory had only a moral effect. Henry wasted his time by bearing to the feet of the Countess de Gramont the standards which he had taken from the enemy. This was the last serious blunder into which passion betrayed him.

While Henry of Navarre thus hastened back to the heart of Gascony instead of destroying the remains of the army of Joyeuse on the Loire, Guise to the north of that river triumphed over the Germans. Having scarcely 12,000 men, he took care not to attack the army of the Baron of Dohna. He harassed its flanks, cut off its stragglers, its convoys, and its forage parties. Dohna, after much hesitation, advanced to the Loire near La Charité. There he found Henry III. who barred his passage and drove him back upon the Duke of Guise. The Swiss were already disgusted with a campaign in which they gained no booty, when Guise surprised them at Vimory, near Montargis, and killed 2000 of them. Dohna wandered for some time between the two armies in a most critical position. Henry III. made the mistake of leaving to his rival the credit of freeing the country from this pest; he also endeavoured to corrupt the Swiss with bribes; Guise again inflicted heavy losses upon them near Anneau and accomplished their dispersal.

Day of Barricades (1588).—Henry III. returned to Paris, defeated both by the League and by the Huguenots. He went, however, to Notre-Dame to render thanks to God in triumph for his victory over the enemies of the faith and kingdom. But he deceived no one. "Saul has slain his thousand, but David his ten thousand," cried the mob as he passed. Some days later, the Sorbonne decided that "It is permissible to take the government from princes who are unfitted to rule, as guardians are given to the incompetent." Henry III. could not misunderstand this. He forbade the Duke of Guise to come to Paris, and caused 4000 Swiss to encamp in the faubourgs St. Denis and St. Martin, with several companies of guards. The Sixteen thought that they were lost; they appealed to Guise, who, disregarding a second prohibition, arrived on May 9.

No sooner was he recognised than cries of *Hosanna to the Son of David* resounded through Paris and accompanied him to the Louvre. An old woman made her way through the crowd and having gazed at him cried that she could die content, as she had seen the deliverer. The king received him, pale with anger. "I sent you word that you were not to come," he said. And despite the excuses of the duke, he would perhaps have caused him to be murdered at this first interview if his mother and his advisers had not dissuaded him, fearing that it would lead to a general revolt in Paris. The king fortified himself in the Louvre, the duke in the Hôtel de Guise. For some days they negotiated with each other. On May 11, in the morning, the duke again visited the Louvre with a strong escort, spoke boldly, ordered the king to dismiss his advisers, establish the Inquisition, and pursue the war against the heretic with vigour.

In the evening the king ordered the companies of the city guard, in whom he thought he could trust, to occupy several points. On the following morning, he brought in by the gate St. Honoré the Swiss and 2000 men of the French guard, whom he stationed on the Pont St. Michel and on the Marché-Neuf. But the city guards were disloyal. When they saw the Swiss in the city, they believed that Henry III. proposed a St. Bartholomew of the Catholics. The people rose near the Bastille and in the Place Maubert, and began to throw up barricades with cries of "Vive l'Union! Vive la Ligue!" In two hours all Paris was in arms, all the streets were rendered impassable, and the barricades were soon extended to the places occupied by the troops.

The Count de Brissac put himself at the head of the people.

The Swiss, attacked on all sides by a rain of bullets and projectiles, were thrown into disorder and, being unaccustomed to war of this kind, demanded mercy. Guise came out of his hotel, dressed in white, a wand in his hand, and saved the Swiss who were about to be massacred, sending them back to the king with an insulting disdain. The whole tumult was appeased as by magic. Guise still only desired power, not the title of power, and he was content to become mayor of the palace to a new figure-head of a king. It was too much or too little. Henry III. sent his mother to Guise, who demanded the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom for himself, the convocation of the States at Paris, the destruction of the Bourbons, and the governorship of provinces and all offices for his friends. Catherine de Medici debated for three hours on these terms. During the discussion the attack was suspended ; Henry III. was able to leave the Louvre and fly. He swore that he would never re-enter his capital save through a breach in the walls.

Second States-General of Blois (1588).—The Duke of Guise had blundered, but if he had not secured the king he had at least secured Paris. On the same evening, he required the first president, Achille de Harlay, to undertake not to interrupt the course of justice. The austere magistrate reproached him severely for his designs, and ended by saying, "It is a pity when a valet drives out his master ; as for me, my soul is in the hands of God, my heart is with the king, and my body is at the mercy of the wicked." "I have been," said Guise after this interview, "in the most critical battles, sieges, and fights, but I have never been so astonished as I have been by this man."

There was now a King of Paris and a King of France. Negotiations continued, and men were amazed to see Henry III. grant the very things which he had refused two months before at the time of the barricades. He consented to disgrace Épernon ; swore not to lay down arms till the heretics were destroyed ; declared all non-Catholic princes deprived of their rights to the throne ; appointed Guise lieutenant-general ; and assembled the States at Blois. It seemed that all he had gained by his flight from Paris was that the States should not meet there. But he had his reasons for acting as he did.

The States of Blois were only composed of leaguers. The most violent enemies of the king were nominated as presidents of the three orders, the Cardinal of Lorraine, Brissac, the hero of the barricades, and La Chapelle-Marteau, Guise's provost of Paris. The king in an able and eloquent speech, such as he knew

how to make, complained of the unbounded ambition of some of his subjects. This was daring, and the clergy required that the phrase should be cut out of the printed version of the speech. Some time was then spent in discussing whether the States should proceed by resolution or by prayers addressed to the king, who was declared to be only the president of the States, while all power rested with them. When this question had been settled, it was demanded that the *taille* should be reduced and that the courtiers should disgorge their plunder. "The people," said Brissac to the king himself, "has greatly cooled in the love which it bore to its princes; if this assembly proves to be illusory, you will lose what faith and love the people still bear to you." Outside, the most ardent leaguers spoke of making Guise constable, and of shutting up the king in a monastery if he resisted. The Duchess of Montpensier displayed, hanging by her side, the golden scissors which were to "make the monastic crown of Henry III."

Assassination of the Duke of Guise (1588).—The invincible Armada had been destroyed; the ally of Philip might be struck down. Some tried to put the Duke of Guise on his guard. "He would not dare," he answered. The king did dare. "I have long been under the tutelage of Messieurs de Guise," said Henry to his intimates; "I am resolved to be rid of them; he who has a companion has a master." Some proposed legal imprisonment and a formal trial. "To put a Guise in prison," answered the king, "is to bind a wild boar with string; he will prove too strong for our cords." The plan was settled beforehand and the day fixed for the eve of Christmas.

On December 22, the duke was again urged to leave Blois. "He who leaves his party destroys it," said the Archbishop of Lyons, and Guise added, "My affairs are in such a state that if I saw Death entering by the window I would not go out of the door to avoid him." The king had announced that he would spend Christmas at Notre-Dame de Cléry and that a privy council would be held at six in the morning. At four o'clock he called his personal guard, the Forty-Five. "You are all obliged to recognise," he said to them, "how great an honour I have done you by entrusting my person to your valour and fidelity. You are indebted to me, I wish to be indebted to you. The Duke of Guise intends to make a last effort against my person, that he may then dispose of my crown and life. I am reduced to such an extremity that either he or I must die, and that this morning. Will you serve me and avenge me?" They all cried that they were ready to kill the rebel. "*Cap de Dieu!*"

cried one of them, "we will deliver him to you dead." The king himself distributed the daggers to them and posted them in his chamber, in his cabinet, and on the staircase. At the same time, with that entirely Italian devotion which so easily mingled crime with prayer, he caused a mass to be said by one of his chaplains that God might give him power to carry out his design.

The duke arrived later than was expected. On his way he received a message which warned him of his fate. "It is the ninth," he remarked. When he reached the council chamber, he sat down for some time. "I am cold, and my heart fails me," he said. Some minutes later, a secretary of state summoned him to the king. He passed from the council chamber into that of the king, saluting the gentlemen and going towards the door of the cabinet in which he supposed Henry to be. As he lifted the curtain, one of the assassins seized him by the arm and plunged his dagger into his breast, crying, "Die, traitor." All drew their daggers. "Ah, my friends, my friends," cried the duke, and though struck on all sides, he dragged his murderers from one end of the chamber to the other, as far as the king's bed, where he fell dead. "Ah," cried the cardinal, when he heard the noise, "they are killing my brother." "The king has business with you, monseigneur," answered Marshal d'Aumont, "do not stir." He was arrested and despatched next day by the halbardiers. When the murder had been committed, the king came out of his room to see his dead enemy, and looked at him for a long time. Then he hastened to the queen-mother, who lay dying at the age of seventy. "I have become King of France," he said, "since I have slain the King of Paris." "It is not enough to cut out," replied Catherine de Medici, "it is necessary to sew as well. Take care that you have not made yourself king of nothing."

Assassination of Henry III. (1589).—To kill the Duke of Guise was not to kill the League. Henry III. had given way to his longing for revenge by this crime; he had not attained any political end. "The serpent is dead, and the poison is dead also," he said. He was deceived; Guise drew his strength from the League, not the League from Guise. At the news of his death, which reached Paris on Christmas Day, consternation at first reigned supreme, then fury blazed forth. All the churches resounded with curses against the treacherous tyrant, Henry of Valois, and with lamentations over the two brothers, "martyrs for Jesus Christ and the public." The famous preacher Lincestre declared that Herod was no longer King of France and caused

his hearers to swear that they would shed the last drop of their blood in order to avenge Guise's death. "Raise your hand on high," he cried to the President Harlay, "raise your hand on high that the people may see it." Night and day processions paraded the capital. In one of these a hundred thousand persons carried tapers, which they put out, crying, "God, extinguish thus the race of Valois."

The Sixteen compelled the city council to give the command of Paris to the Duke of Aumale until the arrival of Mayenne. The Sorbonne decreed that "the French people was released from its oath of fealty to Henry III." As it was difficult to overcome the monarchical temper of the parliament, that body was thinned out. The governor of the Bastille, Bussy-Leclerc, appeared at the palace; Achille de Harlay was there. He had been warned in the morning to remain at home, but answered, "I will do nothing of the sort; they could not seize me in any better place than in my official chair." When Bussy-Leclerc read the list of those whom he had come to arrest, the first of whom was the president, fifty of the members rose and followed him.

Henry had made no effort to profit from the murder. His mother, as she died, had urged on him the need for promptitude and resolution. He believed that it was still possible to negotiate, and wrote to the pope, to Philip II., to Mayenne, to Henry of Navarre, and even to the League, which last sent back his herald in disdain, without even hearing him. Épernon and some thousand lords had hastened to the king, but he had no real force; those who were not members of the League belonged to the party of the *Politiques* or of the Protestants. Papal excommunication launched against him for the murder of a cardinal increased his embarrassment. He no longer had any resources to use against the leaguers, and resigned himself to an appeal to the King of Navarre, an alliance with whom would involve also an alliance with the *Politiques*.

Before the last tragedy, the King of Navarre had been in a most critical position. The triumph of Guise and the League would have been his ruin. "The devil is let loose," he wrote, "and it is marvellous that I do not fall under such a weight. If I were not a Huguenot I would become a Turk. Soon I must be either a fool or a wise man. This year will be my touchstone." It was. From this time he became a man skilled in steering across the shoals his own fortune and that of France. Henry III. received him at Plessis-les-Tours, after having handed over to

him as security the strong fortress and town of Saumur, which commanded the passage of the Loire. The King of Navarre arrived in the garb of a soldier, and fell at the feet of Henry III., who raised him and addressed him as his brother.

The junction of the Protestant and royal armies under the same standard entirely changed the character of the war. Monarchical power was no longer threatened by Huguenot feudalism, but by the democratic League; the crown began a struggle with the Catholic masses arrayed against it. Henry III. summoned the remnants of the parliament to Tours and issued a manifesto against Mayenne and the leaders of the League. Henry of Navarre conducted the war with vigour. Pithiviers, Étampes, and Poissy were taken by storm. Pontoise made an energetic resistance; the King of Navarre was nearly killed, a musket shot, aimed at him, killing a Huguenot colonel on whose shoulder he was leaning. In two months he was master of the territory between the Loire and the Seine, and had been joined by 15,000 Swiss landsknechts; the two kings appeared before Paris with an army of 40,000 men (July 30, 1589). They captured the bridge of St. Cloud and the Parisians could see the long line of their enemy's camp fires stretching in a vast semi-circle on the left bank of the Seine from Argenteuil to Vaugirard. The King of Navarre established his headquarters at Meudon, Henry III. at St. Cloud. Gazing at the towers of the city from which he had been so ignominiously expelled, he cried, "Paris, you head too great for its body, you need a blood-letting to cure you and to free the state from your madness." He hoped to bring about a St. Bartholomew against the League. Even in Paris his friends did not hide themselves. They said openly that within three days there would be so many hanged that there would not be enough wood for the gibbets. Henry sent word to the Duchess of Montpensier that he would burn her alive on the day of his entry. She answered that she would deserve a worse fate if she could not hold the barricades against him.

But the great city was terrified. The people had lost their energy, though fury reigned among the leaders and in the depths of the monasteries. The Duchess of Montpensier spared no pains to excite the frenzy of the preachers. A fanatical hand became the instrument of the general fury and put into practice that doctrine of tyrannicide which had been so often supported in schools and pulpits.

It had been decided to deliver the assault on August 2. On the morning of August 1 a young brother of the convent of the

Dominicans, Jacques Clément, came out of Paris and made his way to St. Cloud. According to the royalist accounts he came to carry out a plan arranged by Mayenne and the Duchess of Montpensier, having prepared for his deed by fasting and by receiving the Sacrament. He was provided with a forged letter from the President Harlay to Henry III. and was well instructed in his part. Being conducted to the king, he announced that he had to inform him of some important matters in secret. The guards withdrew and as soon as the king approached him, the assassin drew a knife from his sleeve and stabbed the king in the abdomen. "The wicked monk has killed me," cried Henry. He himself drew the weapon from the wound, from which his entrails protruded, and struck the assassin on the face. The guards, hastening up at the noise, despatched the murderer where he stood.

It was thought the wound would not be mortal, but a violent fever soon seized the king and announced his approaching death. Henry of Navarre came to him. "My brother," said the king, "you see how your foes and mine have treated me; know surely that you will never be king unless you become a Catholic." Then turning to those who surrounded him, he said, "I beg you as my friends and I order you as your king to recognise my brother here after my death; for my satisfaction and as your bounden duty, I adjure you to take the oath to him now in my presence." All took the oath. Henry III. died during the night, at the age of thirty-eight and after a reign of fifteen years. The race of the Valois was extinct.

Six months earlier the aged Catherine de Medici had died, with despair in her heart, under the curse of the Cardinal of Bourbon, who accused her of having enticed the Guises to their death. She had not even the satisfaction of feeling that her life had been beneficial to her family. After thirty years of effort, of scheming, and of crimes, intended to secure the power of her sons, she saw her race threatened in the person of its last representative, the kingdom torn asunder, the crown dragged in the mire, and either the League or the Huguenots about to triumph.

But Catherine de Medici found an unexpected apologist. One day in 1600 the President de Groulard recalled to King Henry IV. the evils which she had brought upon France. "But I ask you," answered the king, "what could a poor woman do who was left after her husband's death with five young children in her arms; with two families striving to seize power, our own and that of the Guises? Was she not compelled to employ foreigners

to deceive both parties and so to guard her sons, who successively reigned through the wise conduct of a clever woman? I am amazed that she did not commit worse crimes." It was when all his troubles were over that Henry spoke in this way; when experience of the affairs of this world had taught him to be rather prudent than vindictive. But he was able to forget too easily his murdered friends; and for a brave soldier who had never stained his hands except in blood honourably shed, he pushed respect for capacity to an extreme point. It is true that he also used deceit with advantage to himself.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. FROM 1589-1598

Henry IV.: His Initial Difficulties.—The assassination of the last of the Valois caused grief and consternation in the camp of St. Cloud, joy and confidence in Paris. In the camp the Catholics at once parted from the Protestants. An eye-witness relates that the former were seen "behaving like madmen, tearing off their caps and throwing them on the ground, sheathing their daggers, plotting, joining hands, making vows and promises, which ended with the phrase: 'May we rather die a thousand deaths.'" In the city, the Duchess of Montpensier and the Duchess of Nemours drove through the streets in their coaches, crying at every corner, "Good news, friends! Good news! The tyrant is dead; there is no longer a Henry of Valois in France." Bonfires were lit and in the pulpits panegyrics were pronounced on "the blessed martyr Jacques Clément," who was invoked as a saint. His aged mother was brought to Paris and exhibited to the people as a marvel.

"You are the king of brave men and only cowards will abandon you," one of the Catholic lords had declared to Henry IV. But despite this loyal speech, many of the Catholics retired, and to keep the rest on his side, Henry solemnly engaged, in a meeting of the chief nobles, to maintain in his kingdom the Catholic faith, until the assembling of a national or general council which should regulate the religious question; to preserve for every man his rights and offices, while guaranteeing to the Calvinists liberty of worship in one town in each bailiwick. The meeting then acknowledged him as king, under the name of Henry IV., "in accordance with the fundamental law of the

realm." (August 4.) The act of recognition was drawn up, signed by all present, and registered by the parliament at Tours.

In Paris, though there was agreement on the point of religion, there was no longer agreement on the personal question. It was the opposite of what had happened at St. Cloud. Resolved to exclude a heretic from the throne, the members of the League hesitated between the young Duke of Guise and his uncle, the Duke of Mayenne. The first had been, since his father's death, a prisoner in the hands of the royalists and as a result had been somewhat forgotten ; the other, an able politician, lacked all the qualities of a popular leader: daring, reputation, constant activity, and promptness in decision. There were other candidates: the Duke of Lorraine, brother-in-law of the last three Valois kings ; the Duke of Savoy, son of a sister of Henry II. ; and the King of Spain, who spoke of the rights of his daughter, the child of a sister of Henry III., and who counted confidently on seizing the kingdom in the midst of the anarchy which he was ready to provoke. Mayenne, all-powerful in Paris on the morrow of Henry III.'s death, might have made trial of his fate ; he did not dare to do so, and on August 5 caused the Cardinal of Bourbon, who was then a prisoner in the hands of Henry IV., to be proclaimed king under the title of Charles X. Mayenne contented himself with assuming the lieutenant-generalship of the kingdom. This decision decided nothing. By recognising the right of the Bourbon family, Mayenne indicated that Henry was the lawful king.

But the declaration of August 4 did not satisfy every one in the royalist army. Épernon and many Catholic lords withdrew ; La Trémoille, with nine Protestant battalions, set out at midday, "Not being willing to serve under the banner of a sovereign who was ready to protect idolatry." The army of the besiegers was reduced by one-half. It was impossible to remain before a great city with only some thousands of men and many advised the king to retire to the south. "Who would believe you to be King of France if he saw your letters dated from Limoges ?" said d'Aubigné to him. Henry decided to remain in the north, and by this decision saved his crown.

Divisions of France.—France, and not only France but almost every province, was divided. By the side of a town which held to the League was a town which held to the king ; there was a parliament of Paris and a parliament of Tours. The king's parliament was divided, part sitting at Caen, as the parliament of Carcassonne was later formed at the expense of that of Toulouse.

A sixth of France was on the side of Henry IV. ; the remainder was almost unanimous for the League. Many cities and provinces, such as Bordeaux and a part of Guienne, remained neutral ; some governors and powerful magnates, such as Épernon, Damville in Languedoc, and Ornano in Dauphiné, awaited the course of events.

Campaign of Henry IV. in Normandy (1589).—The real king was to be found only from his acts. Henry sent Longueville into Picardy, d'Aumont into Champagne, to gather for him what troops and money they could, while he himself went into Normandy. Senlis, Compiègne, Gournay, and Gisors received royal garrisons, and handed over their revenues, of which the army had great need. An attempt on Rouen failed, but Henry, turning suddenly upon Dieppe, captured it. It was a valuable acquisition, since it gave him communication with England, from which he expected help. The Governor of Caen did homage to him for half Normandy.

At Paris murmurs were heard against the slowness of Mayenne. He left the city with 25,000 men, collected 8000 more, and advanced towards Dieppe, promising to make "the King of Béarn" (Henry IV.) prisoner or drive him into the sea. Henry had less than 10,000 men and very little money. "My shirts are all torn," he wrote to Rosny, "my doublet is out at elbows, and for two days I have supped and dined with both." The members of the council advised him to sail to England. Marshal Biron opposed this idea. "Leave France," he cried, "for twenty-four hours, and you will be banished for ever." Henry IV. agreed with Biron. He took Eu and Tréport and established himself strongly in Dieppe, having his camp on the heights of Arques below the castle, but a league and a half from it, and a strong garrison in Pollet the chief suburb of the town. His artillery was insufficient ; he supplied the want by mounting his smallest cannon on rollers which were drawn by several horses, and thus introduced light artillery, an idea which was borrowed by Gustavus Adolphus and Frederic II.

Battles of Arques (September and October, 1589).—The great army of Mayenne was repulsed in continuous attacks for three weeks by the able dispositions and still more by the valour of Henry and his troops. No part of the town or of the entrenchments was left unassailed, but the attack was everywhere repulsed. On September 21, in an attack on the camp, Mayenne's landsknechts feigned surrender ; they were brought within the lines. Then they fell on those who were welcoming them and

captured part of the entrenchments, some of their leaders making their way even as far as the king and calling on him to yield. The disorder was such that Henry cried, "Are there not fifty gentlemen to die with their king?" Châtillon with the Huguenot infantry came from Pollet and succeeded in overwhelming the traitors. Mayenne then moved his position, turning that of the king, and appeared before Dieppe from the west. But Henry had foreseen his plan and provided against it. He had received 1200 men from England, with money, provisions, and the promise of a further 4000 soldiers. Longueville, La Noue, and d'Aumont came to his help with another army. Mayenne retired on the Somme and called to his help the Spanish army of the Low Countries. Henry wrote gaily to Crillon, "Hang yourself, brave Crillon; we have been fighting at Arques and you were not there."

Attempted Surprise of Paris (1589).—Henry in his turn found himself at the head of 25,000 men. He gained three marches on Mayenne and moved rapidly on Paris, ordering Montmorency-Thoré to cut the bridge of St. Maxence over the Oise behind him. Favoured by a thick fog, all the faubourgs on the left bank were captured, St. Germain, St. Jacques, St. Marceau, and St. Victor, the royalists raising the cry of "St. Bartholomew." If the monks and the citizens had not been prepared the surprise would have succeeded. La Noué had already passed the Seine near the tower of Nesle, but news came that Mayenne was advancing by the bridge which had not been cut, and Henry, after sacking the faubourgs, in order to compensate his soldiers for their lack of pay, retreated to Tours, the royalist capital.

Successes of Henry in the West (1589).—On his march, Henry took Étampes, Chateaudun, and Vendôme, and from Tours persuaded Le Mans, Alençon, Angers, and Laval to recognise him. In some weeks all Normandy from the Seine to the Vire was in his power. The news of this success influenced those who had remained neutral. Two cardinals came to receive him at Tours; the parliament of Rennes made submission with part of Brittany; Ornano and Lesdigières in Dauphiné, La Valette in Provence, and Damville in Languedoc declared for him. Abroad, the republic of Venice recognised him as lawful king, and Sixtus V. himself was influenced by the motives which had induced the Catholics to follow him.

Rivalries in the Party of the League.—The rival ambitions of Henry's enemies aided his cause. The Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy, abandoning the idea of securing the kingdom, sought to

dismember it, the former aspiring to the Three Bishoprics and the latter to Dauphiné and Provence. The Dukes of Mercœur, Nevers, and Nemours wished to establish independent principalities. Philip II. who had the council of the Union and the Sixteen in his pay demanded from them the title of protector of the kingdom in the name of his daughter, and the Sixteen on their side desired a kingdom without a king or nobility, a kind of theocratic republic governed from the pulpits. Mayenne himself had secret hopes, but he could only have made them known if he had gained a victory. He therefore renewed the campaign, reforming the council of the Union, which he filled with his partisans before leaving Paris.

Battle of Ivry (1590).—The king was besieging Dreux. Mayenne, to save the town, gave battle in the plain of St. André near Ivry (March 14). The leaguers had 16,000 men, including 4000 cavalry, so that their front displayed a thick forest of lances. The royalists had 8000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, armed only with swords and pistols. Henry was urged to secure his retreat in event of a defeat. "There can be no retreat save the field of battle," he answered; adding, "Friends, keep your ranks well; if you lose your companies, cornets, or guides, the white band on my arm shall serve to guide you while I have a drop of blood. Follow it; you will find it always in the path of honour and glory."

The battle was joined simultaneously in every direction. The king charged the French and Walloon lancers; with his men, he passed under their long and heavy lances, attacked them with vigour hand to hand, and put them to flight. The royalist light horse gave ground before a Walloon squadron; Henry hastened to them, "Turn," he cried, "if you will not fight, watch me die." At the end of two hours, the whole army of the League was in flight. Having gained the victory Henry remembered that he was King of France. "Quarter for Frenchmen, death to the foreigners," he cried. Five pieces of cannon, eighty companies of infantry, twenty bodies of cavalry were included in the booty of the victors. The road to Paris was open, and Henry took it.

Siege of Paris (1590).—Paris was ill supplied with food and munitions of war, and its walls were in bad repair. The Parisians supplied all these deficiencies by their religious exaltation. A monk called Chrestin was employed to inform the people of the defeat of Ivry; he took as his text the words, "I chastise those whom I love." As he began his sermon, a courier handed him a letter; he went on to recount all the details of this lesson which the

Lord had given to His people, and sent all his audience to the walls. The preaching of Rose, Boucher, and Lincestre each day maintained this enthusiasm, and the presence of Gaetano, a papal legate, was a further assistance. He swore that he would not leave Paris, whatever happened, and caused the Sorbonne to decree that any one who spoke of treating with the Bourbon was guilty of mortal sin and that Henry's enemies would receive the martyr's crown.

Thirty thousand men enrolled themselves ; bells were melted into cannon ; a brother of Mayenne, the young Duke of Nemours, who had become a citizen of Paris in order to flatter the democratic element, directed the defence. On the day following the first assault, a strange procession traversed the streets of Paris. The chief heroes of the League, Rose, Boucher, and Lincestre, with shaven beards and heads, wearing gorgets over their hoods and *rochets*,¹ swords at their side and halberds in hand, began the march ; they were followed, in fours, to the number of 1300, by Cordeliers (Franciscans), Jacobins (Dominicans), Carmelites, Capuchins, and Feuillants (monks of the Order of St. Bernard) in order of battle, battle-axe or musket on shoulders. They wore a garb half religious and half military and their appearance gave an impression half comic and half tragic. The "Church militant," chanting hymns to the sound of salvos of musketry, defiled before the legate, who blessed them and hailed them as veritable Maccabees, a title which some of them indeed gained during the defence of the walls.

Henry hardly expected to take a city thus defended by storm, but he relied with confidence upon famine and cut off all supplies, hoping in this way to break down the resistance of the citizens. He only raised them, according to d'Aubigné, "to a high degree of determination to win a just and glorious vengeance." They sustained famine as well as war. The death of the old Cardinal Bourbon simplified the situation and rendered the hatred of the leaguers more furious.

On July 24, the king delivered an assault and at the end of two hours the faubourgs were captured. Distress was then at its height. After having each day reduced the rations distributed to the people, the city authorities could now give nothing more ; each had to provide for himself. The horses, asses, and mules which still survived were slaughtered ; every living thing, even vermin, was killed and eaten. The Duchess of Montpensier refused to give up a little dog which she kept, she said, "as a

¹ Part of a bishop's robes.

last resource to preserve her own life." Some stole the bones of the dead to make from them a kind of paste and ate this horrible food. The men-at-arms began to hunt for small children and a mother ate her own baby.

Legend often appears in the midst of history. There is a story that Henry IV. allowed food to enter Paris while he was besieging it ; history records that his servants d'O, de Givry, and others did relax the severity ordinary in such cases and caused some help to be sent to their friends within the city. If Henry's generosity was not such as to lead him to destroy with one hand the work which he was doing with the other, it at least led him to lament such a spectacle of misery. " I would rather not have Paris," he said, " than cause the death of so many persons." One day, meeting some peasants who were condemned to be hanged for having sent in bread by a postern gate, he caused them to be released, gave them some money, and said, " The Béarnais¹ is poor ; if he had more, he would give you more."

Intervention of the Duke of Parma (1590).—Fearing to lose the Low Countries, then greatly disturbed by Maurice of Nassau, Philip ordered his best general, the Duke of Parma, to go to the help of the Parisians when they were reduced to the last extremity. Advancing from Valenciennes (August 3) the duke reached Meaux none too soon, for the siege had lasted four months (August 23). Already the *Politiques*, though few in number, had begun to assert themselves and to shout in the streets, " Bread or peace." " Had there been two days more delay," says one writer, " the Parisians would have been forced to open their gates to Henry IV. and even to beg him to enter." The king advanced against the Spaniards, intending to engage them on the plain of Chelles. Parma, an able tactician, skirmished with the French, kept them occupied for four days, and on the fifth, aided by a thick fog, surprised Lagny which commanded the route to Paris by the Marne, as Corbeil commanded that by the Seine. From Lagny he sent a numerous flotilla of boats, filled with soldiers and provisions, to revictual Paris, and all the efforts of Henry during this campaign were lost.

Intervention of the English and Germans: Capture of Chartres (1591).—During the winter the Viscount of Turenne, one of the most able of Henry's supporters, was sent to England and Germany. He obtained 7000 English from Elizabeth, 2000 Dutch

¹ Henry IV. was often called the Béarnais, because his native country, Navarre, was formerly known as Béarn.

from Maurice, and levied in Germany 4000 cavalry and 8000 infantry whom he paid himself. In recognition of these signal services, he received from the king the hand of the heiress of the petty sovereignty of Bouillon and Sedan, on the frontiers of Champagne. Turenne had not yet joined the king, when Henry took Chartres, the granary of Paris. As nine-tenths of the French bishops had recognised him, he held there a council of the national Church by which the excommunication issued against him by Gregory XIV. was declared null and void. He could not hope to take Paris, which had a garrison of 4000 Spaniards, but in order to invest the capital from a distance and to cut off its supplies from Normandy, as by taking Chartres he had cut off its supplies from Beauce, he suddenly appeared before Rouen (November, 1591).

Siege of Rouen (1591-1592): Battles of Aumale and Yvetot (1592).—The siege of Rouen was a second siege of Paris. The League was very strong there and the defence was directed by Villars-Brancas, Governor of Normandy, a man of energy and resource. If the famine was not so severe as it had been in Paris, the assaults were more sanguinary. Parma appeared once more to relieve the place in March, 1592. Henry did not now wish to repeat the error which had been made during the siege of Paris. He left Biron with the infantry to continue the siege, and at the head of a light and courageous cavalry force of 7000 men, advanced to meet the enemy. At Aumale he ventured with 600 men into the midst of the Spanish army, was wounded by a musket shot, and only escaped because Parma was unable to believe that the King of France had come into the fighting line to fire a pistol "like any carbineer." But Biron was obliged to raise the siege of Rouen; Parma entered the place and opened the navigation of the Seine by taking Caudebec, receiving there a wound which his ill-health rendered fatal. While he lay on his death-bed, Henry attacked his army at Yvetot, killed 3000 men, and shut up the army in a position which appeared to be desperate, between the Seine and the sea. "Vive Dieu," he cried with his accustomed gaiety, "if I have lost the kingdom of France, I am at least in possession of that of Yvetot." But the Duke of Parma extricated himself from this unhappy situation; boats, secretly built at Rouen, rapidly descended the Seine with the tide which ebbed as far as Caudebec. In a night the whole army passed to the other bank and regained the Low Countries without opposition. Parma was unable to proceed further than Arras, where he died. This able general had twice snatched

victory from the hands of the king and had thus retarded the end of the crisis.

The Sixteen.—Fortunately for Henry, the League itself assisted him. Since the suppression of the general council of Union, a severe contest had been continuously waged between Mayenne and the Sixteen, between the aristocratic and democratic sections of the League. The defeat of Mayenne and the first successes of Parma restored to the Sixteen the power they had lost for a time. They began loudly to accuse "the tyranny of the nobles and the injustice of the chiefs of justice, who ruined the authority and power of the ecclesiastics and the liberty of the people." Since the death of Guise at Blois, his son had been imprisoned in the château of Tours. He escaped in August, 1591, and hastened to Paris, full of the zeal and hatred which had grown up during his two years of captivity. The Sixteen thought that they had found in him a suitable leader; they dangled before his eyes the hope of marrying the daughter of Philip II. and ascending with her the throne of France.

Executions Ordered by the Sixteen: Demagogy of the League (1591).—During the final operations round Rouen the sermons in Paris had assumed a ferocious character. It was openly declared that a "day of the knife" was needed; others demanded "a new blood-letting" against the *Politiques*. Sinister figures appeared. On November 15, Bussy-Leclerc, Crucé, and the most zealous of the faction took up arms; appeared in the palace; arrested Brisson, the president, and the councillors Claude Larcher and Jean Tardif, whom they conducted to the Chatelet, where a priest and a hangman awaited them. Brisson demanded in vain that he should be put on bread and water within four walls, in order that he might finish a book which he had begun. He was hanged out of hand. These leaders of the parliament were at once partisans of Mayenne and of monarchical authority; their death was the signal for pillage and for the murder of a certain number of suspects. The aim of the conspirators was to assure themselves power to dominate the States which were about to assemble and to compel the election of a Catholic king who should be bound to establish the Inquisition in France, to respect the privileges of the clergy and commons, and to submit to resolutions passed by the States, which should henceforward meet once every five years. Their aim was thus, on the religious side, to introduce into France a system which had been fatal in the Spanish dominions; on the political side, to

destroy the great work of national unity which had been pursued for three centuries.

Rupture between Mayenne and the Sixteen.—On his return to Paris, Mayenne realised that he was lost if he could not stifle this ferocious demagoguery. He surrounded the Bastille, from which Bussy-Leclerc had no time to escape, caused four of the Sixteen to be seized and decapitated, abolished their council, and entrusted the municipal offices to declared *Politiques* (February, 1592). The leaguers were dumbfounded. Boucher said in the duke's presence that it was "a veritable butchery, and that the victims were God's martyrs." The party of the League was from that moment wounded to death.

Mayenne had rendered a great service to France but not to himself. He did not attempt to restore to the League, when he had reduced it to discipline, the vigour of which he had deprived it. "Who would believe," he wrote to Villeroy, "that you fight for the Catholic faith and for the deliverance of the people, seeing God blasphemed as He is by your followers? Seeing all manner of impieties, sacrilege, robbery, rape, and other crimes committed without justice, restraint, or rule? Our towns are filled with confusion and poverty; our magistrates and officials are children and without authority; your soldiers live such licentious lives that they are hated by God and man."

States-General of the League : Pretensions of Philip II.: the Satire Ménippée.—It was clear to all that the war was no nearer an end. France might be ruined, but one party would not give way to the other before that. The idea of an agreement, a compromise, was now put forward; numerous negotiations took place, which went on in an underhand way in the midst of the conflict. They were directed only to discover upon what basis a compromise might be effected and who would profit from it. Each party rejected the idea of a States-General, relying rather on its own strength and fearing to submit to the scrutiny of an assembly its whole destiny. Yet the name remained on many lips; the writings and pamphlets of the two parties had so revolutionised opinion that the people did not know what to believe, and demanded that the voice of the nation itself should be heard. Boucher and Rose revived the memory of the elective character of royalty and exalted the rights of the people, in order that they might bring them under the control of the Church. The Protestants, who had become the champions of royal authority, declared for hereditary right, and opposed, both to papal and to popular claims, the divine right of kings.

The States, long since summoned but constantly postponed through the war, at last opened at Paris, in January, 1593. About 130 deputies appeared, mainly from the third estate. Philip II. relied on them. "Agents of the claimants to the crown," says l'Estoile, "could be seen night and day visiting the deputies and soliciting their votes." To arguments drawn from religion, Philip added others of a different kind. He had remarked that it would be easier to buy France than to conquer her, and he did not spare money; according to Spanish historians, he spent some 30,000,000 ducats. Henry of Navarre could count only on his heroes. In different circumstances they would have been enough to gain him the kingdom, but now his creed was an insuperable barrier, since the chief of the Protestants could never be king of the Catholics. Henry had long realised this and since he had never been firmly attached to Calvinism, he considered the plan of abandoning that faith in order that he might thus end a bloody war, which would otherwise be interminable. In comparison with the gold of the Spanish king, and the sacrifice which the legitimate heir seemed ready to make if he could cease to be king of a party and become King of France, Mayenne had little to offer. Yet he did not despair of succeeding by opposing Philip to Henry, the foreigner to the heretic, and, by keeping in the background himself, of supplanting both.

The deputies, nominated under the influence of Mayenne, were timid and alarmed at the sovereign powers conferred upon them, as they indicated by agreeing to a conference at Suresnes with the Catholics of the royalist party. To inspire them with the courage which they lacked, it was necessary to bring pressure to bear on them, but here the Duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, and Mayenne came into opposition. Henry of Navarre increased the uncertainty of the States by assembling at Mantes many prelates and doctors, both of the royalist party and of the party of Union, to consider the differences arising from the schism in the Church. Feria wished to hasten a decision before the assembly at Mantes could find some basis of agreement. On May 28, he laid before the States a formal proposition that they should elect as queen Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II. and grand-daughter by her mother of Henry II. "To break the Salic law is to destroy the kingdom," cried a leaguer. Mayenne demanded twelve days in which to consider the proposal; "the most important matter that could be discussed in Christendom." When the time had elapsed, the matter had hardly been further advanced. In the first session the

ambassador was urged to be more explicit ; he was asked what husband Philip proposed for his daughter, and answered, " the Archduke Ernest of Austria." There was an outburst of murmurs, for some had counted on the choice of the young Duke of Guise. As it was, it was proposed to hand over France to a foreign prince and princess, to that house of Austria which French kings had fought for fifty years. Such was the proposal of the extremists of the League and the fire was lit.

As early as April 8 a preacher at St. Jacques la Boucherie had said, " There is no more religion among us ; every one is actuated by ambition alone. What wonderful States are these ! It is a court of King Pétaud, where every one desires to be master. There is not a governor among us who does not aspire to be a king, and they quarrel for the fragments of the realm." This soon became the general opinion, which found expression in a remarkable little pamphlet, the *Satire Ménippée*, the work of some Parisian bourgeois, Canon P. le Roy, Nicholas Rapin, Passerat, Pierre Pithou, and others, who accomplished the destruction of the League by ridicule. The *Catholicism of Spain*, the first part of the pamphlet, unmasked the ambition of Philip II., which he concealed under the mask of championship of Catholicism. In the *Summary of the States of the League* the mad ambition or shameless greed of all those who had played a great part in the Union was described. Finally, a deputy of the third estate, in an essay which reached the height of eloquence, enabled each to lay his finger on the moral of the pamphlet. " Paris, Paris, which is no more Paris, but a lair of wild beasts, a citadel of Spaniards, Walloons, and Neapolitans, a refuge for robbers, murderers, and assassins ; you are delivered to the Spanish Inquisition, a fate a thousand times more intolerable to souls, born free and French, than the cruellest death."

Reason now began to rise from the storm of passions only half calmed. While the States continued those long discussions, which ill-concealed their indecision, some of the magistrates of the parliament took courage. " Behold the condition to which we are reduced," wrote one of them, du Vair, " when sixteen knaves are prepared to sell the French crown to the King of Spain. Never before have any statesmen played so licentiously, so boldly, with the destiny of so great and so powerful a realm ; never have any bargained so publicly about so great a crown ; never have any put up your lives, your goods, your honour, your liberty, so impudently to auction as these are doing to-day. And where are these men ? They are in the very

heart of France." On the proposal of this brave magistrate, the parliament issued an ordinance which decreed that "remonstrances should be addressed to the lieutenant-general against the project of transferring the crown to any foreigner." This was the first example of good sense and patriotism which had been given for a long time. Henry IV. supplied the second.

Conversion of the King (1593): Entry of Henry IV. into Paris (1594).—The Spanish ambassador, realising that by demanding too much he had compromised his whole position, attempted to retreat. In the name of Philip II. he proposed the marriage of the Infanta to the Duke of Guise. But he was too late.

The people were now eager for peace, and the more so since, at this very moment, Henry IV. decided to take the final step. It must have cost the son of Jeanne d'Albret, the pupil of Coligny, not a little to break with those Huguenots, "who had borne him on their shoulders from beyond the Loire." But he obeyed the advice of the wisest even among the Protestants. On July 23, after a discussion of some hours with the Catholic divines assembled at Mantes, Henry declared himself to be convinced; despite his famous note to Gabrielle—"the day after to-morrow I shall accept a dangerous salvation"—he was convinced in truth. It was not a question of the truth of dogmas; with that he had no concern. He was convinced by the misfortunes of France. On July 25 he bid farewell, weeping, to the ministers of the creed which he was about to abandon, and escorted by the princes, the great officers of the crown, and a numerous body of nobles, he went to the church of St. Denis. The news reached Paris; despite the orders of Mayenne and of the municipal council a crowd of Parisians welcomed him on his way with shouts of "Vive le Roi!"

Having reached the door of the cathedral, he knocked. The Archbishop of Bourges appeared. "Who are you?" he asked. "I am the King." "What do you seek?" "To be received into the fold of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman Church." He knelt and made his profession of faith. "I swear," he said, "in the presence of Almighty God, to live and die in the Catholic religion, to protect and defend it towards and against all men at the risk of my blood and life, and to renounce all heresies contrary to the same faith."

Some preachers of the League tried in vain to represent this act as a piece of hypocrisy. One pointed out that Henry had been a Huguenot one hour and a Catholic the next, hinting that he would attend mass first and then revert to a Calvinistic

service. To the majority, however, Henry's conversion was the pledge of a patriotic reconciliation. The States were defeated by a single blow. They declared that it was not within their competence to regulate the succession to the throne, renewed the oath of Union, ordered the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and dispersed amid general indifference. In the provinces the reaction was pronounced. Lyons rose against the Duke of Nemours and displayed the white flag ; Meaux, Peronne, Montdidier, Vitry, and Orleans overpowered their governors. The consecration of the king which took place at Chartres increased the reaction in his favour. Where popular feeling was not sufficient to secure his acceptance, Henry assisted the reaction by able negotiations, and thus bought Paris from Brissac by the gift of a marshal's bâton, the government of Mantes and Corbeil, and 200,000 crowns.

Brissac took care that nothing should impede Henry's march ; he discharged or engaged in other ways those troops in whom he lacked confidence. On the morning of March 21, 4000 picked men appeared before the Porte St. Denis and the Porte Neuve. Some Germans posted there laid down their arms. The royalist troops advanced in good order into the centre of Paris and silently occupied the principal points, the people showing only a dull amazement. But when the king appeared and was received by Brissac and l'Huillier, the provost of the merchants, who was half smiling, half weeping, the bells burst into loud peals ; cries of " Vive la paix ! Vive le roi ! " greeted him. Some leaguers who wished to resist were held in check by the civic guards. The Spanish garrison, quartered to the number of 3000 in the Faubourg St. Antoine, hoped to make some opposition there, but when it learned that the king had entered the Louvre and that the whole city was satisfied and peaceful, it was content to march out with the honours of war. The Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Feria, passing with them under the windows of the palace, gave the king only a " meagre " salute. " Gentlemen," said Henry, with his customary irony, " commend me to your master, but do not return." They should never have come. Villeroy, a leaguer, avowed that his party had only been able to carry on the war by the help of Philip's money and troops.

Submission of the Leaguers.—The king had possession of his capital where the parliament, purged and restored, abolished the decrees which had been issued against him and where the Sorbonne recognised him as the true and lawful monarch. But he had not the whole of France ; the Spaniards were still in the

country and the principal members of the League were determined not to abandon the long struggle except with well-filled hands.

Henry at once marched against the Spaniards and Lorrainers, who were strongly posted in certain places on the northern frontier and especially at Laon. One of his most devoted supporters, Maximilien de Béthune, Baron de Rosny, afterwards Duke du Sully, was charged to negotiate with the rebels. The mere presence of the king was sufficient to gain Abbeville despite the presence of Aumale, Sens and Troyes despite the presence of the Lorrainers. Biron, son of the marshal who had lately died at Épernay, a man as brave and able as his father, began the blockade of Laon with 8000 men, defeated a relieving army from the Low Countries, and carried the town. Its reduction was followed by that of Amiens, Beauvais, Château-Thierry, and Cambrai.

The promises and money offered by Sully to the members of the League had more speedy results. Villars-Brancas handed over Rouen and Normandy in return for the post of admiral and a pension of 60,000 livres. The Duke of Guise handed over the places which he held in Champagne for a pension of 24,000 livres and the governorship of Provence; the Duke of Lorraine made his peace for 90,000 crowns and the government of Toul and Verdun. Henry IV. was one day congratulated that his loyal subjects had delivered up his kingdom to him. "Say, sold it," he cried. Sully estimated that it had cost thirty-two millions.

War with Spain: Battle of Fontaine-Française (1595).—That he might end the civil war more effectually, Henry began a foreign war. For more than twenty-five years Spain had taken a hand in all the troubles and misfortunes of France. She alone had perpetuated the resistance of the last leaguers; she alone retarded the grant of papal absolution to Henry IV. She was possibly privy to an attempt to murder the king. A young man, Jean Chatel, stabbed him in the throat; Henry, bending to embrace a noble, avoided the blow and was only wounded on the lip. Chatel had been a pupil of the Jesuits and had relations with many members of that society, who during the period of the League had been the most ardent supporters of Spanish pretensions. One of them was executed after Chatel; a parliamentary decree banished the rest from the kingdom (1595) "as disturbers of the public peace and corrupters of youth." Henry solemnly declared war against Philip in the same month (March).

Philip ordered Velasco, Governor of Milan, to enter Franche-Comté, and Fuentes, Governor of the Low Countries, to invade

Picardy. Henry attacked the former and in Burgundy once more exemplified his heroic daring. He and Marshal Biron were surprised by the enemy near Fontaine-Française, having only a handful of men with them. "Follow my example," the king cried, and risking his life ten times he stopped the Spanish advance, giving his troops time to come up. While he was on the Saone, Fuentes arrived on the Somme, entered Ham, Catelet, and Doullens, which he sacked, and caused Cambrai to surrender from fear of a like fate.

Absolution of the King (September, 1595).—The arrival of the long-sought papal absolution for Henry made up for these reverses. Philip II. threatened in vain. "Clement VII. lost England by too much haste," said a cardinal; "Clement VIII. must not lose France by too much delay." Duperron and D'Ossat, the king's two ambassadors, abjured heresy in the name of Henry and promised that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be published, all except those which might excite disturbance. The great penitentiary then touched the heads of the kneeling ambassadors with his wand and the pope pronounced the formula of absolution amid the applause of the people. The king fulfilled the duties of a good Catholic fully and minutely. At mass he was a cause of edification to the faithful; during the longest sermon he showed no weariness; and on Easter Day he touched for the king's evil. No more orthodox prince could be found anywhere.

Submission of Mayenne, Épernon, and Joyeuse (1596).—This event led Mayenne to make his submission. He handed over the last places which he held and received in exchange the government of Burgundy, three cautionary towns, and 335,000 crowns. The first interview between the former enemies took place at the château of Monceaux in Brie. Henry embraced Mayenne, took him by the arm, and walked with him rapidly to and fro in the gardens. Mayenne, who was fat and heavy, perspired and became breathless and exhausted. Henry stopped and offered him his hand. "Take it, my friend," he said, "this is the only injury you will ever receive from me." It was actually the only revenge he took on the chief of the League. Mayenne served him with fidelity from that day; he possibly saved the royal army before Amiens, when it was surprised by his former allies, the Spaniards. His nephew, the Duke of Guise, did still better. He recovered Provence and Marseilles from the troops of the Duke of Savoy, of Philip II., and of the rebels. Épernon, the leader of the rebels, found a way to make excellent terms

for himself. Before laying down his arms, he stipulated that he should be granted the governments of Angoumois, Saintonge, Limousin, and Périgord. Joyeuse secured the grant of Languedoc. The king refused nothing, feeling sure he would one day regain all that he had granted, when he had restored order to the country, which had been left in a state of chaos by the League.

Assembly of Notables at Rouen (1596).—But it was necessary to find means and for this purpose Henry convoked an assembly of notables at Rouen. He addressed them with that brusque good humour which concealed his craft and which won hearts for him. “If I were anxious to gain the title of orator, I would have learned a beautiful and lengthy speech, and delivered it gravely enough. But, gentlemen, my desire is to secure two more glorious titles, those of the liberator and restorer of the state. For this purpose, I have summoned you. You know to your cost—as I, whom God has called to wear this crown, know to my cost—that France is not only well-nigh ruined, but that the French people have lost almost everything. By the grace of God, by the prayers and good service of those who are unable to bear arms for me, by the sword of my brave and generous nobles, from whom I do not distinguish the princes, since the noblest title among us is *foi de gentilhomme*, by my own toil and labour, I have saved my country at this time from destruction. Share then, my dear subjects, in this second glorious work, as you have shared in the first. I have not called you together, as my predecessors called you, to register their will, but that you may aid me with your advice, which I will receive and follow; in short, that I may place myself under your tutelage, a thing which it is not easy for kings, for greybeards, for conquerors to do. But the eager desire that I have to add those two fair titles to that of king, and the great love which I bear towards my subjects, makes everything easy and honourable for me.”

Henry had no wish to be taken at his word. Gabrielle showed her astonishment when he spoke of placing himself under tutelage. “It is true,” he answered, “but, ventre saint-gris!¹ I will hear them with my sword at my side.” He had no less exalted an idea of his power than had other kings, his contemporaries. This prince, who had been so amiable at Rouen, answered the remonstrances of his parliament one day in words which were far removed from the gentle speech of Henry of Navarre: “My will must be your reason; no other reason may be asked

¹ A favourite oath of Henry IV.

of a prince in an obedient state. I am king. I speak to you as your king. I will be obeyed." And he was obeyed. Under the ruin caused by so many wars, Henry found and revived with success the absolute power founded by Francis I., because neither the sacerdotal democracy of the League nor the greedy feudal ambition of the nobles had been able to establish durable liberty. While they disputed about heaven, they lost the earth. They had been filled with passion ; they had no political ideas, and when their passions had been quenched or subdued people and nobles alike found themselves face to face with the monarchy which claimed all power. The assembly at Rouen was useless. Impracticable plans were put forward and Henry was left free to carry out his own. He had better advice than that which the nobles might have given him ; he had Sully, the personified genius of order.

Surprise of Amiens (1597): Submission of Mercœur.—But the time for reforms had not come, since that of trial had not yet passed. In 1596 the Spaniards had taken Calais and this blow struck sadness into the heart of France. Next year, they entered Amiens. The inhabitants had refused to receive a royal garrison. Portocarrero, the Spanish Governor of Doullens, informed that the citizens kept good watch at night, but bad watch during the day, formed an ambuscade with 4000 picked men near the walls. When the gate was opened in the morning, peasants laden with sacks appeared ; one left his open, a quantity of nuts rolled from it over the ground, and the guards scrambled for them, laughing. At the same time a carriage arrived ; when it was under the gate, in such a way as to prevent the lowering of the portcullis, the driver cut the traces. The sham peasants then drew their swords and pistols, which had been hidden under their smocks, and killed the guard. Their comrades hastened up and the city was taken. Henry was in his capital, in the midst of fêtes, when he heard that the Spaniards were at Amiens, thirty leagues from Paris. " I have been King of France long enough," he cried, " it is time for me to be King of Navarre." He buckled on his cuirass and hastened to Amiens with Biron, his excellent artillery, all the northern nobles, and more than 20,000 men. Rosny had promised to keep him well supplied with food and munitions and he did so. An army which came from the Low Countries to raise the siege returned without effecting anything. Amiens surrendered in September. The rapidity of these operations still further increased the king's reputation abroad and proved the strength of France. Mercœur, a prince

of Lorraine who had created a kind of principality for himself in Brittany, had for four years delayed his submission. Seeing the royalist army marching against him he judged it prudent to make peace before it reached his district. He sent away the Spaniards whom he had received at Blavet and obtained terms which scandalised Sully ; he had offered his vast inheritance and the hand of his daughter to Caesar of Vendôme, son of Gabrielle d'Estrées and the king. He seemed to resign his government voluntarily in favour of his son-in-law and received pensions and pardon for himself and his partisans (February, 1598). He was the last of the leaguers. The civil war was ended.

Edict of Nantes (April 13, 1598).—Some days later, Henry ended the religious conflict by the pacification which bears the title of the Edict of Nantes. From the moment of his conversion, the Calvinists had been offended with him. Many Protestant lords had followed his example, but the majority had refused, and the ministers who placed themselves at the head of the Huguenot party in place of the soldiers showed themselves less tractable. In vain the king flattered them with that easy good nature and geniality by which he won hearts ; he had here to deal with serious convictions and with men of character, who were not to be bent by the pressure of self-interest. One day, when d'Aubigné came to greet his old master, Henry received him with open arms ; he presented him to Gabrielle d'Estrées, and caused him to embrace her children. The Huguenot remained silent. To break the ice, Henry spoke of the dangers through which he had passed, and showed him his lip wounded by the dagger of Jean Chatel. Then at last d'Aubigné spoke and before the woman and her children he said, "Sire, as you have denied God with your lips, you have been wounded in the lip ; when you have denied Him in your heart, you will be wounded to the heart." But the leaders had had enough of war. Henry offered them good and fair terms, such as l'Hôpital had promised them thirty-six years before, more especially liberty of conscience, freedom of worship within the châteaux, in all towns where the reformed faith was already established or at least in one town in every bailiwick. The schools were opened to the Protestants, and all public offices made accessible to them. Places of security were given to them, and chambers, equally composed of Catholics and Protestants, were to try all suits in which Huguenots were concerned in the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux. Finally, by a provision which created a state within a state, their right of assembly was recognised ; every

three years their deputies might meet to present their complaints to the government. This edict proclaimed the modern principle of toleration in matters of religion, and the corollary that the state should hold aloof from religious disputes, in order to impose on all respect for the public peace. It marks the definite breach with the Middle Ages.

Treaty of Vervins (1598).—Nineteen days later, the representatives of the king signed a peace with Spain at Vervins. Philip II., defeated by England, by the United Provinces, and by the man whom he chose to call "the Prince of Béarn," saw, after all his efforts, his ambition thwarted and his monarchy, like himself, worn out and dying. He desired at least to end his reign in peace. The Treaty of Vervins restored those frontiers which had been established forty years before by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. France and Spain both appeared to have returned to the starting point. But the one state was left without energy, almost without life; the other was full of youth and ardour. The sombre despotism of Philip II. had hurried Spain into a decay from which succeeding centuries have hardly availed to free her. The reign of Henry IV. began, by the conciliation of all parties, one of the great periods of French history. Terrible calamities had fallen on France during the previous forty years, but two great problems had been solved. France remained a Catholic country, without the Inquisition; and the monarchy, which then held in its hands the future destiny of the country, did not fall back five centuries into the hands of feudal and municipal anarchy.

Acquisition of Bresse and Bugey (1604).—The Duke of Savoy had profited by the embarrassment of France to seize the marquisate of Saluzzo in 1588. Henry demanded its restoration, and on the duke's refusal, declared war (1600). He easily took the places which the duke held on the right bank of the Rhône and forced him to cede, in exchange for the valueless marquisate, Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and the Pays de Gex, all the district between Lyons and Geneva, as well as Château-Dauphin in the Alps. The acquisitions were small, but they assured two great advantages to France, protecting Lyons on the side of Switzerland and intercepting the communications between Franche-Comté, a Spanish possession, and Savoy, of which the duke was under the control of the Spanish Governor of Milan. Previously Milan and Besançon had touched through the territories of the Duke of Savoy; now France intervened between them.

TWELFTH PERIOD—RESTORATION OF INTERNAL ORDER BY THE MONARCHY, AND THE SECOND STRUGGLE OF FRANCE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

(1598-1659)

CHAPTER XLVII

REORGANISATION OF FRANCE BY HENRY IV. (1598-1610)

State of France.—By 1598, Henry IV. had expelled the foreigner, reconciled Catholics and Protestants, and restored peace at home and abroad. It remained to heal the wounds of France. "I have hardly a horse," wrote Henry in 1596, "on which I can fight; my doublet is out at elbows, and my saucepan is often empty." The country resembled the king. As early as 1580, a contemporary estimated that 800,000 persons^a had perished in war and massacre; that nine cities had been razed, 250 villages burned, 128,000 houses destroyed. That was before the days of the League; much greater loss had been suffered after that date. Workshops were without work, commerce was interrupted, agriculture was at a standstill, brigandage was rife everywhere. Such was the condition from which Henry IV. had to rescue France. The nobles proposed a plan by which he might end this dire distress. They offered him all the money needed for the work of government and for the maintenance of an army on condition merely that "those who held governments by royal grant should receive them as hereditary possessions, recognising the authority of the crown by making simple liege homage, as had been the case in the past." This was exactly the state of affairs against which the monarchy had fought and over which it had gradually triumphed in the last two centuries, and Henry IV. was as little disposed as any of his predecessors had been to restore feudalism. It was, on the contrary, in order to deliver France from the hands of these "tyrants," in order to rule her himself, that he undertook to revive her strength.

Sully.—He had already found a man who could aid him in this task, a task far more difficult than that of winning battles. He was the Protestant Maximilien de Béthune, later Duke of Sully, a man of sound common sense, with a clear and just mind, an intrepid heart, an iron character. Sully was born in 1560 at the château of Rosny near Mantes, being seven years younger than the king. At the time of St. Bartholomew he was studying in Paris; his tutor and valet were killed. Wearing his scholar's gown and with a book of hours under his arm, which served him as a passport with the murderers, he sought refuge in the chief college of Burgundy, where he lay hidden for three days. He attached himself to the King of Navarre, followed him through all his adventures and battles, showing himself to be as brave as the best. He was often wounded; at Ivry it was supposed that he was mortally wounded, and the king, meeting him, embraced him with both arms, as a brave soldier, a true and frank knight. He was not, however, a knight of the pattern of Bayard, for if he looked well after his master's interests, he did not forget his own. He married a rich heiress, a Courtenay; he did not despise the profits of war, in the shape of a share in the pillage of towns or the ransoms of leaders. He had not even a soul above trade; he sold horses which he had bought cheaply in Germany at a high price in Gascony, and he established as much system in his household expenses as in the public finances. But he was devoted to the king and the state; the good estate manager cut down his woods at Rosny to give the price to Henry, then at the end of his resources; the zealous Protestant advised the king to end the war by becoming a Catholic. Sully was neither a Colbert nor a Bayard, but he had some of the qualities of each.

In 1596 Henry included him in his financial council. The old members leagued zealously against the newcomer. The financial administration was obscure, the obscurity being intentionally increased by those who found it to be to their interest to work in the dark. Sully was able to reveal their frauds and after the Peace of Vervins he was given the post of superintendent of finances and grand overseer of roads (1599); he was later given the post of grand-master of ordnance (1600). In the court, which preserved some of the licence which had marked that of the later Valois, Sully preserved his probity and his morals as well as his religion. He was the friend as well as the minister of the king; he often opposed him that he might serve him better, and he showed himself merciless towards all who endeavoured to live at the public expense.

Financial Reforms.—Sully loved no better than his master “to increase by edicts the volumes of ordinances”; but if he legislated little, he administered much. He had the glory of having realised, two centuries in advance, some of the principles which regulated the financial administration of France in the nineteenth century. The disorder of the finances was extreme. The public debt was estimated—the exact figure was unknown—at 345 millions. The country paid annually more than 170 millions, without including seigniorial dues and feudal statutes. The net revenue hardly amounted to 30 millions, of which 19 millions had to be set aside to meet the obligations of the state. Almost all the royal demesne was alienated. Fraud reigned in the administration from the highest to the lowest. The state did not know exactly what it ought to receive, nor even what it did receive, so confused were the records of receipt, so great the pilfering. Sully determined to have an account for every penny: he established registers; balanced receipts and expenditure; drew up a statement of all the resources of the kingdom by provinces and by the branches of the public service; fixed the amount of annual expenditure by prohibiting the chamber of accounts from passing payments which were in excess of the sums settled by him. The receipts from the *cinq grosses fermes*¹ and from the *gabelle* were thus almost doubled without any new charge being imposed on the people. A chamber of justice prosecuted fraudulent officials; the collectors were compelled to render exact accounts and to produce evidence of their accuracy. But while he imposed upon them the rendering of statements which facilitated control over them, he did not introduce the system of dual returns, which was practised to advantage in commerce. The governors levied taxes arbitrarily on their provinces, the lords on their vassals. Sully cut short the profits of all these thieves and the royal taxes increased in value. Épernon, who thus raised a revenue of 60,000 crowns, tried to resist. Sully was said to manage finance like a soldier. He revised all lists of debts due, annulled many and reduced the rate of interest from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. He caused an account to be drawn up of all the tenants of public lands and raised their rents. A number of useless offices, fraudulent pensions, and illegal immunities were suppressed; others were reduced in value. Many who had bought the status of nobility were once more included in the number of those liable to the *taille*. The

¹ The *cinq grosses fermes* comprised all the moneys from treaties and from customs.

hereditary nature of offices, officially recognised in 1604 by the creation of the *paulette*,¹ was a less satisfactory measure than the rest, but it was in the interest of the royal revenue. To severe supervision of receipts, Sully added a wise economy in expenses. By the end of the reign of Henry IV., 147 million livres of debt had been paid off, the demesnes had been recovered for 80 millions, 8 millions of interest had been saved, taxation had been reduced from 30 millions to 26 millions, of which 20 millions came into the treasury. Forty millions had been spent on fortifications and public works, the expenses of each year were assured, a reserve of 20 millions had been amassed.

Agriculture.—Economy preserves but does not increase wealth. Henry IV. and Sully looked for such increase to agriculture, commerce, and industry, the king relying equally on all these three sources, the minister giving his attention mainly to agriculture. "Labour in the fields and pasturage," he says in his *Économies royales*, "are the two udders from which France may be nourished, the true mines and treasures of Peru." He twice made a tour of the provinces in order to study personally the needs of the country, and caused the issue of the great ordinance of 1600 which remitted to the people the arrears of the *taille* to the amount of 20 millions and reduced the land tax by 1,800,000 livres. In 1596 he revived the ancient prohibition of the seizure of the persons of labourers, their instruments of labour or beasts, for public or private debts. Severe ordinances imposed the death penalty on soldiers who ranged over the country, on all who were found in possession of arms, unless they were in the service of the king or of some gentleman. Finally in 1601, Sully allowed the exportation of corn, a bold measure for the period and well calculated to enrich rather than to impoverish the country. He favoured the draining of marshes. All land reclaimed from water became noble, not subject to the *taille*. The canton of Médoc was formed in this way; it was called *Petite Flandre*, on account of the great number of Flemish labourers employed on this work under the direction of the Brabançon Bradley, the *master of the dykes*.

A Protestant gentleman of Languedoc, Olivier de Serre, has deserved the title of the *father of French agriculture* by the precepts which he laid down in his *Théâtre de l'agriculture* and in his *Ménage des champs*, and which he himself put into practice on a model farm. When Henry IV. received his book he ordered that some pages of it should be read to him

¹ A duty paid to the king by the officers of justice and of finance.

every day after dinner for three or four months. Many read and followed its advice, for the nobility, idle since the end of the civil war, lived on their estates and not yet in the royal ante-chamber. Henry told them bluntly that it would be better for them to go to their houses and to set their lands in order. And so production made rapid progress ; in the first half of the seventeenth century French agriculture was the first in Europe. There was not a single famine from 1598 to 1626.

Industry and Commerce.—Sully held with Pliny, *ex agricultura strenuissimi milites*, the farm is the best recruiting ground. He feared that industry would make the French unaccustomed to active life, to the open air from which health and strength were derived, and that the indoor life of the manufacturer would cause the national physique to degenerate. He was thus opposed to the introduction of foreign foodstuffs and of foreign industries, believing that God gave to each land abundance and lack of certain things, “in order that, by commerce and traffic in these commodities, the intercourse, association, and accord of nations might be maintained.” Henry IV. was of a different opinion ; he tried to encourage in France the growing of mulberry trees and the cultivation of silk-worms. The Tuileries and the open space of the Tournelles were planted with mulberries ; he wished that there might be a silk manufactory in every *election* (constituency) and began with the *généralités* (districts) of Paris, Orleans, and Tours, in order to free France from her annual payment of 4,000,000 gold crowns to Italy for silk. A similar idea appears in the foundation of manufactories of the fine crape of Bologna, of the gold thread of Milan, of which 12,000,000 crowns worth was annually imported into France ; of tapestries, of gilded leather, glass, crystal, linen after the Dutch pattern, and so forth. It was a better way of keeping gold in the kingdom than that of the prohibitions by which Sully sought to prevent it from being paid out. That minister was entirely opposed to these “baubles” ; he gave way only before the absolute will of the king. In 1604 the king assembled a chamber of commerce, in which there was proposed, among other things, a general reform of the trade corporations and the establishment of a stud-farm in France to prevent the necessity of purchasing war-horses in Germany, Spain, Turkey, and England.

Marine and Colonies.—The navy, which had been developed under Francis I., had fallen so low that in 1596 Cardinal d’Ossat wrote to Villeroy, “The humblest princeling of Italy, though the majority of them possess but an inch of sea apiece, have

yet galleys in their arsenals, while a great kingdom, bordering on two seas, has no means of defending itself by sea against corsairs and pirates, still less against hostile princes." D'Ossat pointed out at the same time the importance of the harbour of Toulon. Sully had no objection to a navy, though distant colonies alarmed him. The views of Henry IV. were wider than those of his minister. To encourage commerce with North America he sent Champlain, a gentleman of Saintonge, to Canada, where he founded Port Royal (Annapolis) in 1604, and later Quebec on the St. Lawrence (1608). Champlain has given his name to one of the great lakes of that country, but the land itself is no longer French, though it preserves in places the French language and sweet memories of the motherland. Henry also wished to create an India Company, able to rival those founded in England and Holland. He had no time to realise this idea, but he signed a treaty with Turkey by which it was agreed that all Christian nations should trade freely with the Levant under the flag and protection of France, all nations recognising the jurisdiction of the French consuls. The French flag alone was respected on the Barbary coasts. When foreign states excluded French ships from their harbours by the imposition of heavy harbour dues, Henry IV. had recourse to reprisal to the great profit of his own marine, an idea afterwards adopted by Colbert and Fouquet.

Public Works: Canal of Briare.—One may still see on the French hills old elms which the peasants call *Rosnis*. They are the remains of the plantations made along the roads constructed by Sully, who was well aware that the most fertile land remains poor if its means of communication are bad. The plan of the great canals which have since been built in France was formed at this time. One alone could be made, that of Briare, the most ancient example outside Italy of a canal with locks. Its length is fifty-five kilometres, and by means of forty locks it reaches a height of 117 metres. It leaves the Loire at Briare and enters the Seine near Moret, a pretty little town on the Loing, which gave its name to a county and to one of Henry IV.'s sons.

Army.—The territorial regiments formed by Francis I. and Henry II. had not been entirely destroyed; some companies remained which were united. There were only four such regiments commanded by colonels in 1595. Henry IV. raised their number to eleven, Louis XIII. to thirty. But the custom of hiring foreign mercenaries continued. The cavalry formed too great a proportion of the army, since the nobles would serve in no

other arm. The military household of the king was a picked body of men. The artillery, in the hands of Sully, acquired such importance that the grand-master of ordnance was included among the great officers of state. After 1572, all lords were forbidden to have cannon in their châteaux without permission from the king. Sully introduced the monthly distribution of pay; previously it had been distributed twice or four times a year. The superintendent of fortresses dates from 1558, that of supplies from 1577. These two important services had formerly been left to chance and were now regulated. Sully supervised them carefully; he repaired a number of fortresses and filled the arsenals which the civil wars had emptied. Henry IV. formed the idea, which Louis XIV. realised so gloriously, of assuring a refuge to old soldiers, but his *Hôpital de la Charité* in the rue de l'Ourcine did not survive him.

Arts and Letters under Henry IV.: Gallery of the Louvre: Hôtel de Ville of Paris.—Without loving the arts like Francis I., Henry II., or Charles IX., Henry IV. understood that they would throw glory on his reign. He therefore accepted the heritage of the Renaissance, which had already reached its decadence; he caused much work to be done on the château of Fontainebleau, the baptistery of which was built at the time of the dauphin's birth. At St. Germain, Francis had built a fortress rather than a pleasure house; Henry built a new château there, of which only a single pavilion remains. He began two new pavilions at the Tuileries and wished to continue it till it joined the great gallery of the Louvre, passing over the walls of the city, that he might not be shut up in his palace as Henry III. had been. He had no time to complete this magnificent work. His architect was wise enough to carry out, in part of this work, the original plan. The same architect, Androuet Ducerceau, completed the façade of the Hôtel de Ville, the foundation of which had been laid under Francis I., and the Pont Neuf, which had been begun under Henry III. In 1601 the first stone of St. Croix at Orleans was laid and in 1604 that of the Place Royale at Paris, in which there was a mingling of brick, stone, and slate, the last being borrowed from old Italian architecture. Already the heavy, low arch replaced the square doors and rounded angles of the Renaissance; the stone cross was no longer found in the windows, which were bare and cold in aspect with a large expanse of glass.

It was not only in the arts that the capricious freedom of the Renaissance was abandoned. Method, regularity, and law

was replacing in everything the bold and often anarchical independence, powerful and original though it was, which had marked the sixteenth century. In politics, royal authority already wielded to some extent that power which Richelieu and Louis XIV. made absolutely irresistible. There arose also a king of literature, a Richelieu of grammar, a "tyrant of words and syllables," admitting these and excluding those, in the person of Malherbe, a literary genius of good taste rather than a great poet. After the lively and attractive works of Marot and Rabelais, the heirs of the old Gallic spirit; after Ronsard, who drew his grammar and his words from antiquity; after Montaigne, Malherbe was the regulator of expressions and ideas, a worthy precursor of Boileau, and the first Frenchman who

"D'un mot mis à sa place enseigna le pouvoir."

He produced little—a few odes and stanzas—though his life was long; but in the majority of his works he attained perfection of form and some of his works are models in thought and sentiment. He fixed the style and language of poetry in France which was followed by Corneille, Racine, and Boileau.

With his fantastic energy, Mathurin Régnier the satirist revolted against him, accusing him of not knowing

"Que proser de la rime et rimer de la prose."

The revolt was vain. Discipline prevailed in letters as in the state. Régnier wrote his satires in verse, as Rabelais had written a vast satire in prose. But Rabelais had attacked everything; Régnier, the literary heir of Marot, with more malice and a style which often reaches perfection, only touches on the foolish sides of character and does not go below the surface of things. The verse and prose of d'Aubigné, his *Tragiques* and his *Mémoires*, are not so much literary works as political records; the fierce Protestant continued with his pen the fight which he had fought so valiantly with his sword.

The only prose work which French literature has preserved between Montaigne and Descartes, the *Satire Ménippée*, has already been mentioned.

Popularity of the King: Conspiracies.—The care which Henry IV. showed for the welfare of France acquired for him a legitimate popularity. The brilliant qualities of his mind and heart served to hide his weaknesses which the people readily pardoned. They were anxious to see in him the king who provided an asylum for old soldiers, the "fowl in his pot" for the peasant every Sunday, the king who said to an ambassador, who was aston-

ished at the prosperity of the kingdom, so miserable a few years before, "There was no father of this family then; now there is a father who cares for his children and everything prospers."

But if the people blessed him, certain parties and certain individuals whom his grand policy wounded severely did not do so. The favour shown to Gabrielle d'Estrées, whom he created Duchess of Beaufort, and to Henriette d'Entraigues, whom he made Marchioness of Verneuil; as well as forgotten promises, services rendered to the King of Navarre which the King of France was unable to repay, caused some to murmur and led others to plot.

The most famous of these plots was that of the Marshal Biron. The foreigner also had a hand in it. The Duke of Savoy, threatened with the loss of Bresse, and Spain, which had no more soldiers but enough money to pay for unlimited intrigues, tried to excite the French nobles to rebellion. They, having known the king as a poor gentleman, only obeyed him with regret. A plot was organised. It was proposed to restore France to the condition in which it had been under Charles VI., the governors of provinces were to become masters of their governments under the protection of Spain. Any means to this end appeared to be good. The Catholic king offered Dauphiné and several western provinces to the Huguenots in order to bring them into the affair, but they distrusted the friendly offers of those who had lately murdered their friends and remained quiet. But the proud Biron, who, created marshal, duke, peer, and Governor of Burgundy, still regarded his reward as inadequate, permitted himself to be led away. Once, in 1600, Henry pardoned him, and he would have done so again if Biron had agreed to make the confessions demanded from him. Angered by his obstinacy and wishing to give to the nobles one of those examples of which Richelieu gave so many, Henry allowed sentence to be executed and Biron was beheaded (1602). An old friend of the king, the Duke of Bouillon, was implicated in this plot, but fled in time. The father and brother of Henriette intrigued with Spain and were condemned to death, but the king's mistress secured a commutation of the penalty (1604).

Scheme for the Reorganisation of Europe.—Spain, unable to make war, made plots. She may have had reason for fearing Henry, since it is suggested that the power of the house of Austria, mistress of so much territory and so strongly supported by Catholic Europe, was the continual subject of the king's thoughts; its destruction his dream. It is even suggested

that he went further ; that his schemes were ennobled by their ultimate aim—the establishment in Europe of a political system which should place the independence of creeds and nations under the guarantee of all the states. According to Henry's "Great Idea," the house of Austria was to be deprived of the Low Countries, Italy, and Germany, to be permitted to form in Hungary, increased by the Austrian provinces, a powerful state capable of checking the Turks, if they were not relegated to Asia. Lombardy was to be given to the Duke of Savoy ; Sicily to Venice. The remainder of Italy was to be formed into a single state with the pope at its head, with the exception of Genoa and Florence and the small lordships lying near them which were to constitute a republic. Another republic was to be established in the Low Countries, the Swiss Confederation was to be extended over Tyrol, and Germany was to remain an elective empire. Europe was thus to contain six hereditary kingdoms, France, Spain, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Lombardy ; five elective states, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, the Empire, and the Papacy ; four republics, Venice, Genoa-Florence, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. It would itself form a great republic, with a supreme council to which the deputies of all the states should come, and which would have the function of preventing injustice and wars. The reign of law was to replace that of force. This alleged project contained the application of the great principle of nationality. To prove the disinterested nature of his ideas, Henry, in the general reorganisation of Europe, demanded nothing for France except that which it might seem to be right to accord to her. "Those who speak Spanish should remain under the rule of the King of Spain, those who speak English under the rule of the King of England ; but I ought to rule those who speak French." He aspired to Savoy, which its duke should abandon on receiving Lombardy ; to Lorraine, the heiress of which he would marry to the dauphin ; and to Belgium and Franche-Comté which had no reason for belonging to Spain.

It is improbable that even if Henry formed any such elaborate plans he had any hope of attaining their complete realisation. But for the accomplishment of some part of the design he was able to rely on the help of England, Elizabeth being until her death on friendly terms with France. He could rely also on the Duke of Savoy, to whom he offered Lesdiguières' force of 15,000 men which was already encamped in Dauphiné, on the sole condition that he would create a kingdom for himself out of

Spanish Lombardy. He might count too on the Protestants of the Netherlands, whom he supported against the Spaniards, and on those of Germany, who had recently formed the *Evangelical Union* and one of whose chief leaders, Maurice, Landgraf of Hesse, visited France to confer with him. He even formed a connection with the Moriscoes of Spain, who were then under the terror of the Inquisition. The Duke of Clèves and Juliers died at this time leaving "everything to his heir." Protestants and Catholics disputed this rich inheritance and Henry had thus a pretext for intervening and beginning a war which the growing rivalry of the two creeds within the empire rendered inevitable. Elaborate preparations were made; the armies were assigned their points for assembling; a force of 40,000 men advanced towards the frontiers of Champagne, accompanied by powerful artillery. All France and all Germany, feeling that great events were at hand, fumed with impatience when the hero, upon whom all depended, was assassinated.

Assassination of Henry IV.—The alliances which Henry had formed with the Protestants, the Moriscoes, and the Turks greatly alarmed the Catholics. It was in vain that the king sought the friendship of the pope by marrying, after divorcing Marguerite de Valois, the niece of the pontiff, Marie de Medici. It was in vain that, having permitted the Jesuits to return to France in 1603, he selected his confessor from that society, built the college of La Flèche for them, and granted to their masters the right to teach. He was none the less, in the eyes of many, the foe of religion, and that this was his character was the conviction of a fanatic called Francis Ravallac.

Henry IV. was restless and sad. Rumours of plots against him were incessant; nineteen attempts to murder him had already been foiled and he had grounds for fearing a twentieth. Before leaving for the war, he gave way to the insistence of the queen, who wished to be consecrated. "Ah, my friend," he said to Sully, "this consecration displeases me. Ah! cursed consecration! you will be the cause of my death. They will kill me; for I see well that they have no other means of escaping from their danger than through my death." Yet he returned safely from this ceremony, though he could not shake off his dark forebodings. "You may not believe me," he remarked to some of his lords, "but I shall die one of these days, and when you have lost me, you will realise what I was worth to you and the difference between me and other men."

On May 14, his son Vendôme told him that, according to astrological predictions, that day would be fatal to him. Henry affected to laugh, but was troubled and unable either to work or to sleep. "Your Majesty should go out and take the air; it will revive you," said one of his guards. "You are right; bring me my cuirass," he answered. As the weather was hot, he wore an open cuirass. He rode with the Dukes of Épernon, Montbazon, and five other nobles, practically without an escort, only some gentlemen on horseback and valets on foot following him. He went in the direction of the Arsenal, where he wished to see Sully who was ill. As he passed along the Rue St. Honoré into the Rue de la Ferronnerie, a crush of carriages delayed him. Ravailiac had followed him on foot from the Louvre; he jumped on a pillar and struck the king. "I am wounded," he cried, raising his arm. By this movement he bared his left side, the assassin struck a second blow which reached the heart. The king fell back without uttering a cry; he was dead. Ravailiac made no attempt to escape and there was great difficulty in preventing the people from tearing him to pieces. Shut up near the place, in the Hôtel de Retz, he appeared to be forgotten there, and many were able to see and speak to him. Parliament quickly finished his trial; he was condemned to exquisite tortures; his breasts and limbs were to be cut off; he was to have molten lead and boiling oil poured on him; to have his right hand burned off in a sulphur fire; and finally to be quartered, his remains being burned and thrown to the winds. The quartering, says the account of the proceedings, lasted a full hour. The judges were unable to discover, or did not dare to discover, any accomplices.

Miscellaneous Facts.—An ordinance of 1609 ordered the actors of the two theatres which then existed to play their pieces at two o'clock and at half-past four, since the streets of Paris were unsafe in the evening; they had no lamps, much mud, few carriages, many robbers. In 1634, the policing of Paris was entrusted to 240 archers, half for the day and half for the night.

CHAPTER XLVIII

LOUIS XIII. (1610-1643)

Regency of Marie de Medici.—Sully was waiting for Henry IV. at the Arsenal, when a gentleman of his suite rushed in, crying, "The king is mortally wounded." "My God!" cried Sully, "have compassion on him, on us, and on the state. If he dies, France will fall into strange hands." He at once shut himself up in the Bastille and wrote to his son-in-law, the Duke of Rohan, to return in all haste from Champagne with the 6000 Swiss whom he commanded.

Louis XIII. was not yet nine years old. Custom conferred the regency upon the king's mother, but Marie de Medici, who was a foreigner and who felt that she was little loved, felt it necessary to secure some kind of legal sanction for her authority. She turned to the parliament of Paris, as if these magistrates were the representatives of the country. Épernon entered the hall of the parliament wearing his sword, having left his soldiers at the door. "This sword," he said proudly, "is still in its scabbard, but if the queen is not instantly declared regent, I see that it will be necessary to draw it." The magistrates obeyed; at a later date, they remembered that a queen had recognised their right to dispose of power.

At first nothing appeared to be changed in the political system of France. Marie de Medici retained the ministers of the late king. She even received Sully with deference, who left the Bastille in order to greet the new king at the Louvre. "My son," she said to the young prince, "this is M. de Sully; you must love him well, for he was one of the best and most valuable servants of the king, your father; you should beg him to serve you as he served your father." Sully, in tears, held the son of his master and friend in his arms in a long embrace. The policy of the late king, as well as of his ministers, seemed to be maintained. A royal declaration confirmed the Edict of Nantes, and an army of 10,000 men, commanded by Marshal de la Châtre, was sent to seize Juliers on behalf of the Protestant princes allied to France.

Abandonment of the Policy of Henry IV.: Concini.—It soon became clear that the government was marked by the weakness, irresolution, and caprice of a woman. With the king a minor,

an incapable regent, a divided court, and turbulent princes, the action of France abroad was for a long time neutralised. Peace became a necessity. Marie de Medici entered into relations with Spain ; she resumed a project which Henry IV. had abandoned by opening negotiations for a double marriage of her son with a Spanish princess and of a Spanish prince with her daughter, and she promised "not to trouble further the affairs of the Austrian house in Germany." It was difficult for Sully to adopt this policy, and the queen dismissed him, leaving him only the position of grand-master of artillery (1611). He lived for thirty years longer, dying at the end of 1641 in his château of Villebon.

The queen had long given her confidence to a Florentine, Concino Concini, who ruled her through his wife, Leonora Galigai. This woman, the daughter of a carpenter, was the queen's foster-sister. Educated with Marie de Medici, she had acquired over her mind an extraordinary ascendancy and had accompanied her to the court of France. "Poor moth," said Richelieu, "who did not know that the fire which was destined to consume her was inseparably united with the glory of that light which she followed, full of ease and content."

The authority of the regent was destroyed when a stranger—hated on the ground of being a foreigner and having besides no ability—assumed as councillor the position which had for twenty years been held by a man of superior talent—the companion of the dynasty in good and evil fortune alike. The Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons his uncle, the Dukes of Bouillon and Guise, and a crowd of other nobles hastened to the court to secure pensions, the grant of which very soon exhausted the treasure amassed in the Bastille by Henry IV. The queen could hardly resist their demands when her favourite set the example of scandalous greed. Concini laid eager hands on the treasury; in a few months he had bought for 300,000 livres the marquisate of Ancre, near Amiens, and for other 200,000 the position of first gentleman of the chamber. He also secured by purchase the lieutenant-generalships of Peronne, Amiens, Dieppe, Pont-de-l'Arche, Quilleboëuf, Bourg in Bresse, and others. He set the coping stone upon the edifice of his insolent effrontery by assuming the title of marshal without having ever been on a field of battle. Leonora, for her part, worked for the common good, by selling pardons and exemptions. When the *cour-des-aides* prosecuted fraudulent officers of finance, she engaged by contract to secure their acquittal in return for 300,000 livres.

First Revolt of the Nobles (1614).—The pretensions of the

nobles increased with the weakness of the government. "The queen's presents," says Richelieu, "assuaged the violent hunger of their avarice and ambition, but did not extinguish it. The treasury and the coffers of the Bastille were emptied, but they then aspired to things so great that royal authority could not allow them to be given the increased power which they demanded. They desired governments for themselves and their families, and places of security; in short the dismemberment of France. Épernon was Governor of Metz, but Henry IV., distrusting that proud lord, had imposed on him a lieutenant who occupied the citadel and was directly responsible to the king. On the very day of Henry's death Épernon sent orders that the lieutenant and the citadel should be seized, and he thus secured on the frontier of the Spanish dominions a strong place which he called his "kingdom of Austrasia." Many nobles, at the news of the assassination of Henry IV., had thrown themselves into towns as they willed, and some would not abandon them, saying that the days of kings had passed and that the days of the nobles had dawned. The first refusal of the regent to grant a request produced civil war. Condé took up arms and published a manifesto, in which he accused the court of having debased the nobles, ruined the finances, and grieved the people at large, singular charges in the mouth of a prince who with his friends had received the greater part of the money of the poor. The manifesto concluded, according to custom, with a demand for the summoning of the States-General to secure the remedy of abuses.

Brought up in the Catholic religion, but coming from a Protestant family, Condé hoped to rally both parties to his side. A large number of nobles ranged themselves under his standard, at their head the Dukes of Vendôme, Longueville, Luxemburg, Mayenne, Nevers, de Retz, and others. The Calvinists declined to take part in this movement. "We have," they said, "as much liberty of conscience as we can desire and we do not wish, in order to satisfy some factious persons, to leave our wives and houses." Neither were the Catholics moved. Since the States of the League there had been a great decline in popular passion. The party of the *Politiques*, founded by l'Hôpital and triumphant with Henry IV., included almost all the lawyers and bourgeoisie. The dearly-bought experience of the civil wars was not lost; the nation compared with those thirty-eight years of massacre and pillage the twelve years of prosperity which they had enjoyed; they rallied round the throne, leaving the nobles to pursue their

sterile ambition in isolation. "The people," wrote Malherbe at this time, "remained tranquil, doing nothing, for they had no means of doing anything." Had there been a firm hand at the helm even the most turbulent would have been compelled to keep the peace as they had been under the late king. Some of the former ministers of Henry IV., such as Villeroy and Jeannin, advised the regent to act with vigour, but she preferred to treat at St. Menehould (May, 1614). Condé received 450,000 livres in ready money; Mayenne 300,000 for his marriage; Longueville 100,000 as a pension; other similar grants were made. But the court, wishing to recover in one direction that which it had lost in another, did not this year pay the interest on the debt. So much was done for "the poor people."

States-General of 1614.—The princes informed the regent that if she were anxious to postpone the assembling of the States, they would readily agree. Marie de Medici feared deceit in this proposal, which would afterwards have afforded the princes excuse for a new rebellion, and the assembly was opened at Paris in October, 1614. It was the last meeting of the States-General until 1789. Among the deputies was a young man of twenty-nine, who had already gained sufficient reputation among his own order to be nominated orator for it on the day of the presentation of the portfolios. He was Armand Duplessis de Richelieu, Bishop of Lucon, deputy of the clergy.

The three orders did not agree; there were regrettable words and scenes. A member of the third estate was caned by a deputy of the nobles and could not obtain reparation. The orator of the bourgeoisie having dared to say that the French formed a single family, of which the nobles were the eldest and the third estate the younger branch, the nobles complained to the regent of his words as being an insult. "It is great insolence to attempt to establish any kind of equality between the nobles and the third estate," said the president of the nobles, Baron de Sénece, and the noble deputies added, "Yes, for between us and them there is the same difference as between master and valet."

No better agreement existed in the wishes of the different estates. The clergy demanded the introduction into France of all the decrees of the Council of Trent, which parliament had so far rejected. The nobles, to divide the third estate, demanded the abolition of the *paulette*, which, by establishing the hereditary character of offices, had led to the creation of the nobles of the robe. On their side, the third estate wished to reduce the pensions paid to the nobles, which, having been doubled since the

time of Henry IV., now exceeded 5,500,000. It demanded also the condemnation of the ultramontane doctrine still held by some bishops, that the pope might deprive of the royal office "the sacred persons of the kings" and might release subjects from their oath of allegiance. It was not difficult for the ministers to profit from these dissensions. On the pretext that the hall was required for a ballet, the meeting-place of the States was closed (March, 1615), a remarkable parallel to 1789, when the hall was also closed. Then, however, the third estate found another meeting-place in the tennis court. In 1614 the deputies of the third estate were in advance of the nation and were thus without strength; in 1789 they had behind them 25 million men who followed and supported them.

The assembly of 1614 hardly deserves the discredit into which it has fallen. It accomplished nothing, but it showed how far the political education of the higher bourgeoisie had progressed. The speeches of the orators of this section, and more especially of its president, Robert Miron, provost of the merchants of Paris, revealed a practical knowledge of affairs and an astonishing desire for salutary reforms. In their eyes absolute monarchy was legitimate because it was still necessary; the king, as supreme legislator, should be obeyed by all, but on condition that he carried out the internal reforms which the country demanded. "If your Majesty does not take care," said Miron, "there is reason to fear that despair will inform the people that a soldier is merely a peasant who bears arms, and when the vinedresser has assumed the musket that which is to-day the anvil will become the hammer." The bourgeoisie demanded the periodic assembling of a general representation of the people at least once every ten years, freedom of municipal elections, and the guarantee and extension of municipal privileges. In the matter of finance, the third estate sought a fairer distribution of public charges among the citizens; the compulsion of clergy or gentlemen having houses in towns to contribute to municipal charges and the suppression of sinecures. In the matter of justice, they required the equality of all before the law, the enfranchisement of serfs, the abolition of exceptional tribunals, more rapid and less expensive procedure. In the matter of commerce and industry, they desired the suppression of internal customs duties, of *jurandes* and *maitrises*,¹ freedom of traffic throughout the kingdom, and the establishment of protective duties against foreign manufactured goods. They

¹ Wardenships and "a dignity which gives the quality of master."

also asked for the suppression of great military offices, the withdrawal of recent patents of nobility, the destruction of fortresses in the interior of the kingdom, the suppression of useless or excessive pensions, and the stern prohibition of duelling; the punishment, as treasonable, of all assemblies or levies of men without the king's leave, and finally regulations which should preserve the poor from the oppression of the government or of the soldiers. In the case of the Church, they requested a fairer distribution of its wealth, by the reduction of the richer benefices for the benefit of those in which the income was deficient. They further asked that bishops should be compelled to be in residence and that they should be nominated by the king from among three candidates, chosen by the bishops of the province, the chapter of the cathedral, and twenty-four notables of the diocese. They wished a mortmain law to be passed, so far as lands not immediately adjoining some religious house or church were concerned; in this case grants were to be verified by parliament. Such were the chief projects for reform put forward by the third estate, the majority of which had already been mooted in earlier assemblies and thus deserve some attention even though the effort was unavailing. In the course of centuries that which was once the dream of exalted minds becomes the idea of the many. Omitting the revolutionary States of 1356, the continual progress of the national idea may be traced from 1484 to 1614. Richelieu, Colbert, and Turgot in turn strove to satisfy these continual demands, the importance of which they understood; but the majority of ministers awaited the time when the nation itself undertook the execution of reform.

Second Rebellion of the Nobles: Treaty of Loudun (1615-1616).

—The malcontents had demanded the convocation of the States-General in order to excuse their taking up arms. When they had exhausted the money which they had derived from their first rebellion, they again revolted, on the pretext that the demands of the States had not been granted. Condé on this occasion gained the support of the Protestants; the Duke of Rohan raised the population of the Cevennes and the whole party took up arms to support a factious nobility. The court was then engaged in preparations for a progress to Bordeaux, where the king was to meet his bride, Anne of Austria, and at the same time to hand over his sister to the envoys of the King of Spain. It was not possible to delay the journey as the Spaniards had already set out and an army was needed to escort the king and his sister to the frontier and to convey the Infanta to

Paris. Throughout the journey, which hardly resembled that of a sovereign, the court was constantly harassed by the soldiers of Condé and Rohan, and the queen-mother purchased a new peace at Loudun (May, 1616). Louis XIII. recognised the prince and his associates as his loyal subjects, declared that they had done nothing which was not "very agreeable" to him, and paid the troops which they had raised against him. Condé alone received 1,500,000 livres; he made a profit from every revolt and cost the state more than twenty millions.

First Ministry of Richelieu: Arrest of Condé (1616).—The king returned to Paris with Condé; the court flocked round him and he seemed for a time to be the true ruler of France. Marie de Medici, who still governed in the name of her son, was now brought face to face with a new rebellion and at last displayed some vigour. She had recently taken a new minister; the Bishop of Luçon had become Grand Almoner and then a member of the council in which he soon made his influence felt. Concini found that the young prelate knew more than all "the grey-beards"; he gave him one of the four secretaryships with the control of foreign affairs. Rigorous measures were soon adopted; in September, 1616, the Prince of Condé was arrested at the Louvre and thrown into the Bastille. His partisans tried to raise Paris and the neighbouring provinces, but "heard the king speak in a more royal tone than hitherto." Richelieu loved to appeal to public opinion. "Some dissatisfied spirits," he said, in a kind of manifesto, "have troubled the peace which the prudence of the queen has established; she has tried in vain to restrain them with chains of gold, and they have abused her clemency and liberality." He went on to point out that Condé had extorted $3\frac{1}{2}$ million livres in six years, Mayenne 2 millions, Nevers 1,600,000, Longueville 1,200,000, Vendôme 600,000, Bouillon nearly a million, and that each one of them had tried to establish "a private tyranny in each province." The princes and their adherents were declared guilty of treason and deprived of their dignities; three armies were sent into Picardy, Champagne, and Berri to put down the revolt. On this occasion, the royalist cause would have triumphed had not the king joined the malcontents in order to overthrow his ministers and to free himself from tutelage.

Death of Concini (1617).—Concini was inspired merely by vulgar ambition. He loved wealth; power frightened him since he felt that he had not the capacity for wielding it. Having neither devotion nor a sense of his obligation towards the queen,

he would have left France if his wife had not refused to consent to such an exhibition of "ingratitude and cowardice." He hoped that with his eight million livres he could buy the duchy of Ferrara from the pope, and that, having left Florence without a penny, he might return there as a prince and be delivered from the general outcry of the French nation who disliked him because of his foreign blood. He knew that he was both hated and in danger ; the mob had once already sacked his house in Paris, and it was not from this direction alone that he had reason to anticipate peril. Louis XIII. was now sixteen. His character was sad and morose ; he lived in isolation, excluded from affairs by his mother and Concini, surrounded only by a few pages to whom he was attached because his nature demanded affection. He was filled with friendship for a young country gentleman employed to look after his hawks. Albert de Luynes was the son of an officer of fortune and was already thirty-eight. As the king's favourite, he formed the hope of displacing the queen-mother's favourite ; a secret plot was formed by Louis, his falconer, and his gardener ; Vitry, the captain of the guard, received orders to arrest Concini and to kill him if he resisted. " On April 24, the Sieur de Vitry, accompanied by twenty-five gentlemen who appeared to be following him accidentally, accosted Marshal d'Ancre as he was entering the Louvre and was still on the bridge, and informed him that he was arrested by command of the king. Immediately afterwards, d'Ancre having said nothing but, ' I, a prisoner ? ' they fired three pistol shots at him and he fell dead. One of his followers drew his sword, but a shout was raised that it was the king's will, and Concini's friend gave way. At the same time, the king appeared at a window, and the Louvre re-echoed with the cry, ' Vive le roi ! ' "

Leonora Galigai suffered a sadder fate. She was accused of peculation, of plotting against the state, and of sorcery. It was asked, according to the story, by what magical arts she had acquired an ascendancy over the mind of the queen. " By the power of a strong nature over a feeble one," she replied. She was executed on the Place de Grève and her remains were burned. Marie de Medici was ordered to leave the court and retired to Blois ; Richelieu went into exile in his bishopric (1617).

Government of Albert de Luynes (1617-1621): New Rebellions.—The nobles applauded the overthrow of Concini, from which they hoped to profit. But when they saw that Luynes appropriated the spoils of the marshal, becoming in less than fifteen months a duke, a peer, and Governor of Picardy,

marrying a Rohan, who later became the too notorious Duchess of Chevreuse, and making one of his brothers Duke of Chaulnes and another Duke of Piney-Luxemburg, they again took up arms, though under a new standard. They allied with the queen-mother, to whom they had before been consistently opposed. Épernon, at the head of three hundred gentlemen, freed her from her prison at Blois and tried with her aid to raise the south. Luynes was as unable as Concini had been to resist them. The Peace of Angoulême, negotiated by Richelieu, gave Marie de Medici the government of Anjou and three cautionary towns (1619). Angers soon became the seat of new intrigues and the resort of all the disaffected; the queen-mother attempted to regain her power. But the king played at being a soldier. When his troops had been assembled in camp, he found in their midst the warlike spirit of his father. He advanced on Angers, decided to pursue his mother into Poitou, and then to Guienne, if she fled there for refuge, "throwing away his scabbard on the banks of the Loire." He had no need to pursue her so far, as her partisans were defeated in a bloody skirmish near the bridges of Cé, and the route to the south being thus cut, she was glad to demand by Richelieu a renewal of the earlier treaty (1620).

Republican Organisation of the Protestants.—At this time a more formidable disturbance broke out in the south in the shape of a religious war. Marie de Medici and Louis XIII., on attaining his majority, had followed the policy of Henry IV. with regard to the Protestants, "declaring themselves to be persuaded by experience that violence served only to increase the number of those who abandoned the Church, in place of indicating to them the way of returning to it." But the reformers themselves went beyond the terms of the Edict of Nantes. When they saw the queen-mother ally with Spain, they began to defy her authority, and at the assembly of Saumur, in 1611, they adopted a veritable republican organisation. From their 806 churches they formed sixteen provinces, which were subdivided into districts. A consistory, meeting once a week, governed the Church; a colloquy, which assembled once every three months, governed the district; an annual synod dealt with the affairs of the province, while once every three years a national synod was to meet under an elective president. For purposes of policy and war the provinces were grouped in circles, as in Germany; each circle, as well as each province, had its council, which could at need convoke a general assembly. Finally, two mandatories, elected for three years, resided at the court and served as intermediaries

between the Protestant party and the king. Everything was done by means of election and of representatives. Thus a democratic republic was formed in the heart of the absolute monarchy. The general assemblies hoped that they would acquire the same rights and play the same rôle as the States-General in Holland. These pretensions alarmed the court, and some Catholics took offence. In certain towns, old animosities once more appeared, recalling the worst days of the League, though the mob no longer murdered the reformers, contenting itself with destroying their churches, desecrating their graveyards, and forcing their ministers to take to flight.

War with the Protestants: Death of Albert de Luynes (1621).—

In 1617 an edict re-established the Catholic religion in Béarn, ordering the Protestants to restore the ecclesiastical property which they had secularised in the last half-century. The Protestants refused, and eventually the king, entering the province with an army, compelled the execution of the edict. The whole Huguenot party was disturbed, despite the counsels of Sully and Duplessis-Mornay; a general assembly, held at La Rochelle, published a declaration of independence, raised troops, and, after receiving a refusal from the aged Marshal Lesdiguières and from the Duke of Bouillon, gave the command to the Duke of Rohan (1621). De Luynes, whom Louis XIII. at once appointed constable, advanced against Montauban with 15,000 men, being accompanied by the king and an unfrocked Carmelite who was said to have prophesied the victory of the Austrians before Prague in the previous year. He now promised that Montauban would infallibly capitulate on a certain date, though it was first needful to make use of the weapons of worldly prudence and to fire 400 rounds into the place. They were gravely fired, and several more rounds also. The heretical walls resisted. A regular siege was formed, but the town, despite a famine, made a heroic resistance. The attack, which began on August 8, had made no perceptible progress by November 2, and Rohan was at hand with an army of relief. It was necessary to raise the siege, and the royalist army consoled itself with the capture of the small town of Monheurt on the Garonne. There the constable contracted a fever, of which he died (December, 1621). "This eminent and powerful man," says a contemporary, "found himself so deserted during his illness that, in the course of two days in which he was in agony, hardly one of his men would remain in his chamber. When his body was brought out to be buried at his château of Luynes, in place of priests to pray

for his soul I saw two of his valets playing piquet while they were waiting for their horses."

Louis XIII. continued the war alone, and in the following year conducted a vigorous campaign, sacking the places which he took and ordering severe punishments in them. Rohan profited by a slight intermission during the siege of Montpellier to secure a peace, by which the Edict of Nantes was renewed, but by which political assemblies were prohibited, and no strong places left to the Protestants except La Rochelle and Montauban. (October, 1622.)

Universal Disorder in the State.—Luynes left the country in a condition of weakness and disorder which recalled the worst days of French history. The authority of the crown was humiliated by constant revolts, the nobles dictated laws to their sovereign and were masters of the provinces which they governed, the Calvinists were ready to separate from the body of the nation. Abroad, the old policy of Francis I. and Henry IV. was abandoned; the kingdom had neither allies nor prestige; the house of Austria had inaugurated the Thirty Years' War by a series of victories which seemed to be the prelude of the ruin of German Protestantism and of the consequent enslavement of Europe. At such a time, Richelieu took charge of affairs.

Ministry of Richelieu (1624–1642): His Projects.—After the death of Luynes, Marie de Medici was reconciled with her son and obtained a cardinal's hat for her habitual adviser, the Bishop of Lucon. At the beginning of 1624 she secured his admission to the council. At the end of some months, Richelieu, having secured the ascendancy over or displaced the other ministers, and having expelled a new favourite, completed the subjugation of Louis XIII. to the guidance of his superior genius, and laid down the lines of that policy which was destined to render illustrious a reign which had opened so inauspiciously.

Richelieu has himself left on record the whole scheme of his policy. "When your Majesty," he said to Louis XIII., "decided to accord to me at once a place in your council and a great share of your confidence, I may say with truth that the Huguenots shared the authority over the state with you, that the nobles behaved as if they were no longer subjects, and that the more powerful governors of provinces acted as though they were sovereigns in the districts, the control of which had been entrusted to them. I may add that our foreign relations rested on a false basis. I promised your Majesty that I would employ all my industry and all the authority which it may please you

to give me, to effect the destruction of the Huguenot faction, to reduce the pride of the nobles, and to raise the prestige of France among the foreign nations to that point at which it ought to be." To this work he brought a great intellect and a degree of skill which enabled him to grasp with equal ability the general and the particular aspects of every question, an activity which never wearied, and a will of iron. As he remarked, "It has been my habit to reflect long before taking any decision, but when I have decided on my course, I proceed directly to my goal."

First Acts of Richelieu: New War against the Protestants (1625-1626).—Richelieu had three aims which he pursued simultaneously. On his entry into the council, he concluded, cardinal though he was, a marriage between a sister of Louis XIII., Henrietta Maria, and Charles I., King of England; he signed a new alliance with the Dutch, secretly supplied money to Mansfeld, who at that moment was alone resisting the progress of Austrian arms in Germany; and he sent 10,000 men to expel the soldiers of the pope from the Valtelline in order to restore that district to Grisons. All these alliances were with Protestants. Spain, threatened by his policy, had hardly any soldiers, but she still possessed gold, and some money which she expended judiciously among the Huguenots produced a new rising. Richelieu realised that it was impossible for the present to play a decisive part in foreign affairs; he adjourned the prosecution of less urgent designs in order to deal with the Protestants at home. While the Duke of Rohan rallied to him those of Languedoc and the Cevennes, his brother, Soubise, armed the Rochellois. La Rochelle was then a veritable republic, the centre and the capital of Calvinism; its fleet was superior to that of the King of France, and Richelieu, surprised by this revolt which he was not prepared to meet, was forced to borrow ships from two Protestant states, England and Holland. He had the address to obtain them by promising on his part the support of France against the house of Austria. His admiral, the Duke of Montmorency, gained some successes on the coasts of Aunis and Poitou, and Soubise took refuge in England with the remainder of his fleet. Richelieu then offered peace to the rebels, in order that he might at leisure prepare means for destroying them later; he permitted the courtiers to denounce him to Catholic France as "the Pope of the Huguenots and the patriarch of atheists" (February, 1626).

Destruction of the Huguenots (1627): Capture of La Rochelle

(1628) and the **Edict of Alais (1629)**.—Meanwhile he introduced a measure of order into the finances, organised an army, constructed or purchased vessels, and signed with Spain the Treaty of Moncon, which left him the free disposition of all his forces. When all was ready, he took with him the king and the nobles to the siege of La Rochelle, being resolved, as Malherbe puts it, in one of his best odes,

“ Donner le dernier coup à la dernière tête
De la rébellion.”

The undertaking, which was very popular in France, appeared to be difficult, since Charles I. of England sent the Calvinists a fleet of ninety ships, commanded by the handsome and incapable Buckingham. The generals and courtiers, “who desired only great successes that should come post haste,” showed a degree of ill-will, which found expression even in the remarks of the brave and loyal Bassompierre. But Richelieu provided for every eventuality; he was at once general, engineer, and admiral. Seconded by Sourdis, Bishop of Maillezais, whom he had appointed to command his squadron, and who later became Archbishop of Bordeaux, he expelled the English from the island of Ré, where they had established themselves, and to prevent them from revictualling La Rochelle, closed the approaches to the port by a vast breakwater which was not covered even by the highest tides. Its ends were guarded by two forts, while 200 vessels were placed on the neighbouring shores and by the mole to defend it. The English tried in vain to force their way in; two further fleets came from England and were repulsed, and La Rochelle was cut off from the Atlantic. On the land side, three lines of circumvallation, protected by thirteen forts, flanked by redoubts, and well furnished with artillery, surrounded the city. It resisted none the less, sustained by the virile courage of the Duchess of Rohan, who was shut up within the city, and by the energy of Guiton, its mayor, who threatened to stab any one who spoke of surrender, demanding that he should be so treated if he ever proposed to capitulate. But the defenders were decimated by hunger and by the attacks made upon the city. “Soon the city will have no inhabitants,” some one said to the mayor. “It will be enough if there is one left to open the gates,” he answered. The place at last surrendered when no further food could be found. It had held the fortune of Richelieu in check for fifteen months; its conquest had cost the king 40 millions, but the price was not too high

since it enabled the cardinal to achieve the political unity of France (October 29, 1628).

La Rochelle was treated as a conquered place ; its municipal franchises were suppressed, its mayoralty abolished, its fortifications razed. Montauban and the other revolted towns successively made their submission. The Duke of Rohan held out for eight months longer, thanks to the affairs of Italy which summoned Richelieu across the Alps. The Peace of Alais, or *Edict of Grace*, of June, 1629, at last closed the final religious war. The English, who had supported the Huguenots, recognised by the Treaty of St. Germain the French possession of Acadia and Cape Breton Island (1632). From this time, the Calvinists ceased to be a political party and to form a state within the state. Richelieu left them freedom of worship and the benefit of civil equality. Throughout his ministry he employed them, like other citizens, in the army, magistracy, and financial offices ; he encouraged them to devote themselves to agriculture, commerce, and industry, protected them in their goods and persons, and afforded a remarkable example of moderation at a time when no one in Europe, Catholic or Protestant, understood true toleration. In 1630 an unfortunate man was executed at Geneva as a perjurer and blasphemer ; he had become a Jew.

Repression of the Nobles: Chalais (1626): Day of the Dupes (1630): Execution of Montmorency (1632): The Count of Soissons (1641): Cinq-Mars (1642).—Richelieu desired the monarchy to be the supreme maintainer of public order, having, as he said on his deathbed, neither love nor hate for any man, but executing stern justice towards all. His contest with the nobles, which began in the first days of his ministry, continued till his death. Intrigues, conspiracies, and rebellions constantly imperilled his life and authority, the authority of the king, and the repose of France. He repressed all such attempts against him with merciless severity. "It is iniquitous," he said to the king, "to make an example of the weak, who are trees which afford no shade, and as it is right to treat with consideration those nobles who are loyal, so it is equally needful to hold them under the curb of discipline." But if the cardinal was right in punishing the guilty, it may be regretted that his methods were so rigorous, especially as, like Louis XI., he appeared on occasion to give justice the character of revenge and to make the scaffold an instrument of government.

The earlier conspirators were young nobles, advisers or friends of Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother. Richelieu was

interested to convert foolish outbursts into crimes, yet it is possible that there was no calumny in his assertion that his opponents had formed a design to murder him, to depose Louis, to place Gaston on the throne, and to marry him to Anne of Austria. The young prince's tutor, d'Ornano, whom Richelieu had made a marshal without winning his support ; the Duchess of Chevreuse, the queen's friend ; the Count of Soissons, the Princes of Vendôme, sons of Henry IV., the Count of Chalais, and others were in the plot. It was discovered ; the Duchess of Chevreuse was banished from the court with the Vendômes ; d'Ornano was imprisoned in the Bastille, where he died " not without suspicion of violence " ; Chalais was executed at Nantes by an executioner so incapable that thirty-four blows of the axe were required to remove his head, at the twentieth of which the wretched man was still groaning. Even the queen was called in question. Louis read to her, in the presence of the cardinal, the depositions which charged her with wishing to marry Gaston, to which she answered with disdain that she would gain nothing by such a change of husbands. Gaston was, in fact, a feeble prince ; he humbled himself before Richelieu, and promised " to love and to bear affection towards those who loved the king and the queen-mother."

In the following year (1627), a terrible lesson was given to those who inclined to imagine that they were above the law. The Counts of Bouteville and Chapelles were beheaded on the Place de Grève as the result of a duel. Bouteville was engaged in his twenty-second affair ; he had returned hastily from the Low Countries, and had fought by daylight in the midst of the Place Royale, the better to illustrate his contempt for the king and his edicts. On this occasion, the fight had at least been honourable ; it was not always so, many so-called duels were in reality assassinations. Thus, the Chevalier de Guise met the aged Baron de Luz in his carriage, forced him to get out, and ran him through with his sword as he tried to take refuge in a neighbouring house. The baron's son challenged the chevalier ; Guise killed him also, and for this brave deed became the hero of the court. This was before the time of Richelieu, who was resolved to make an end of such exploits. It was estimated that in the eighteen years prior to 1609, 4000 gentlemen had fallen in single combat ; after the death of Richelieu duelling revived so that 940 gentlemen were killed in these fights between 1643 and 1654.

By repressing the plot of Chalais, Richelieu had overcome by

one blow the king's wife and his brother; in 1630 the turn of the queen-mother came. Marie de Medici had secured entry into the council for the cardinal, whom she believed that she could use. When she found that the minister was concerned only with the great affairs of state, that he resisted her caprices and those of Gaston, her second and favourite son, she resolved to destroy her ungrateful servant, and by means of prayers and tears she wrung from Louis, who was then ill, a promise that Richelieu should be disgraced. Richelieu prepared to retire. The court was already thronging the antechamber of the queen-mother at the Luxemburg, when St. Simon, a straightforward man, father of the well-known memoir-writer, indicated to the king the precipice "to which the humours of the queen-mother were dragging him and the number of men who all aspired to govern in her name." On the advice of St. Simon, the cardinal hastened to Versailles. "Serve me as you have served me so far and I will maintain you against all those who have sworn to destroy you," said Louis. Marie de Medici had already received the congratulations of the court, and was only informed of the truth when she found herself deserted. Such was the Day of the Dupes (1630).

It involved the destruction of some of the cardinal's enemies. Two brothers, Marillac, the first of whom was a vice-chancellor, the second a marshal of France, had too hastily joined in the triumph of the queen-mother. The first was removed and died in prison; the other was arrested in the midst of his army in Piedmont, accused of extortion, and tried by an extraordinary tribunal in Richelieu's own house at Rueil. He was condemned to death and executed in 1632. His friend Bassompierre was imprisoned in the Bastille, where he remained twelve years until the cardinal's death. Marie de Medici was relegated to Compiègne; when she saw that she could expect no more advantage from her son she fled to Brussels where she resided under the equivocal protection of the Spaniards in a condition bordering on misery. Richelieu had taken care not to prevent her flight.

Gaston, the frivolous and incapable Duke of Orleans, second son of Marie de Medici, had also left France, issuing a furious manifesto against her and the cardinal. Having taken refuge with Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, a prince devoted to Austria, Gaston married his sister despite the king's prohibition and settled in the Low Countries near his mother. He maintained relations with the malcontents in France and formed a new

conspiracy which resulted in open rebellion. The Governor of Languedoc, the illustrious and imprudent Montmorency, allowed himself to be beguiled by the promises of Gaston. While the prince entered the kingdom with some thousand adventurers, he raised the provinces of the south, which Richelieu had angered by attempting to introduce royal officials into the internal administration of these *pays d'états*. When they had united their forces, the rebels gave battle to the royal army commanded by Marshal Schomberg under the walls of Castelnaudary (September, 1632). The Duke of Orleans fled at the first onslaught, "Throwing his arms on the ground and saying that he would play no more"; Montmorency, left alone, was taken, condemned by the parliament of Toulouse, and executed, despite the petitions of all the nobles in his favour. "Many," said Richelieu, "murmured at this action and held it to be an excess of severity; others, who were wiser, praised the justice of the king who preferred the welfare of the state to a vain reputation for dangerous clemency; and they admired the courage of the cardinal who disregarded his own safety and the hatred of all the nobles in order that he might render faithful service to the king."

The Duke of Lorraine paid for this war. Louis in person took Bar-le-Duc and effected the military occupation of the duchy, which remained in the hands of France until the close of the century. Gaston was spared because he was of the blood royal of France, "which must be respected." But he was ordered to retire to Blois. Four years later a happy event deprived him of the position of heir-presumptive to the crown, Anne of Austria giving birth to a son, afterwards Louis XIV. (September 5, 1638).

The humiliation inflicted upon the Duke of Épernon, the last exponent of feudal pretensions, and the condemnation to death of the Duke of La Valette for a military mistake, indicated that a new era had dawned, that of absolute obedience. But the Count of Soissons, chief of a branch of the family of Condé, tried yet again to overthrow the terrible cardinal. Having taken refuge at Sedan with the Duke of Bouillon he called to him all the malcontents in order to revive civil war in France. Spain hastened to supply him with 7000 men. Marshal Châtillon watched Sedan with a royal army; he was surprised in the wood of La Marfée some leagues from the town, and defeated by the desertion of part of his forces. But the Count of Soissons fell during the pursuit, killed by a chance pistol shot, and the war

ended with him, the Duke of Bouillon hastening to make his submission to the king (July, 1641).

The final conspiracy was that of Cinq-Mars. He was a son of the Marquis of Effiat, and had been placed by Richelieu with the king, to amuse him, distract him, and watch him. Having soon become a necessary favourite, he was made grand equerry and dreamed of emulating the fortune of the Constable de Luynes, who had risen from a similar position. He had half entered into the plot of the Count of Soissons ; when that prince was dead, he plotted on his own account. He flattered himself that he could overthrow Richelieu with the help of the nobles and perhaps with the complicity of the king, who seemed to be weary of his minister. If the king did not enter the plot, the queen and Gaston did, and the Duke of Bouillon had promised that if the king died he would receive the queen and her two sons at Sedan to free them from the power of the cardinal. Cinq-Mars ruined himself by signing a treaty of alliance with the Spaniards. Richelieu, who was then ill and almost dying, bought a copy of the treaty and sent it to Louis. Cinq-Mars, according to custom, was handed over to an extraordinary tribunal, condemned, and beheaded at Lyons (September, 1642). He was less than twenty-two years old. With him perished de Thou, the son of the historian, who paid with his head for his desire to live in the midst of the nobles and of their intrigues ; he had been the intermediary between the queen and the Duke of Bouillon. That prince only escaped by sacrificing his principality, Sedan being united to France.

Submission of the Parliament: Assemblies of Notables: Consolidation of Royal Authority.—The magistracy did not conspire, but it sometimes interfered in affairs. In 1617 Richelieu, then in exile, wrote, "The parliament owes entire obedience to the will of the king, but that will should be reasonable." When he changed his position, he altered his opinion also. In the midst of the Thirty Years' War the magistrates inclined to refuse the registration of new taxes ; Louis held a *lit-de-justice*¹ and gave expression to exalted views of his prerogative. In vain did the Advocate-General Omer Talon beg the king to be moved by prayers, "as God is moved, whose image on earth you are." He was compelled to obey, "Upon no further ground than that the sceptre was in the hands of the sovereign." Parliament was

¹ Literally the throne on which the king sat in the parliament of Paris, it came to imply a writ issued by the government and passed in solemn assembly.

expressly forbidden to remonstrate concerning edicts touching the government and administration of the state. Such remonstrance was allowed only in the case of financial edicts, on the undertaking that, notwithstanding any remonstrances, "they should be at once registered if the king decided that they ought to be."

Richelieu did not despise public opinion. Like all strong men, he made constant appeal to it, and found that it was good ; but he preferred to announce what he had done than to discuss what he proposed to do. Thus he published many manifestoes, explanations of his conduct, but he did not call a States-General. He summoned only infrequent Assemblies of Notables, nominated by the king and thus having a less independent spirit and perhaps more knowledge. Such an assembly was held in 1625 to consider the affair of the Valtelline and the rupture with the pope ; another was held at the end of 1626. To this no prince or duke was summoned, but magistrates, ecclesiastics, councillors of state, and the provost of the merchants of Paris. To them the minister unfolded his plan for creating a marine which should protect external commerce ; for instituting a permanent army in which all ranks should be open to all ; for reorganising the finances to the relief of the labouring class ; for encouraging commerce and industry by attracting into them the higher bourgeoisie and the nobles ; and finally for reforming internal administration.

Destruction of Feudal Fortresses: Abolition of Great Military Offices: The "Grands Jours."—As early as 1628 Richelieu had ordered the demolition of feudal fortresses which did not serve for the defence of the frontiers, and which were a standing menace to the monarchy, a source of terror to the towns and rural districts, a reminder to the nobles of their ancient power, and a constant incitement to revolt. In the same year the posts of grand admiral and constable were abolished, since they gave their holders an almost regal authority over the fleet and army. There were too many masters, Richelieu wished to reign alone.

The acquisitions of France in Lorraine were far from the seat of central authority, and Richelieu resolved to make them feel the power of government. He created the parliament of Metz and in order to make justice more expeditious he also renewed the institution of the *grands jours*. At that of Poitiers in 1634 more than 200 nobles were condemned for exactions and crimes of violence.

Creation of the Intendants.—A revolution was effected in provincial administration by the institution of the *intendants*.

Under the later Valois, the governors, who were all of the higher nobility, had rendered themselves almost independent in their provinces, and regarded their positions as hereditary. Henry IV. had been forced to purchase their obedience. Richelieu, who in every way imitated and continued and extended the work of the first Bourbon, created superior officials to take charge of justice, police, and finance, who were given the modest title of *intendants*. They were selected by the king, were without personal credit, and were under the entire control of the minister (1635). These officials, humble agents of the central power, jealously supervised the nobles, the local parliaments, and the provincial states ; by degrees they concentrated all civil power in their own hands, and ultimately left to the governors nothing except the right to command the armed forces of the district and to represent it formally. Royal authority gained by this institution, to which the modern French prefects may be traced, and with royal authority national unity gained also. Since the creation of a permanent army under Charles VII. no measure had struck a heavier blow at the new feudalism.

Beginning of Naval Organisation (1631).—One of the results of the siege of La Rochelle was the first attempt to organise a navy. After each expedition the vessels employed by the state returned to some port where they remained in charge of their captains, who did not take care of them. Ships deteriorated ; time was wasted in repairing them and in collecting them when a crisis arose. In 1629 Richelieu ordered d'Infreville to visit all the Atlantic ports and to select the sites for three bases ; Le Havre, Brest, and Brouage were selected. Arsenals were constructed in these places, and in 1631 three commissioners-general of the marine were appointed. D'Infreville made a mistake in selecting Le Havre and Brouage ; his choice of Brest was justified, as was his recommendation of Duquesne to Richelieu. Numerous vessels were prepared, and during the Thirty Years' War the French fleet dominated the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

Disorder of the Finances.—In the matter of finance Richelieu returned to the faulty methods which Sully had abandoned. He increased the taxes ; that was inevitable since he was engaged in an active policy, but he managed them badly. The difference between the revenue paid into the treasury and the revenue exacted from the people became enormous, being in 1643 33 millions against 80 millions. At the same time expenditure amounted to 89 millions and the deficit to 56 millions, apart from

the fact that the revenue was spent three years in advance. The treasury was short of money ; the people were grossly pillaged. Riots took place in Paris and in the provinces. The *croquants*¹ of Guienne and the *va-nu-pieds*² of Normandy murdered the agents of the treasury, but troops put down these risings with severity, and both the utter disorder of the finances and the terrible misery of the rural districts were too common for either to create much concern.

Richelieu organised consulships and favoured external commerce, but imposed upon Canada those strict regulations which eventually lost it to France. He encouraged the nascent industries of glass and carpet-making, and introduced engineers from the Low Countries to drain marshes, thus continuing the work of Henry IV. and anticipating Colbert.

Foreign Policy: Struggle against the Spanish Branch of the House of Austria.—From the time of the Treaty of Vervins, France had not been engaged in any serious war. As the masses of the people were little devoted to industry and commerce and the nobles wholly indifferent to them, a new generation arose which, moved by the stories of the days of bold independence, adventure, and battle, felt an impatience of repose, a need of action which for want of leadership turned constantly to sterile agitation. From 1610 to 1624 France lacked a man ; after that date she found him, a man who, after curbing these errant moods, and uniting the divided energies of his country, pointed to the French people an end worthy of great efforts, an end which he pursued with firm resolve.

“ France,” said Richelieu, “ should reach the limits of ancient Gaul.” But the Spaniards, masters of the Low Countries, Franche-Comté, and Roussillon, still enveloped the restricted France on three sides and held Italy by Naples and Milan. Richelieu was obliged to begin his work by dealing with Spain. In the first days of his ministry he renewed the old treaties concluded by Henry IV. with Venice, Savoy, and Holland (doubling the subsidies to the last), and with James I. of England, the timid successor of the great Elizabeth. When he had succeeded in breaking off the projected marriage between Charles and a Spanish Infanta he secured the young prince for Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII.

War of the Valtelline (1624).—Richelieu added acts to negotiations. He expelled the Spaniards from the Valtelline, a small valley formed by the upper course of the Adda and establishing

¹ Insignificant wretches.

² Humble peasants.

a means of communication between the Spanish Milanese and the Austrian Tyrol. The inhabitants, subjects of the Protestant canton of Grisons, were Catholics; they had revolted at the instigation of the court of Madrid, which had built several forts in the district in order ostensibly to support them against the heretics (1620). Grisons demanded the restoration of the district and the pope was selected as mediator. He hesitated for some time, but was about to decide for the Spaniards when Richelieu entered on the scene. He wrote to the French ambassador at Rome, "The king no longer wishes to be amused; he has changed his ministry and with it the maxims of his policy; he will send an army into the Valtelline which may, perhaps, serve to render the pope less uncertain and the Spaniards more tractable." The Marquis de Cœuvres arrived through Switzerland with 10,000 men and restored the Valtelline to the Grisons (1624). The court of Madrid submitted in silence to this affront, and accepted the inevitable by the Treaty of Moncon in Aragon (March, 1626).

War of the Mantuan Succession (1629).—Some years later the cardinal intervened in Italy on behalf of a French prince, Charles de Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, who was heir to Mantua and Montferrat. The Spaniards supported the Duke of Guastella in Mantua, and Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, in Montferrat, in opposition to him. They invested Casal, the capital of Montferrat. Richelieu himself crossed the Alps with an army of 36,000 men, and Louis XIII. forced the pass of Susa by a brilliant action in which he showed his father's bravery. The Duke of Savoy, having seen the courage of the attacking force and having been on the point of being taken, retired across his line, crying, "Gentlemen, let me pass, for these people are angry." He hastened to sign the Treaty of Susa; the Spaniards raised the siege of Casal and retired into the Milanese. But no great confidence could be placed in the Duke of Savoy. "His spirit was restless and wandered every day three times round the world, seeking how it might involve all the kings in war, in order to draw profit from their divisions." Before the year was ended the imperialists, victorious in Germany, invaded the Grisons, the Spaniards invaded Montferrat; the Duke of Savoy negotiated with every one. Richelieu recrossed the Alps with 40,000 men, conquered Savoy, overran Piedmont, and took Pignerolo (March, 1629). The Peace of Cherasco, negotiated by Mazarin, confirmed French influence in Italy. The Duke of Mantua was restored to his lands, and Victor Amadeus ceded Pignerolo to Louis XIII. with the pass over the Alps (April, 1631).

Thus in 1631 Richelieu had divided the dominions of the two branches of the house of Austria in Italy and opened the peninsula to France, without committing her to adventures across the Alps. He soon entered upon war with his divided foes.

The Thirty Years' War: Relations of Richelieu with Gustavus Adolphus.—The Thirty Years' War was then in full progress. That conflict, which was at once a political and a religious struggle, had begun in Bohemia (1618) and had gradually extended over the whole empire. The Elector Palatine and the King of Denmark had been in turn vanquished and humbled. The imperial army, created and commanded by Wallenstein, had penetrated as far as the Baltic, crushing under foot in its passage Germany and German liberties. The problem which had long agitated that land, whether it should be divided among many princes or united under a single head, seemed to be on the point of solution in favour of unity under the despotic rule of the Austrian house. Cardinal though he was, Richelieu therefore imitated Francis I., Henry II., and Henry IV.; he adopted the cause of the German Protestants without regard for the religion of the princes. His emissary, Father Joseph, laboured so successfully with the electors of the diet of Ratisbon that they compelled the emperor to dismiss Wallenstein and to disband his army. They refused to grant the title of King of the Romans to the emperor's son, a favour which Ferdinand II. had regarded as the tacit price for his concessions. "A poor Capuchin," he wrote in anger, "has put in his pouch six electoral bonnets."

Having thus disarmed the emperor, Richelieu next sought to bring against him an enemy from the north. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, had ascended the throne in 1611 at the age of seventeen and had already won himself a reputation by humiliating the Danes and Russians and by conducting a successful war with Poland. Richelieu arranged a treaty between the young hero and the Poles and then endeavoured to hurl him upon Germany by according him an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 francs, by holding before his eyes the prospect of vast spoils, the danger of his co-religionists, and the great rôle which he might play. Gustavus agreed to the Treaty of Berwald in January, 1631, but he was far from becoming the mere agent of France that the cardinal had hoped to make him. His policy was Swedish and independent, and before his death his success had become a source rather of alarm than of congratulation to Richelieu.

Gustavus appeared in the empire like a thunderbolt. He had

invented a new form of tactics which disconcerted his opponents ; he defeated Tilly near Leipzig, killed him at the passage of the Lech, and died himself at the Battle of Lutzen in the hour of victory. His death was opportune for France. Richelieu was now free from internal embarrassments and could turn his undivided attention to foreign affairs. In the struggle against the house of Austria, France, full of youthful energy, took the place of a weakened and defeated Denmark, a Sweden widowed of her king.

First Period of French Intervention (1635-1643): Alliances and Strength of France.—Against the two branches of the house of Austria, which were closely united, Richelieu formed a solid ring of alliances. By the Convention of Paris he promised 12,000 men to the German confederates, who handed Alsace over to him (November, 1634); by that of St. Germain he hired Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, the best pupil of Gustavus, and his army (October, 1635). At Compiègne he concluded a treaty with another great minister, the Swedish chancellor, Oxenstierna (April, 1635); at Wesel with the Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel, who supplied troops in return for a subsidy (October, 1636); at Paris with the Dutch for the partition of the Low Countries (February, 1637); at Rivoli with the Swiss and the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, and Parma (July, 1637).

These numerous treaties indicated the approaching extension of the war. Richelieu carried it on in every direction. He fought on the side of the Low Countries to divide them with Holland ; on the Rhine to protect Champagne and Lorraine and to acquire Alsace ; in Italy to maintain the authority of the Grisons in the Valtelline and the influence of France in Piedmont ; towards the Pyrenees for the conquest of Roussillon ; on the Atlantic and Mediterranean in order to destroy the Spanish fleets, support the revolt of Portugal and of Catalonia, and threaten the shores of Italy. With a just pride he made known what prodigious efforts he demanded from the nation for seven years, without mentioning the armies of Roussillon and Catalonia. "Posterity," he told the king, "will hardly believe that in this war the realm has been able to maintain seven armies on land and two fleets, without counting those of the allies, to the support of which we have contributed not a little. Yet it is true that, over and above the powerful army of 20,000 infantry and 6000 or 7000 cavalry which you have always had in Picardy to attack your enemies, you have had in the same province another force of 10,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry to prevent the crossing

of that frontier. It is further true that you have always had an army of the same strength in Champagne ; another of equal strength in Burgundy ; another as powerful in Germany ; another equally formidable in Italy ; and for some time, yet another in the Valtelline. Though your predecessors despised the sea so much that the great king, your father, had not a single ship, you have never failed during the whole of this war to maintain on the Mediterranean twenty galleys and twenty ships, as well as sixty well-equipped in the Atlantic. You have further assisted the Dutch every year with 1,200,000 livres and sometimes more ; the Duke of Savoy with over 1,000,000 ; the crown of Sweden with a like sum ; the Landgraf of Hesse with 200,000 rix-thalers ; and various other princes with other sums as need has arisen."

Victories of the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, of D'Harcourt, of Guébriant, and of Sourdis.—The pretext for rupture was found in the seizure by the Spaniards of the archbishopric of Treves, which had placed itself under the protection of France. The war began successfully. Châtillon and Brézé won the victory of Avein in the Low Countries near Liège (May, 1635). But the Dutch were alarmed at seeing the French so near them ; they preferred a weak Spain to a rejuvenated France for a neighbour and they gave little assistance. The Spaniards profited from this misunderstanding ; reinforced by 18,000 imperialists under Piccolomini, they invaded Picardy while the French army was still in Holland, crossed the Somme, and took Corbie (1636). For a moment Paris and its court trembled ; but the city soon regained its courage. The artisans and the mass of the people enlisted in crowds ; the bourgeoisie gave the king means to levy and to maintain for three months 12,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry. Louis XIII., bolder on this occasion than Richelieu, refused to retire behind the Loire ; at the head of 40,000 men he advanced to repulse the Spaniards and retook Corbie. There the cardinal escaped the greatest peril into which he ever ran, since Gaston's heart failed him at the very moment when he was to give the sign for the minister's assassination (1636). Another invasion attempted in Burgundy also failed. Gallas and the Duke of Lorraine advanced at the head of 30,000 men as far as Dijon, and in order to assure a passage over the Saône during the winter attacked St. Jean de Losne. The citizens made a brave defence ; they were aided by a rise in the river. Count de Rantzau forced the imperialists to retreat and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar repulsed them in disorder in Franche-Comté.

In the following year the Cardinal de la Vallette took the towns on the upper Sambre, Cateau-Cambrésis, Landrecies, and Maubeuge. Richelieu liked to entrust commands to priests, who were accustomed to obey. His admiral was generally Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who in 1638 destroyed a Spanish fleet at Fuentarabia and more than once ravaged the coasts of Naples and Spain. But the chief success of this year was on the Rhine, where Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar beat the imperialists at Rheinfeld, captured their general, John von Werth, and carried Altbreisach by assault after three victories. He aspired to make himself sovereign of Alsace and of Breisgau, when he died in 1639, opportunely for France, which inherited his conquests and his army.

Alsace was an Austrian province. Artois, which belonged to Spain, was invaded in the following year. Three marshals, La Meilleraye, Châtillon, and Chaulnes, besieged Arras, and an army of 30,000 men under Beck and Lamboi advanced to its relief. The marshals could not agree ; one wished to remain in the lines and another to leave them and offer battle ; the matter was referred to Richelieu. "When the king," he answered, "confided the command to you he believed you to be capable ; leave your lines or not as you see fit ; you will answer with your heads if the town is not taken." Some days later the Spaniards were defeated and the town carried, a second province being thus wrested from the house of Austria (August, 1640).

France was at the same time carrying on war in northern Italy. After the death of Victor Amadeus (1640) his brothers, Prince Thomas of Carignano and Cardinal Maurice, disputed the regency with his widow Christine, a daughter of Henry IV., and secured the support of a Spanish army. Richelieu sent Count d'Harcourt into Piedmont ; he gained three brilliant victories at Casal, Turin, and Ivrea, restored the authority of the regent, and by a very skilful treaty induced the Savoyard princes to return to the French alliance (1640-1642).

After this Spain abandoned the offensive and devoted her attention to defending herself against the Catalans and Portugal. The cardinal supported both revolts, furnishing help to John of Braganza, the new King of Portugal, and persuading the Catalans in 1641 to recognise Louis XIII. as Count of Barcelona and Roussillon. A French army, under La Mothe-Houdancourt, invaded Catalonia and expelled the Spaniards ; another, under the king in person, took Perpignan and added Roussillon to France (September, 1642).

Spain being occupied at home, it was more easy to overcome Austria in Germany. The defeat of Nördlingen and the defection of the Elector of Saxony had compelled the Swedes to retire into Pomerania. Assisted by the powerful diversion effected by France, Banner, "the second Gustavus," resumed the offensive in 1636 and defeated the imperialists at Wittstock. After a second victory at Chemnitz, he penetrated into Bohemia, and assisted by the Count de Guébriant, one of the ablest tacticians of the period, tried to capture the diet of the empire and the emperor at Ratisbon (1641). He passed the Danube on the ice, but a thaw saved Ferdinand III., who was delivered some months later from his formidable adversary by death. While Banner's successor, the paralytic Torstensen, astonished Europe by the rapidity of his movements and by a series of glorious victories in Silesia and Saxony (1642), Guébriant boldly advanced with the former army of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar into the west of the empire, which the Swedes attacked from the north-east. He defeated Piccolomini at Wolfenbüttel (1641), Lamboi at Kempen in the electorate of Cologne (1642), and rendered help to all the malcontents of Germany.

In choosing his allies Richelieu cared little what they might be called; it mattered nothing to him whether they were Protestants or Republicans if they could serve France. The King of England in 1638 answered his overtures with pride and threats. "We will soon see," said Richelieu, "whether he is in a position to despise me." And his agents aided in fomenting that disaffection among the Presbyterians of Scotland which soon afterwards led to the Great Rebellion.

Death of Richelieu (December, 1642).—It was in the midst of such success that Richelieu died at the age of fifty-seven. On December 1, 1642, he was seized by an illness the gravity of which he soon recognised. Next day he wished to discover the truth about his condition. He was answered in the hopeful phrases with which it is usual to encourage the sick. "Speak freely," he said to one of his doctors. "Monseigneur, in twenty-four hours you will be dead or cured." "That is the way to talk," he answered, and sent for the curé of St. Eustace who brought him the viaticum. "Behold my judge," he said, when they presented the Host to him, "before whom I shall soon appear; I pray that he will condemn me if I have cared for anything save the good of religion and the state." "Do you pardon your enemies?" asked the curé. "I have never had any save those of the state." He left France everywhere victorious, the house

of Austria defeated, the realm increased by the addition of the four provinces of Lorraine, Roussillon, Artois, and Alsace; Catalonia and Portugal roused against Spain, and the Swedes and French at the gates of Vienna. He had kept the promise which he had made to Louis XIII. on becoming minister. Abroad he had raised the reputation of the king to the height which it ought to reach among foreign nations. At home everything was brought under the authority of the crown. But in internal affairs the country had passed from one danger to another; freed from aristocratic licence, it had fallen under the despotic sway of the king, who, regarding himself as above all law, placed himself also above all justice and disposed at his pleasure of the lives, fortune, and liberty of his subjects. Not only do arbitrary confiscations and imprisonments appear, but capital sentences were pronounced by mere letters-patent addressed to the parliament.

Richelieu was not the systematic foe of aristocracy. He subdued the great men but did not abase the nobility. He had, perhaps, all the horror of a St. Simon for a medley of classes. He desired every one to remain in his own station, and though himself sprung from a very humble family he believed that birth could make up for most deficiencies and demanded nothing so rigorously, even when making a bishop. He disliked the position which the bourgeoisie had already acquired in the state. "They are presumptuous to the point of wishing to have the first place, whereas they are entitled only to the third. This is so against reason and so contrary to the welfare of your majesty's service that it is absolutely needful to check the growth of such ideas, since otherwise France will never be that which she has been and which she ought to be once more, but will become a monstrous body without either substance or durability." And as he was not in the habit of shrinking from the logical application of his principles, he attempted, in the general regulation of all the affairs of the kingdom in 1625, to suppress all colleges; there were not twelve towns in which he left one Jesuit and one secular college; at Paris there were only three lay and one Jesuit—"In order to prevent the mania of the poor for educating their children, which distracts them from the pursuit of trade and war." He demanded merchants and soldiers from the third estate. With the same end in view he maintained the sale of offices, which served to render them hereditary and hence to retain the bourgeoisie in the pursuit of trade.

He is open to blame for his mismanagement of finance, but he

regarded taxation from a dual point of view, as a means for supplying resources to the state and as a means of keeping the people in subjection. "All students of politics are agreed," he said, "that if the people lived too much at ease it would be impossible to keep them within the bounds of their duty. If they were free from taxation they would aspire to be released also from obedience." And he compared them to mules, "Which are more spoiled by long rest than by hard work."

The French Academy: The Sorbonne, Palais Royal, and Jardin des Plantes.—The terrible cardinal had not merely a longing for power; he had also a taste for letters and arts, and many useful or magnificent establishments arose during his rule. He founded the French Academy in 1635, which he designed to supervise the French language and to watch over literary taste. He reconstituted the Sorbonne, where his tomb, the masterpiece of Girardon, may still be seen. He built the College du Plessis and the Palais Cardinal, later the Palais Royal. He founded the royal printing press, the Jardin des Plantes, now the Natural History Museum, for the instruction of medical students. He showed deference to writers to which they were little accustomed, pensioned *savants* and poets, Corneille among others. He encouraged the painter Vouet and brought Poussin from Rome. He saw the dawn of a great literary age in France, no less than a great political age, since the *Cid* appeared in 1636 and the *Discours de la Méthode* in 1637. He was himself a remarkable writer; if he erred in writing tragedies and in believing himself to be the equal of Corneille, he composed many theological works much esteemed in his own day, and wrote his *Mémoires* and *Testament Politique*, which are admired at the present time. The emphatic and pretentious style of the period often appears in his writings, but also an energy worthy even of Corneille.

Death of Louis XIII.—Louis XIII. did not change his policy after the cardinal's death; he called to his council a man who was able to continue it, Jules Mazarin, the friend of the late minister and imbued with his ideas. Louis only survived Richelieu six months; they were inseparable in life; they are inseparable in history.

Louis hardly merits the contempt which has been poured upon him, although it is idle to pretend, with St. Simon, that fate has given to the minister the glory which should belong to the master. But he maintained for eighteen years a minister whom he liked little; he made him less an adviser than the sole possessor of authority and the dictator of France. This accep-

tance of a minister, whose demands were often hard and sometimes cruel to bear, must be counted to the credit of the king ; it indicates a rare devotion to the public good. Louis had courage and sometimes decision of mind and he showed on the throne a virtue rare in those days, a chastity equal to that of St. Louis, his mistresses being no more than his platonic friends.

Louis XIII. began the building of Versailles. The lordship of that place belonged to the Bishops of Paris, who were raised to the archiepiscopal dignity in 1622. Louis XIII. bought Versailles in 1627 and built a small château there, which his son preserved ; it formed the centre of the palace at the end of the marble court. Red brick was used in its construction, but Louis XIV. abandoned this in his additions.

CHAPTER XLIX

MINORITY OF LOUIS XIV. AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF MAZARIN (1643-1661)

Regency of Anne of Austria.—The eldest son of Louis XIII. was less than five years old. His father, who was distrustful of the queen, who had engaged under Richelieu in all the intrigues of the nobles, had left her the regency, but had placed round her a council which was to decide everything by a majority. Anne of Austria was not prepared to accept the control of guides after having been so long under the domination of masters ; she flattered the parliament, declaring that she would always be well at ease if she had the advice of so august an assemblage, and at the same time demanded that her husband's last wishes should be annulled. The parliament, delighted at re-entering with so much *éclat* the sphere of politics, annulled the king's will with the same facility as it would have decided the case of some private person. Anne of Austria was proclaimed regent and empowered to choose such persons as seemed fit to her to deliberate with her on matters laid before them. To the astonishment of the whole court, the first adviser whom the queen selected was the friend and political heir of Richelieu, Cardinal Mazarin.

Mazarin.—Mazarin was born in 1602 of an old Sicilian family settled at Rome. Being sent as nuncio to France in 1634 he attracted the attention of Richelieu, who attached him to his own fortune and secured for him the Roman purple. The queen

entrusted herself to this man, heir to the designs of the great cardinal, to this stranger who could have in France no interest other than that of the king; she allowed him to secure an absolute empire over her mind, even over her heart.

“He had a great, farseeing, and inventive mind, a straightforward and true judgment; his character was supple rather than weak, less firm than persevering; his motto was, ‘Time is on my side.’ He acted not according to his likes and dislikes but by calculation. Ambition had mastered his sense of personal honour; he cared not what was said, provided that he gained his end; he was insensible to injuries and only avoided obstacles. He was a rare judge of men, but he aided his judgment by that which the world had pronounced. Before giving his confidence to any man he used to ask, ‘Is he happy?’ This question was not the result of some blind belief in fate; for him, to be happy meant the possession of a spirit which prepared and a character which could master fortune. He was incapable of depression, and despite his apparent inconsistencies, his constancy was remarkable. One of his wisest enemies said of him that he had more courage in his heart than in his mind, in contradistinction to Cardinal Richelieu, who had more courage in his mind than in his heart. If Richelieu, who was liable to extremes of depression, had fallen from power, he would never have risen again, whereas Mazarin, twice a fugitive, never allowed himself to be discouraged, governed from his place of exile, and returned to die in the supreme position and in the greatest grandeur.”

Cabale des Importants.—All those who had suffered with or for the queen hastened to court and, believing themselves to be already masters of the state, assumed airs of superiority and protection which won for their party the nickname of *Cabale des Importants*. Among them were the Duke of Vendôme, legitimatised son of Henry IV. by Gabrielle d’Estrées; his two sons, the Duke of Mercœur and the Duke of Beaufort, who was surnamed the *roi-des-halles*; the young and brilliant Marsillas, Duke of La Rochefoucauld, who later wrote his *Maximes*; Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, first almoner of the queen, whom Cardinal de Retz irreverently called a *mitred beast*, who entered the council with the title of minister of state and whose first despatch, according to Gondi, was a summons to the Dutch to return to the Catholic Church if they wished to retain the alliance of France. The avowed aim of the *Importants* was to undo the work of Richelieu. The Duchess of Chevreuse, the former friend of the queen, returned to the Louvre after ten

years of exile, and loudly declared that it was necessary to restore to the nobles all that Louis XIII. had taken from them, but that since the queen had received power she had become greedy. If she had been unwilling to share her position with able councillors, it was not that she was ready to hand it over to these turbulent men and women, who resumed their plots and would soon renew civil war. The discovery of an attempt to murder Mazarin decided her to break the last ties that united her with her former friends. Potier was relegated to his see; Beaufort was sent to the donjon of Vincennes; Vendôme, the Duchess de Chevreuse, and the rest to their country houses. The reign of the *Importants* lasted three months and a half (September 2, 1643). It is said that about this time Anne, finding herself in Richelieu's house at Rueil, stopped before his portrait, looked at it for some time in silence, and said, "If that man were still alive he would be more powerful than ever."

Continuation of the Thirty Years' War: Victories of Condé and Turenne.—The foreign war continued. The death of Richelieu emboldened the Spaniards, who resumed the offensive on the side of Champagne and besieged Rocroi under the leadership of an old commander, Don Francisco de Mellos, hoping that when the town was taken they would reach Paris without opposition, since they had before them only an inferior army and a general of twenty-one, Louis de Bourbon, then Duke d'Enghien and afterwards the great Condé. The armies met each other on May 19, 1643, the wings, formed by the cavalry, becoming engaged before the centres met. Condé at the head of the right wing defeated the cavalry opposed to him. Learning that his left had been beaten by Mellos, he boldly passed behind the rear of the Spanish army, attacked the enemy's right in the rear and dispersed it. The Spanish infantry remained immovable. Condé turned to it, surrounded it, attacked three times, and broke it. The old Count de Fuentes, who commanded it, fell dead on the field. Condé himself was three times wounded in the arm by musket fire. He followed up his success with that vigour and happy audacity which was characteristic of this new Alexander. Each year was marked by a victory. The Spaniards were expelled from France, Thionville was taken by storm (August, 1643), and Condé turned against Austria and her German allies. The army of Bernhard of Weimar captured Rottweil, but lost there its capable general, Guébriant, and obeying his various successors with little willingness, permitted itself to be surprised by the imperialists at Duttlingen. Turenne, appointed

marshal, rallied the remnants of the army and reconstituted it. Condé joined him with 10,000 men and together they attacked the Bavarian general, Mercy, under the walls of Friedburg in Breisgau. The battle was renewed on three different days ; on each occasion Condé displayed the most brilliant courage, rallying the French who were electrified by his daring (August, 1644). The fight was rather a hideous massacre than a battle ; Mercy's retreat was undisturbed, but he admitted that he was defeated by allowing the two generals to take Philipsburg, Worms, Mainz, and to press back the enemy to the Rhine. While Condé returned to Paris to enjoy the applause of the people, Turenne advanced too confidently across the empire in response to the appeal of Torstensen to join him before Vienna, and was defeated at Marienthal by Mercy (May, 1645). Condé hastened up with reinforcements, forced the enemy to retire, penetrated into Bavaria, and routed the imperial army in the bloody battle of Nördlingen, where Mercy was killed (August, 1646). In 1646 he passed into Flanders ; he besieged Dunkirk in view of the Spanish army and for the first time gave this place to France. In the following year he went to Catalonia, where failures were to be repaired, besieged Lerida, which two marshals had already attacked in vain, and was repulsed. It was his first defeat and he repaired it in another theatre of war. His absence had restored the courage of the Spaniards in the north, and the Archduke Leopold, brother of the emperor, had advanced as far as Lens in Artois. Condé attacked him with his usual vigour and in two hours the battle was won (August 10, 1648).

Turenne continued his operations in Germany and by his wise and bold tactics laid the foundations of a reputation which has only grown with lapse of time. United with the Swedes under Wrangel, the successor of Torstensen, he won the battles of Lavingen (November, 1647) and Zusmarshausen (May, 1648). He expelled the Elector of Bavaria from his lands at the age of eighty, and in a torrential rain, which suddenly caused the Inn to rise in flood, he marched on Vienna. The imperial council discussed the advisability of Ferdinand III. flying from his capital.

Treaty of Westphalia (1648).—Negotiations had long been proceeding. Proposed in 1641, conferences were opened in April, 1643, in two Westphalian towns, Münster and Osnabrück. It was necessary to remodel the map of Europe after a war which had lasted thirty years, to give the empire a new constitution, and to regulate the public law and religious system of most European

nations. France was represented at the congress by able negotiators, the Count d'Avaux and Abel Servien, but the best diplomatists were Condé and Turenne, whose swords had simplified the discussions and made peace essential. At the last moment Spain withdrew, hoping to profit from the troubles of the Fronde, which then began in France. The other states, urged to make an end of the negotiations, signed the treaty (October 24, 1648).

In the Thirty Years' War Austria had attempted to stifle the religious and political liberties of Germany; being conquered, that which she had wished to destroy continued to exist and increase. The Protestants received full liberty of conscience and the authority of the emperor, which had recently threatened, was reduced to a shadow. The princes of Germany and the states of Germany, confirmed in the full and entire exercise of sovereignty over their lands, were obliged merely to accept an empty restriction that they should do nothing against the emperor or the empire.

The two powers which had secured this defeat of Austria had stipulated for important indemnities for themselves. Sweden received the island of Rügen, Wismar, Western Pomerania with Stettin, the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden, thus securing the mouths of three great German rivers, the Oder, Elbe, and Weser, with 5,000,000 crowns and three votes in the diet.

France continued to occupy Lorraine, under a promise to restore it to the duke when he should accept the French conditions. She also secured the renunciation of all imperial rights to the Three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had held for a century; to the town of Pignerol, ceded by the Duke of Savoy in 1631; to Alsace, which was abandoned to her with the exception of Strasburg. Her frontier was thus carried over the Vosges to the Rhine. On the right bank of that river she held Breisach and received the right to garrison Philippsburg. The free navigation of the Rhine was guaranteed.

These advantages were great, since by conquering Alsace France placed herself on the one side between Lorraine and Germany, and on the other to the north of Franche-Comté, which since the time of Henry IV. she had enveloped on the south. As a result these two provinces were henceforth at the mercy of France and their reunion with her was merely a question of time.

France not only effected a better definition of her frontiers for defensive purposes, but also assumed an offensive position. By

means of Pignerol she gained a footing beyond the Alps in Italy; by means of Breisach and Philippsburg she gained a footing beyond the Rhine in Germany. By securing the recognition of the right of the German states to contract alliances with foreign powers she gained the means of buying the aid of some at least among those needy princes, and by guaranteeing the execution of the treaty she gave herself the right of constant intervention in the affairs of Germany. The empire being a mere conglomeration of 360 states, Lutheran and Catholic, monarchical and republican, lay and ecclesiastical, necessarily became the theatre of all intrigues, the battlefield of Europe, as Italy became at the beginning of the nineteenth century for the same reason, full of divisions and anarchy.

The Treaty of Westphalia, which formed the basis of all diplomatic agreements from the middle of the seventeenth century to the French Revolution, ended the supremacy of the house of Austria in Europe and prepared the way for the ascendancy of the house of Bourbon.

Internal Government from 1643 to 1661.—While Mazarin continued so gloriously the policy of Richelieu, his authority in France was shaken by factions. It was a week after the battle of Lens that the *Day of the Barricades* occurred. The chief minister had at first attempted to excuse his eminent position and foreign birth by an affectation of gentleness, complacency, and modesty. "On the steps of the throne, from which the stern and formidable Richelieu had rather crushed than governed mankind, there appeared a mild and kindly successor, who desired nothing, who was reduced to despair that his dignity of cardinal did not permit him to humble himself before all men as he wished, who passed along the streets with two small lacqueys following his carriage." All language, it was said, was comprised in five short words, "The queen is so good." But this golden age, so vaunted by contemporary poets, did not last long.

The reign of Louis XIII. left a legacy of vast financial embarrassment to Cardinal Mazarin, which he increased by his faulty administration. He needed much money to carry on the foreign war, to win over the nobles by pensioning them, and to satisfy his own scandalous avarice. Emeri, the superintendent of finance, was another Italian, unpopular as finance ministers always were in France, though he was but little concerned at this, saying, "Financiers are made only to be cursed." In full council he declared that good faith was a virtue fit only for merchants. He had not been guilty of that virtue himself;

twenty years before he had been condemned as a fraudulent bankrupt. His financial expedients were onerous and vexatious. He borrowed at 25 per cent.; he created offices that he might sell them; he reduced by one quarter the amounts payable to the annual creditors of the state; he embezzled a part of the salaries of officials. Finally he enforced with rigour an ordinance of 1548 which had become obsolete, by which it was prohibited to build in the faubourgs of Paris except within certain limits under pain of demolition and fine, and by the *edit-du-toisé* he compelled the owners to redeem the punishments imposed on offenders by a cash payment (1644). The taxes were collected with such rigour that in 1646 there were at one time 23,000 persons imprisoned for financial offences, of whom 5000 died. In August, 1648, there was general bankruptcy, "the creditors of the state being either paupers or too rich." This financial crisis was the origin of the *Fronde*¹; the *Day of the Barricades* occurred on August 26.

Resistance of the Parliament to Royal Authority.—Since, owing to the creation of the *paulette*, offices had become a heritable property, their saleable value naturally rose. This had its influence on those who give to prosperity that consideration which is its due, and especially so when that prosperity is united to dignity of manners, patriotism, and superior intellectual capacity. The magistrates gained, from their security of tenure and the consideration with which they were regarded, a spirit of boldness and independence which made parliament a centre of opposition in which the traditions of the nation and the principles of the monarchy against favourites, nobles, clergy, and sometimes the crown itself were defended. After the death of Richelieu, parliament more than once attempted resistance, and permitted itself to be termed the born protector of the people. The threat, uttered from time to time, to repay the sums paid for offices and as a result to destroy the hereditary character of public functions, though not meant seriously, was yet annoying. Financial exigencies afforded an excellent pretext for bold talk, as parliament appeared to be voicing the opinion of the people. It opposed the *edit-du-toisé* in 1644; it opposed a tariff edict of 1646, which regulated and raised the duties payable on merchandise entering Paris. Omer Talon states that the members of parliament were specially angered by this edict, which forced them to pay duty on fruit coming from their country houses. Only after long discussions was the edict authorised

¹ The party opposed to the court during the minority of Louis XIV.

for two years. Further financial edicts caused the beginning of a riot (January, 1647), one was even aimed at the officers of the sovereign courts. On this occasion parliament became thoroughly refractory and definitely launched into politics. The heads of its members were turned by the popularity which they had won as a result of their persevering resistance to the minister, and the magistrates declared that they occupied the place of the States-General, that they were equal to the English parliament, which was then conducting a revolution, and on May 13, 1648, the members of the four sovereign courts, the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the court of *aides*, and the grand council, united in the hall of St. Louis in the Palais de Justice, "to serve the public and the individual, and to reform the abuses of the state."

Mazarin at first annulled their decree of union, and then, changing his mind, authorised the deliberations of this assembly, which claimed to give a new constitution to France, persuading the regent to yield though not without difficulty. "You are brave," he remarked to her, "with the courage of a soldier who does not realise his danger."

Mazarin had grounds for his remark. The danger was great, for the masses began to deal with questions which had not been dealt with for a long time and the discussion of which foreboded revolution. "Parliament murmured," says Cardinal de Retz, "hardly had it raised its voice than the world awakened. The members groped about for laws and found none. They were terrified; they cried to each other; they demanded laws. And in this agitation the people entered the sanctuary; they tore aside the veil which should ever hide that which may be said and believed of popular rights and the prerogative of kings, two things which are ever most in accord when their accord is least mentioned. The hall of the Palais de Justice profaned all these mysteries."

The assembly offered for the acceptance of the king twenty-seven articles, which were in future to constitute the fundamental law of the kingdom. Some of these demands were excellent, some were less beneficial, the majority were impracticable. The most important demand was that henceforth taxes should not be legally enforceable unless they had been discussed and registered, with free suffrage, by the parliament of Paris. This clause would have transferred to an aristocracy of 200 magistrates who had bought their offices a portion of the legislative power. Another reform proposed would have struck a

heavy blow at the centralised administration created by Richelieu, by the abolition of the intendants of provinces. The assembly was better inspired when it demanded serious guarantees in favour of individual liberty, the suppression of sealed orders, of extraordinary tribunals, and above all, that all persons arrested by royal order should be interrogated within twenty-four hours or released.

Day of the Barricades (August 26, 1648) : Matthew Molé : Coadjutor de Retz.—At this very moment Condé gained the victory of Lens. The king, who was then only ten years old, cried on hearing the news, "Parliament will be furious," and this striking success gave heart to the cardinal, who resolved to remove the three most obstinate magistrates, Novion Blancménil, Charton, and Broussel. "They were not the chiefs of a party, but the instruments of such chiefs," says Voltaire. Charton, a very narrow-minded man, was known by the nickname of "President *Je dis ça*," because he began and ended every speech with these words. Broussel had nothing to recommend him except his white hairs, his hatred of Mazarin, and the reputation which he enjoyed of always opposing the court on whatever matter might be under discussion. His colleagues had a poor opinion of him, but the people idolised him. Instead of arresting them quietly in the silence of the night, the cardinal thought that he would impress the people by arresting them at midday, while the *Te Deum* was being chanted at Notre-Dame for the victory of Lens, and while the Swiss guards were carrying to the church seventy-three flags captured from the enemy. It was just this step that caused the subversion of the kingdom. Charton escaped ; Blancménil was taken without difficulty ; but Broussel's old servant, seeing his master borne off in a coach, roused the people. The shops were shut ; the heavy iron chains at the entrance of the principal streets were drawn across, and 400,000 voices cried *Liberty and Broussel!* (August 26, 1648).

Two hundred barricades were raised in a moment ; they were extended to within a hundred paces of the Palais Royal. Parliament in a body went to the queen, being permitted to cross the barricades, to demand the release of the imprisoned members, which they failed to obtain. On their return they were stopped by the infuriated mob, and an iron merchant, the captain of this district, seized the first president, Matthew Molé, by the arm, threatening him with a pistol, and shouting, "Go back, traitor, and if you wish not to be massacred with your fellows, bring

Broussel back to us or Mazarin as a hostage." Many of the members took to flight, others hesitated, but their leader did not flinch. He was insulted, some of the mob pulling his beard which he wore very long. He spoke to them, as if he were seated on his chair in the parliament, and with a calm and serious expression. "When you have killed me," he remarked to them, "I shall require six feet of earth." The authority of his manner mastered the mob and the most violent of the rioters; he returned slowly to the palace, amid a shower of injuries, execrations, and blasphemies. "This man," says Cardinal de Retz, who relates this fine example of courage, "is, in my opinion, the most intrepid that this age has produced."

Nevertheless, the riot spread. The magistrates attempted a new negotiation with Anne of Austria, and the Queen of England, who was the victim of another revolution which had begun in a less menacing manner, influenced the regent to yield. Calm was at once restored, "The city seemed in an instant to be quieter than on an Ash Wednesday."

The Coadjutor of Paris, Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, who had taken so decisive a part in this victorious revolution, was descended from a Florentine family, which came to the French court in the train of Catherine de Medici and had there made its fortune. As if to recall his Italian origin, he wrote at the age of eighteen his *Conjuration du Comte de Fiesque*, on reading which Richelieu had remarked, "This is a dangerous mind." Five years later, Gondi formed, with some other young nobles, a plan for assassinating the cardinal. He boasts in his *Mémoires* that he had studied the art of conspiracy in the *Lives* of Plutarch and in the *Cataline* of Sallust. With such a disposition he entered the Church and in 1643 was named colleague to his uncle, then Archbishop of Paris. But his ambition soared above this dignity. He aspired to the rôle of a Richelieu, and he used his position only in order to gain popularity in Paris, preaching to make himself known to the people, being prodigal of alms to make himself loved, ruining himself in advance to pay for the civil war. When reproached for his extravagance, he retorted, "Caesar at my age owed six times as much as I do." He did not fear to be compared with Caesar, with Richelieu; he believed that he had in him the making of a great man and he persuaded others to believe it also; circumstances made him merely a firebrand.

Peace of St. Germain.—The Day of the Barricades had alarmed the court, and it entered upon negotiations. On October 24,

1648, the ordinance of St. Germain granted all the demands of the chamber of St. Louis, associating the magistracy to a certain extent in the exercise of sovereign power. On the same day the Treaty of Westphalia was signed.

War of the Fronde: The Parliament and the Nobles (January to April, 1649).—When he gave way Mazarin had no idea save to gain time, and when he was freed from the external war he resolved to make an end of this faction of “king’s men, who murdered the royal authority.” On January 6, 1649, Anne of Austria left Paris with her children and summoned troops around her. Parliament, unable to contend single-handed with the court, demanded or accepted the services of the princes and young lords, who were ready to amuse themselves with a civil war against a minister who would in no case execute them. Among these nobles were the Prince of Conti, brother of Condé; the Duke of Longueville, who had married Condé’s sister; the Duke of Bouillon, who still mourned the loss of Sedan; the Duke of La Rochefoucauld, who charged the queen and Mazarin with ingratitude; and even the wise Turenne. The soul of the plot was the coadjutor, who ruled Paris by means of his sermons, his alms, and his verses. “I needed,” he says, with singular frankness, in his *Mémoires*, “some figurehead that I might place before me, and by good luck I found this figurehead in the grandson of the great Henry, who spoke as they speak in the markets—an unusual characteristic in the children of the great Henry—and who had long, fair locks. It is enough to consider the weight of these circumstances and to consider the effect that they had on the people.” This figurehead was the Duke of Beaufort, a prince of little brain but of great courage, facts which made him an excellent tool in the able hands of de Retz. The cardinal also tried to win over Condé, but the prince answered proudly, “I am called Louis de Bourbon and I have no desire to disturb the crown.” Thus the struggle began, which deserves the name given it by history, the name of a children’s game, the *Fronde*.

“The queen, with tears in her eyes, urged Condé to act as the protector of the king, and the victor of Rocroi, Friedburg, Nördlingen, and Lens, could not undo such great services. He was flattered at the honour of defending a court, which he felt to be ungrateful, against the *Fronde* which had sought his support. The parliament has thus to fight the great Condé, and it dared to undertake the war. In the great chamber, generals were appointed to command a non-existent army. All were taxed to raise troops. There were twenty councillors holding new offices

created by Richelieu ; they had each to pay 15,000 livres for the expenses of the war in order to purchase the tolerance of their colleagues. The great chamber, the courts of inquests, requests, accounts, and *aides*, which had constantly exclaimed against insignificant and necessary taxes, furnished almost ten millions for the subversion of the state. By decree of parliament 12,000 men were levied ; each *porte cochère*¹ had to furnish a man and a horse, and this cavalry was termed the *cavalerie des portes cochères*. The coadjutor had a regiment which was named the *Corinthian regiment*, as de Retz was titular Archbishop of Corinth."

"Had not the King of France, Condé, and the capital been involved in the struggle, the war of the *Fronde* would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barbarini. No one knew why they were in arms. Condé with 8000 soldiers besieged 100,000 burghers. The Parisians made a *sortie*, adorned with plumes and ribbons ; their evolutions were a jest to the wits. They fled as soon as they met 200 men of the royal army. Everything was made a jest. The Corinthian regiment having been beaten by a small force, this defeat was termed 'the first to the Corinthians.' The twenty councillors who had each furnished 15,000 livres had merely the honour of being called the *quinze-vingts*."

"The Parisian troops who ventured out of Paris and always returned beaten were received with hisses and roars of laughter. These small checks were made good by couplets and epigrams. The inns were the tents in which councils of war were held, amid joking, songs, and the most dissolute gaiety. Finally, when the coadjutor attended a sitting of the parliament with a dagger in his pocket, the handle was detected, and they cried out, 'See our archbishop's breviary.'"

But the *Fronde* must not be made more insignificant than it actually was. Men knew perfectly well why they were in arms. The princes regretted their place in the council ; the nobles their lost importance. Parliament wished to play that part in the state which the English parliament played across the Channel, and the people, who saw in all this only a reduction of taxation, which was then their great desire, rallied to the princes, magistrates, and to their archbishop. As for de Retz, he trusted that a reaction against the system of Richelieu would raise him to power. This was, then, no chance undertaking ; the absurdity of the *Fronde* lies not in any uncertainty as to its aims, but in the fact that its success was impossible. A struggle against royal

¹ Literally, each stable.

authority between the death of Richelieu and the majority of Louis XIV. was impossible and in politics the impossible readily becomes the ridiculous, since the defeated will never be honoured.

The magistrates were the first to wish to abandon the wreck. They quickly realised that the nobles sought only to perpetuate disorder in the hope of overturning all government, and the lawyers at that time were often more patriotic than the soldiers whose interests frequently lay beyond the frontiers. At Paris Matthew Molé rejected with indignation a suggestion that a Spanish envoy should be admitted to a sitting of the parliament. At Bordeaux, shortly afterwards, the president, d'Affis, gave a safe-conduct to an accredited agent of the Princess of Condé, who was then commanding in the town. The news of a treaty with Spain signed by the nobles decided the parliament; the first president was empowered to treat with Mazarin. The convention of Rueil reduced some taxes, authorised the assembly of the chambers, and after some delay the court returned to Paris (April, 1649).

Party of the Petits-Mâitres, or Young Fronde: Arrest of Condé (January, 1650).—The peace was of short duration, though the king had paid dearly for it, "all the nobles having snatched some little rag of royal generosity." Condé, wishing to dominate the government which he had protected, wearied the regent and Mazarin by constant demands and humiliated them by his insolence and bad taste. He wrote to the cardinal, *All' illustrissimo signor Faquino*, and one day, taking leave of him, said, *Adieu, Mars!* This haughty conduct did not preclude his employment of less lofty methods. To undermine the credit of the minister at the point from which he gained the greatest support, Condé employed one of his *petits-mâitres*, Jarzé, to play with the queen the rôle which Buckingham was credited with having once enjoyed. This was a tactical stroke of some merit, but on this occasion Condé was beaten. At the same time as he alienated the court he caused discontent among the old party of the *Fronde*. He had nothing but contempt for the burghers who had aspired to rule the state; he surrounded himself with young nobles, vain and presumptuous, who pushed the faults of their chief to an extreme and were called the *petits-mâitres*. It was easy for Mazarin to unite every one against this prince, who knew better how to win battles than to gain hearts, and he caused him to be arrested at the Louvre, with his brother, Conti, and his brother-in-law, Longueville (January, 1650). "The people of Paris," says Voltaire, "who had made barricades for a

councillor clerk who was almost imbecile, made bonfires when the defender and hero of France was carried to the donjon of Vincennes." Voltaire did not see that this was the old democratic leaven of the city which began to ferment. "The people alone make kings," cried the advocate Deboisle in full parliament. "Let us throw off the mask," says a contemporary pamphlet, "let us recognise that the nobles are only great men because we carry them on our shoulders; we have only to shake them off to strew them on the ground and to strike a blow which shall be renowned for ever." This menacing voice was then but an echo; it was destined to be heard more clearly a century and a half later.

Union of the Two Frondes: Exile of Mazarin (February, 1651).—

An outbreak occurred in some provinces and was easily repressed. Bordeaux submitted, and du Plessis-Praslin defeated Turenne at Rethel, Turenne having invaded Champagne with a Spanish army (December, 1650). But Mazarin believed too soon that he was victorious. He had promised the coadjutor a cardinal's hat, in order to bring him over to the side of the queen; when this had been done, according to his manner he forgot his promise. De Retz effected a reconciliation with the party of Condé, revived the distrust of the parliament, excited the people; the two *Frondes*, temporarily united by his labours, forced Anne of Austria to release the princes and to expel her chief minister from the realm. Mazarin retired to Cologne and from his exile continued to rule the queen and France (February, 1651). The coadjutor at last secured the hat.

In order to secure the release of the princes, 800 nobles of the most important families of France assembled at Paris and began to deliberate on the disorders of the state, the ruin of the old constitution, and the loss of their rights and franchises. The clergy, which held its quinquennial meeting at the same time, appeared disposed to make common cause with the nobles. There was talk of a States-General; but the two privileged orders allowed their jealousy of the parliament to appear too soon, declaring that the lawyers "wished to make the state a horrible monster by adding a fourth member to a perfect body composed of the clergy, the nobles, and the third estate." They showed their resentment against "these young scholars who left college to pose as the arbiters of the commonwealth in virtue of a piece of parchment costing 60,000 crowns." The parliament became distrustful of such allies, and the union of the two *Frondes* was short lived.

Revolt of Condé: Combat of Bléneau (April, 1652).—Condé was dissatisfied with every one, with the parliament, with Paris, and with the court. When Mazarin, before his exile, had opened the gates of his prison, Condé had believed that the queen would give him supreme power in compensation for his two years of captivity. But Mazarin ruled from his place of exile. Irritated at the isolation in which he was left, Condé engaged in the most culpable undertakings. He retired to the south, resolved to conquer power by force of arms, and perhaps even to seize the throne, if credit may be given to the memoirs of the Count de Coligny, one of the companions of his revolt. He raised Guienne and treated with Spain, while his friends prepared for war in the heart of France. Mazarin, who had meanwhile returned to France (December, 1651), confided the command of the army to Turenne, who had rejoined the royalist party. The marshal advanced to the Loire to surprise the army of the princes, believing Condé to be a hundred leagues from him. But the prince had traversed France on horseback, alone and in disguise. As soon as he had arrived, he fell upon the quarters of Marshal d'Hocquincourt at Bléneau and dispersed his men (April, 1652). The fugitives took refuge at Briare, where Turenne was. The marshal rode to the top of a hill, which commanded the plain, and observed by the light of burning villages the disposition of the rival forces. "M. le Prince has arrived," he said, "and commands his army." The terrified court talked of flight to Bourges; Turenne reassured them, and by means of a combination of audacity and prudence, with 4000 men against 12,000, prevented the enemy from following up their advantage. "Marshal, you have saved the state," said the queen to him, weeping, "without you, there was not a town that would not have closed its gates to the king."

Fight of the Faubourg St. Antoine (July, 1652).—The attitude of Paris was the critical problem. The two armies sought an answer at Paris itself, and the city closed its gates to both. The rival forces met in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and a bloody and indecisive battle occurred. The Duke of Orleans, always hesitant, remained shut up in the Luxemburg palace; the archiepiscopal palace sheltered de Retz; the parliament awaited the issue of the fight before taking any steps. The queen in tears prostrated herself in the chapel of the Carmelites. Condé fought as a soldier and was everywhere. "I did not see one Condé but a dozen," said Turenne. The army of the *Fronde*, threatened on its flanks, was in danger of being enveloped and destroyed, when made-

moiselle, daughter of Gaston of Orleans, caused the gates to be opened to Condé and turned the cannon of the Bastille on the royal troops. Turenne, in amazement, retreated. Such was the misery among the poor of Paris that they fell on the horses killed in the battle, and this horse-flesh was sold at ten sols a pound. Condé could not remain long in Paris; his glory was tarnished by a massacre of the Mazarins, which he allowed to occur though he did not order it. He left the city (October 18) and went to Flanders to the Spaniards. The feudal tradition was still strong enough for a crowd of nobles to follow him, bringing with them an army of at least 10,000 men, composed of the regiments of the princes and their friends.

Return of Mazarin (February, 1653)—This first emigration was like the emigration of a later date, fatal to the emigrants, and accelerated the revulsion of popular feeling towards the king. Mazarin, in order not to hinder the reconciliation, permitted himself to be exiled a second time (August 9). The parliament and the citizens then prayed the queen-mother to return to the pacified capital (October 21). Ten magistrates were removed or imprisoned; Cardinal de Retz was confined at Vincennes; Condé was condemned to death for contumacy; and Gaston was exiled to Blois. Three months later Mazarin returned all-powerful and with the proud pomp of a sovereign (February, 1653). This was the end of the *Fronde*, but the events of this period, when the king and his mother fled in disorder before some fire-brands and lay almost under their beds at St. Germain, left an ineffaceable impress on the mind of Louis XIV., which urged him to the establishment of absolute government. When he returned to Paris (October 22, 1652), he compelled the registration of a decree declaring it forbidden to members of the parliament to concern themselves in any way with the general affairs of the state and the direction of finance. There is a story, graphic but not authentic, that some time later, when parliament had assembled to prepare remonstrances on the matter of some edicts, the king returned from Vincennes, where he was hunting, and entered the great hall in his riding boots, whip in hand. "Gentlemen," he said, "the evils which your meetings produce are known; I order those which have begun on the matter of my edicts to cease. M. first president, I forbid you to allow these assemblies, and I forbid each one of you individually to demand them."

Two serious blows were struck at the parliament. First, a declaration that the decrees of the council of state were binding

on the sovereign courts; and, second, the re-establishment in 1655 of intendants who supervised the provincial administration of justice, and at need annulled the decisions of the *conseil d'en haut*.¹

The attempted revolution of the parliamentary aristocracy thus proved abortive. A century later, when the parliament attempted a new struggle with absolute power, Lord Chesterfield gave the accurate measure of the strength of this opposition when he remarked to Montesquieu, "Your parliament can make barricades, but it cannot remove barriers."

Victories of Turenne at Arras and the Dunes: Alliance between France and Cromwell.—The war of the *Fronde* was ended; it remained to end the war with Spain. The Spaniards, during the internal troubles of France, had recovered Dunkirk, Barcelona, and Casale in Italy. Condé offered to the enemy that sword which had been so fatal to them, but he seemed to lose his capacity when he left France. He first joined the Archduke Leopold at the siege of Arras, not far from that plain of Lens where he had gained his greatest victory. Turenne attacked the besiegers in their camp and forced their lines, Condé being able only to effect a retreat in good order (August 25, 1654). "I know that all was lost and that you saved all," wrote Philip IV. of Spain to him.

The years 1655 and 1656 were occupied with the sieges of frontier towns, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Rocroi, and with the able manœuvres of Condé and Turenne. But the two generals, with the small armies which they commanded, could strike no decisive blows. Mazarin's monarchical scruples were not stronger than Richelieu's religious scruples. His predecessor had allied with the Protestants against Austria; Mazarin allied with Cromwell—who had caused the son-in-law of Henry IV. to lose his head on the scaffold—against Spain (1657). From that time Spain met with nothing but defeat. While the English conquered Jamaica and burned the galleys of Cadiz, the city of Dunkirk, the key of Flanders, was besieged by land and sea. The Spaniards advanced along the dunes which bordered the sea to relieve it. "Have you ever seen a battle?" Condé asked the young Duke of Gloucester who was placed near him. "No," answered the young prince. "Well," replied Condé, "in half an hour you will see how to lose one." The victory of Turenne was complete (June 14, 1658). Dunkirk was taken, but, according to the terms of the treaty with Cromwell, was handed over to England.

¹ Superior court.

Treaty of the Pyrenees (1658): League of the Rhine (1659).—

The cabinet of Madrid had no longer an army and demanded peace. Negotiations were conducted by the two ministers, Mazarin and Don Luis de Haro, who met on the isle of the Conférence, in the Bidassoa, at the foot of the mountains which divided the two countries. This was the Treaty of the Pyrenees, signed November 7, 1658. France retained Artois, Cerdagne, and Roussillon, which Richelieu had conquered; she returned Lorraine to Duke Charles IV. on condition that he should disarm all his strong places, but as he refused to do so the duchy remained in the hands of France. Condé was pardoned and restored to his chief offices. Finally Louis XIV. married the Infanta Maria Theresa, who was to bring him a dower of 500,000 crowns, in consideration of which she renounced all claim to the inheritance of her father.

The conclusion of this marriage had been the aim and hope of Mazarin for fifteen years. As early as 1645 he wrote to his envoys at the Congress of Westphalia, "If the Most Christian King were to marry the Infanta then we might aspire to the succession of Spain whatever renunciation the bride might make, and the possibility would not be remote since only her brother's life stands between her and the throne." In 1659 he arranged that the renunciations should be legally void by making them expressly conditional on the full payment of a dower which he knew that Spain would never be able to pay. A pretext for the claims of the house of Bourbon was thus prepared in advance. But by the same treaty Mazarin abandoned Portugal, which, no longer supported by France, turned to England and all but lost its independence a second time.

While the cardinal meditated the union of Spain and France he also considered that Louis XIV. might possibly be chosen as emperor on the death of Ferdinand III. (1657). Leopold I. was elected; none the less Mazarin concluded the League of the Rhine, by which the three ecclesiastical electors, the Duke of Bavaria, the Princes of Brunswick and Hesse, and the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, united with France to maintain the Treaty of Westphalia, and thus placed themselves to some extent under French protection. The League of the Rhine, an idea which was afterwards adopted and extended by Napoleon under the name of the Confederation of the Rhine, assured France preponderance in the empire. After these great achievements Mazarin was able to declare that "if his language was not French, at least his heart was."

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Internal Administration of Mazarin.—In every event, at home and abroad, in contact with the impetuous Condé and with the calm Don Luis de Haro, Mazarin knew to perfection how to steer between difficulties, to turn them aside, and after great repulses and shocks to arrive safely at his end. But once arrived there, and the state with him, he cared only to enjoy the repose which his skill had given him ; a great diplomat, he was not a great minister. His internal government was deplorable. He neglected commerce and agriculture ; he allowed the navy to decay ; he managed finance so that at his death there was a public debt of 430 millions while his private fortune amounted to 100 millions, a sum equal to about four times that figure in modern values, and alluding to which the superintendent, Nicholas Fouquet, remarked to the king, "Sire, there is no money in your coffers, but M. le Cardinal can lend you some." Such was Mazarin's greed in the last years of his life that he was said "to make the whole kingdom pass through his hands that he might give it piece by piece to his nieces and his friends." If Mazarin was in this regard a bad minister he was at least a good relative ; if he prevented one of his nieces from marrying Louis XIV. he placed the others in high positions. Signora Martinozzi, his eldest sister, saw one of her daughters become Princess of Conti and another Sovereign-Duchess of Modena. The five daughters of Signora Mancini, his other sister, who arrived from Italy with small belongings, were married to the Duke of Mercœur, the Count of Soissons of the house of Savoy, by whom she became the mother of Eugène ; to Colonna, the Constable of the Papal States ; to the Duke of Bouillon, and to the Duke of La Meilleraye. France paid dowers for them all. Mazarin's nephew was Duke of Nivernais, and as for his brother, a poor monk hidden in an Italian convent, he was made Archbishop of Aix and a cardinal.

It is impossible to regard as compensation for this pillage some pensions given to men of letters, of whom Ménage supplies the list : to Descartes, who lived in retirement in Holland ; to the historian Mézeray, who was granted an annual pension of 4000 francs ; nor the expenses incurred for the creation of the magnificent Mazarin library, which was later opened to the public for the convenience and satisfaction of men of letters ; nor the foundation of the College of the Four Nations, to which he left 800,000 crowns by will and which he intended to receive those students of the university who belonged to the Spanish, Italian, German, and Flemish provinces lately added to the

kingdom. Mazarin had a keen, if not a well-instructed, taste for the arts ; he caused a number of pictures to be brought from Italy as well as statues and curiosities, and even actors and musicians, who introduced the opera into France. He also founded in 1655 the Academy of Painting and Sculpture.

Mazarin died on March 9, 1661, at Vincennes at the age of fifty-nine, in despair at leaving his beautiful paintings, his statues, his books, his affairs of state, and life itself, and yet meeting death bravely.

THIRTEENTH PERIOD—TRIUMPH OF THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

(1661-1715)

CHAPTER L

LOUIS XIV.: INTERNAL ORGANISATION: COLBERT, LOUVOIS,
VAUBAN (1661-1683)

Divisions of the Reign of Louis XIV. — Charles V. said that fortune does not love old men. Long reigns, indeed, do often present two conflicting aspects, a time of prestige and prosperity and a time of decadence and misery. The fairest period of the reign of Louis XIV. extends from 1661 to 1683, from the death of Mazarin to that of Colbert. It was filled with the deeds of that generation of great men who had been trained in the years preceding it. Internal administration was in the hands of Colbert ; war in those of Turenne, Condé, Duquesne, and Louvois. The realm of letters was distinguished by the names of Molière, La Fontaine, Boileau, Racine, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Madame de Sévigné. In art there were Lebrun, Claude Lorraine, Puget, Hardouin, Mansart, and Perrault. All things smiled on the king and supported him ; durable conquests were made, great public works were accomplished, and splendid monuments raised.

After 1683, when Louis XIV. had reached the prime of life, his health deteriorated ; Louvois was no longer balanced by Colbert, and the king was dominated by Madame de Maintenon. Happiness and good fortune fled with youth. That glorious crown, which the age of Louis XIV. bore so nobly, faded and fell ; the great men passed away and were replaced by others of small calibre. Pascal, Molière, and Le Poussin were dead ; La Fontaine and Boileau had already produced almost all the works cherished by posterity. Racine was silent and broke that silence only to produce one final masterpiece ; Bossuet wrote no more great works. Lebrun was in disgrace ; Turenne had been killed ; Condé was dead and Duquesne was dying. Louis remained alone, the last survivor of an age which all these illustrious men had honoured, and he went down to his grave sad, defeated, a burden

to himself and to others, leaving France without industry, without commerce, exhausted, and cursing even that great reign which for twenty-five years she had hailed with enthusiastic applause.

Louis XIV. governs personally.—In 1661 Louis XIV. was twenty-three years old and had reigned for eighteen without becoming known to his subjects. Mazarin alone understood him. He had remarked to the Marshals Villeroy and Grammont, "You do not know him; he will set out a little late, but he will travel further than any. He has in him the makings of four kings and one honest man." No one thought that this young prince, who had so far been given over to the amusements of his age, would dare to rule personally, but the correspondence of Mazarin bears witness to the cardinal's constant efforts to prepare his pupil for the conduct of affairs. When, after Mazarin's death, the ministers came to the king to ask to whom they should address themselves in future, Louis answered, "To me." Michel le Tellier, the secretary of state, hastened to make this news known to the queen-mother, who laughed sarcastically and replied, "Well, M. le Tellier, don't you believe him?" But the king's resolution was taken in accordance with the advice of Mazarin; the astonishing thing is, not that it was taken, but that it was kept. Louis accepted all the cares of royalty and, as La Bruyère says, his own chief minister, required all the principal functionaries of the state to correspond directly with himself. For thirty years he worked regularly eight hours a day, and in his *Mémoires* he recalls with pride the effect which this declaration produced, recommending his son in eloquent terms not to forget that "a man reigns by work; that it is ingratitude and presumption towards God, injustice and tyranny towards men, to wish to reign without working."

Theories of Louis XIV. on Government.—It is still more remarkable that this young prince, who so boldly took up the reins of power, had already conceived a complete scheme of policy. Not only did Louis XIV. reign with unlimited power, as some of his predecessors had already done, but he established for the first time in France the conception of the absolute monarchy. In his eyes monarchy was a divine institution; kings were the representatives of God on earth, His lieutenants, providentially inspired by Him, and hence sharing in a measure the power and infallibility of the Deity. And since the monarchy, in making itself absolute, had preserved the old feudal idea of identity of sovereignty and property, Louis believed himself

to be not only the master of his subjects, but also the proprietor of their goods, a monstrous doctrine which descends from the ancient oriental monarchies. This authority, limited only by the royal conscience and by religion, was not to be sterile, but active and hardworking. He believed that kings had imperious duties to fulfil. "We ought," he said, "to consider rather the good of our subjects than our own. It is for their advantage that we should give them laws, and the power which we have over them should be used only for their more effectual betterment. It is more admirable to deserve the name of father than that of master, and if the latter is ours by the fact of birth, the former is the cherished object of our ambition." "Our subjects," he says elsewhere, "are our true wealth. If God gives me grace to do all that I have in mind, I hope to bring the happiness of my reign to such a height that (I will not say that there shall be no more rich and poor, for that distinction is eternally produced among men by fortune, by industry, and by brain) there shall be neither indigence nor beggary in my kingdom, that no one, however wretched he may be, shall not be assured of his daily bread, either through his own toil or through the ordinary and regulated assistance of the state." Such were the ideas of Louis upon the kingly office.

Ministers of Louis XIV.—The ministers left by Mazarin were Pierre Séguier, keeper of the seals and chancellor; Michel le Tellier, secretary of state for war; Hugh de Lionne, in charge of the navy and foreign affairs; and Nicholas Fouquet, superintendent of finances. The first two were distinguished men, the third was a superior man. As for the fourth, Fouquet had acquired a reputation as a generous Maecenas by championing the cause of letters; he counted among his friends some illustrious persons, Pellisson, La Fontaine, Gourville, Madame de Sévigné, and Mademoiselle de Scudéri, who has pleaded his cause with posterity, though without success. Fouquet had left the finances in a state of extreme disorder, and had himself unscrupulously pillaged the treasury, spending nine millions on his château of Vaux and thinking nothing of paying 120,000 livres for a dinner. To the king, he increased the statements of expenditure and diminished those of receipts; he appeared to seek for support everywhere, even among the highest nobles; he fortified the places over which he had control in order to prepare an impregnable refuge for himself in case of disgrace. He was almost a *frondeur*; he was certainly a knave. It was essential that Louis should strike at him.

The king had a secret minister who drew his attention to all the errors and lies of Fouquet. This minister was Jean Baptiste Colbert, born at Reims in 1619 of an old family of merchants and magistrates. Colbert had been Mazarin's intendant, and the cardinal, before his death, had said to the king, "Sire, I owe you everything, but I think that I have in a measure paid my debt by giving you Colbert."

The destruction of Fouquet was perhaps already determined when the court accepted a magnificent fête which he gave at his house of Vaux. Louis XIV. was annoyed at a proud device which he saw everywhere, *Quo non ascendam?* and still more at the truly royal splendour produced to please him. He said angrily to the queen-mother, "Ah, madame, why should not these people be made to refund our money?" And the king was tempted to arrest the minister at Vaux in the midst of the fête which was being given, though he restrained himself. Some weeks after, Fouquet was in the Bastille (September, 1661). He was accused of embezzlement, a charge which was only too true, and of a plot against the state, a charge which was never proved. At the end of three years, nine judges voted for death, thirteen others for banishment. The king chose the heavier penalty, though he commuted it to perpetual imprisonment, and Fouquet was confined in the citadel of Pignerol, where he died after nineteen years of captivity. Colbert succeeded him with the title of controller-general. In 1666 Michel le Tellier left his office to his son, the famous Louvois, and the first ministry of Louis XIV. was completed.

Colbert.—Colbert really directed five ministries: the royal household with the fine arts; the finances; agriculture and commerce; public works; and from 1669 the marine—a crushing burden under which he did not succumb. "Jean Baptiste Colbert," says a contemporary, "had a naturally frowning countenance. His deep-set eyes, his thick dark eyebrows, gave him an austere appearance and made him seem at first sight savage and forbidding, but when he was better known he was found to be genial, quick, and extraordinarily constant. He was convinced that good faith is the surest basis of policy. Infinite application and an insatiable passion for learning took the place of profound knowledge with him. He was the restorer of the finances, which he found in unspeakable confusion when he assumed office. His mind was solid, though heavy, fitted especially for calculation, and it enabled him to unravel all the details of the perplexing accounts which the superintendents and the

treasurers had produced in order that they might fish in troubled waters." It may be added that this hard and austere financier, "this man of marble," as Gui Patin calls him, had a heart. "It is essential," he wrote to Louis XIV., "to save five shillings on unnecessary matters, and to pour out millions when your glory is concerned. A useless feast, costing 3000 livres, causes me incredible pain, but when it is a question of millions of gold for the Polish affair, I would sell all that I possess, I would hire out my wife and children, I would go on foot to the end of my days to supply them."

Financial Reorganisation.—The finances had fallen into that condition of chaos from which Sully had rescued them under Henry IV. The national debt amounted to 430 millions, the revenue was anticipated for two years, and of 84 millions raised annually by taxation the treasury received hardly 35 millions. Colbert's first step was to create a chamber of justice, in order to discover the malversations committed during the previous twenty-five years by the officers of the finances. Eight millions of *rentes* were annulled instead of being redeemed, as they had been bought at a low price by private individuals; such brokers as had profited from the needs of the state to lend money at usurious rates were forced to disgorge their gains. By fines and confiscations 110 millions were raised, and several brokers were hanged.

Colbert was the true creator of the budget. Hitherto money had been spent at haphazard, without regard for the receipts of the treasury. Now, for the first time, a statement of expected revenue and expenditure was drawn up each year, the *état de prévoyance*.

He modified the character of taxation. The *taille*, or tax on real property, was personal, payable by the commoners; Colbert decided to make it general, as it was in the south, and as it is throughout France at the present day, payable by all owners whether noble or not. The *taille* in 1661 amounted to 53 millions; Colbert reduced it to 32 millions. During the disorders of the *Fronde* many persons had assumed or bought for a mere song titles of nobility, and had secured the privileges attaching to genuine titles. As early as 1662, Molière, in his *École des Femmes*, satirised this vanity which was so expensive to the country at large. A royal ordinance revoked all letters of nobility granted in the last thirty years; Gros-Pierre was called upon to produce title deeds which he did not possess, and almost 40,000 families, among the richest in the various districts, were once more made liable to taxation to the relief of their neighbours.

The controller-general rightly preferred *aides* (indirect taxes), to which all contributed, to the *taille*. He reduced the price of salt, a commodity which was a prime necessity to the poor, but increased or created taxes on coffee, tobacco, wine, playing cards, lotteries, and so forth, and thus raised the revenue from indirect taxation from 1,500,000 livres to 21,000,000. His indirect taxes, some of which have been severely criticised by modern writers, originated from a sense of justice and equality.

Colbert disliked loans, not because he was blind to the advantage of borrowing at a low interest to liquidate onerous charges, but because he doubted the advisability of enabling Louis XIV. to burden the future to the profit of the present. As he left the council, at which the raising of the first loan was decided in 1672, he bitterly reproached Lamoignon for having approved of the measure. "Do you know, as I know, the type of man with whom we have to deal, his passion for display, for great undertakings, for every kind of expenditure? Once the door is opened to him to borrow there will be no limit to expenditure and hence to taxation. You will have to answer to the nation and to posterity." A time came, indeed, after the death of Colbert, when Louis XIV. borrowed at 400 per cent. The great minister at least attempted to defend the state from the exactions of the financiers by inviting the small capitalists to invest directly, without the employment of middlemen, in a bureau of loans which he created for this purpose and to which money flowed. This scheme was revived in more modern times.

A résumé of the general financial administration of Colbert is as follows : In 1661 on 84 million livres of taxes the state paid 52 millions in interest and salaries ; there remained 32 millions, while the expenditure amounted to 60 millions, leaving a deficit of 28 millions. In 1683, the year of Colbert's death, the taxes produced 112 millions, despite a reduction of 22 millions in the *taille* ; salaries and interest amounted to only 23 millions and the net revenue was 89 millions. Thus Colbert had increased receipts by 28 millions, reduced salaries and interest by 29 millions, and secured for the state a net gain of 57 millions per annum. At the same time he had relieved the commons of 22 millions of taxes, by reducing the *taille* by that amount. These figures speak for themselves.

Agriculture.—Sully had sacrificed industry to agriculture ; Colbert did not sacrifice agriculture to industry as has been sometimes said. He reduced the burdens upon agriculture ; he exempted large families from the *taille* ; he again forbade the

seizure of the instruments of labour and beasts for the recovery of taxes due to the state. He established, or rather restored, studs, where French horses were crossed with an African and Danish strain. He imported animals from Germany and Switzerland to improve the French stock, and sheep from England for the same purpose. He granted bounties to encourage the best breeders. He ordered the draining of marshes and finally published (1669) a code for rivers and forests, much of which is still in force. But he was guilty of respecting the popular prejudice which found the cause of famine in the export of grain, instead of adopting, as Turgot and the Constituent Assembly did a hundred years later, the best means of preventing scarcity, the permission for the free circulation of corn in all parts of the country. Colbert succeeded in keeping down the price of corn for the sake of the manufacturing population and the soldiers, but as cultivation was unprofitable much land went out of cultivation. Waste land increased; famines became more numerous, and as early as May, 1675, the Governor of Dauphiné wrote to Colbert that the inhabitants of the rural districts had lived all the winter on bread made of chaff and roots, and that he had seen them eating herbs and the bark of trees.

Industry.—Industry, in the sense of manufactures, had been introduced into France under Francis I. and Henry IV.; it was still in its infancy, all important articles coming from abroad. Italy supplied France with woven goods, glass, and jewellery; Germany with fine china and Bohemian crystal; Flanders with lace and tapestry; Holland with cloth and linen; England with woollen goods and steel. Colbert, who was born in a merchant's shop at Reims at the sign of *Long-Vêtu*, desired France to become self-supporting, and to give French industry time to grow, he adopted a salutary protective system. He was rather the organiser than the originator of protective duties, which injure an industry once developed, but are indispensable to a nascent industry. If he laid heavy duties by the tariff of 1667 on all goods coming from abroad which could be produced in France, this was in his view only a temporary measure, intended to enable the kingdom to demand from the foreigner those commodities which were necessary to her. He himself told the king that these duties should be reduced in order to facilitate the exportation of French products and the importation of raw material. Thanks to the lavish expenditure of Colbert in the purchase or suppression of the industrial secrets of other nations and in attracting to France the ablest workers, French manu-

factures rapidly increased. They were supported by subventions, distributed wisely, a certain sum being advanced to each trade, in addition to considerable bounties to masters and workmen. Colbert secured from the Church the suppression of seventeen festivals which multiplied useless holidays. He also increased the number of workers, as Richelieu had attempted to do, by reducing the number of monks and by postponing to the age of twenty-five permission to take religious vows. He instituted councils of arbitrators to maintain peace in the manufacturing world.

In 1669, 42,220 looms and more than 60,000 workers were engaged in the wool trade alone. The draperies of Sedan, Louviers, Abbeville, and Elbeuf were unrivalled in Europe; tinplates, steel, china, Morocco leather, which had always been imported from abroad, were now manufactured in France; the cloth and serge of Holland, the point lace and velour of Genoa were imitated and equalled in France; Persian and Turkish carpets were surpassed at La Savonnerie, Ambusson, and Beauvais; rich stuffs or silk, woven with gold and silver, were produced at Tours and Lyons; at Tour la Ville, near Cherbourg, and at Paris glass was made which surpassed that of Venice; the tapestry of Flanders gave place to that of the Gobelins. This last manufacture employed, from 1662, more than 800 workmen; the best artists directed the work, supplying either their own designs or imitating those of the old Italian masters. Lebrun presided over the work for twenty-eight years, and Mignard succeeded him. This unexpected flight of French industry was admirable; Boileau, writing history when he believed that he was only writing poetry, said justly in his epistle to the king (1669):—

“Nos artisans grossiers rendus industrieux
Et nos voisins frustrés de ces tributs serviles
Que payait à leur art le luxe de nos villes.”

It may be noted that Colbert gave French industry that impress which it has always borne since his time. He was not concerned merely to increase production; he desired that production should be good. It seems he understood the place which France could occupy in the industrial world, her task of applying a lively imagination and a delicate taste to work upon raw materials. In accordance with this idea the manufactory of the Gobelins was organised as a great model school, where art and industry should for ever be associated, the one giving beauty and grace, the other utility.

Internal Trade: Public Works.—In order to facilitate communication between the various towns and provinces, Colbert was anxious that there should be customs barriers on the frontier alone. He found such barriers existing between every province, and though he was unable to destroy the numerous toll-houses on the roads and rivers he at least reduced their number, suppressing interior customs houses in twelve provinces. By reducing the rate of duties payable, he encouraged the export of wine and brandy (1664); he declared Dunkirk, Bayonne, and Marseilles free ports, and granted Marseilles a chamber of assurance (1670). He established in the ports warehouses at which duties remitted on re-exportation were repaid; he favoured the transit through France of foreign merchandise, which might pass freely through all the provinces; he repaired such main roads as had fallen into decay and built new highways. The canal of Burgundy was projected by him; that of Orleans, opened in 1692, was decreed; and that of Languedoc, to unite the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, was dug. At one end of this canal the port of Cette was constructed; Toulouse was at its other end and from Toulouse the Garonne afforded ready communication with Bordeaux and the Atlantic. This work, vast for the period, was begun in 1664 and continued without interruption until 1681. It was executed by the celebrated Riquet, of an old Florentine family, according to the designs of a French engineer, Andréossy; it cost 34 million livres and employed every year ten or twelve thousand labourers.

Commerce, with such assistance, made rapid strides. To regulate and watch over this new activity, Colbert restored in 1665 the council of commerce founded by Henry IV. Louis XIV. presided regularly over it once a fortnight. Similar councils established in the provinces were to meet annually on June 20 to examine the state of commerce and manufactures, and to appoint deputies who should bring their opinions to the notice of the minister. An ordinance of 1671, which unfortunately remained a dead letter, established uniform weights and measures in all ports; they actually became uniform in the arsenals.

Foreign Commerce and Colonies.—"Foreigners," says an edict of 1664, "have made themselves masters of all sea-borne commerce, even that between different ports of the kingdom." Every year 4000 Dutch vessels landed the products of their industry, especially cloth, on the French coast, with the goods of two worlds, and carried away French silks, wines, and spirits.

Colbert wished to rescue France from this position of inferiority. He wrote (March 21, 1669) to Arnold de Pomponne, ambassador at the Hague, "The sea-borne commerce of Europe employs some 25,000 vessels; in the natural order of things, each nation would possess a share of this tonnage proportionate to its power, population, and the extent of its coasts. But the Dutch have from 15,000 to 16,000 ships, the French five or six hundred at most, and the king will therefore use every endeavour to approach more nearly that number of ships which ought to be owned by his subjects." As early as 1659 the superintendent Fouquet had established an anchorage due of fifty sous per ton, payable on entering and leaving a port, for foreign vessels; Colbert maintained this duty, which did for the French merchant navy what the Navigation Act did for the English. He granted French ships bounties on export and import, and encouraged the building of ships for ocean commerce by another bounty of from four to six livres per ton, with the result that the French mercantile marine, being at once protected and stimulated, developed.

The English and Dutch still had the advantage of long experience, of safe harbours, of markets which they had frequented for a century, and of vast capital which permitted them to dare and risk much. Colbert, to contend with them, substituted privileged associations for private effort. He established five great companies on the model of those of England and Holland: those of the East Indies and West Indies in 1554; those of the North and the Levant in 1666; and that of Senegal in 1673. To them he gave the exclusive monopoly of trade in these distant lands, with premiums, and lent to them considerable sums of money—6,000,000 to the East Indies Company alone. He also obliged the princes of the blood, the nobles, and the rich to interest themselves in these companies, and finally declared by an edict of 1669 that to engage in maritime commerce was not derogatory for a noble. At the same time consuls and ambassadors received orders to give the most active protection to commerce, an order often renewed, and to furnish all useful information.

Colbert also desired to revive the colonial system, neglected since the time of Richelieu. France possessed only Canada, with Acadia, Cayenne, the Isle of Bourbon, and some factories in Madagascar and the Indies. Colbert bought for less than a million Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada and the Grenadines, Marie-Galante, St. Martin, St. Christopher, St. Bartholomew, St. Croix, and Tortuga in the Lesser Antilles

(1665). He placed under the protection of France the pirates of San Domingo, who had seized the western part of that island (1664); he sent new colonists to Cayenne (1677) and to Canada (1665); he occupied Terra Nova in order to command the entrance to the St. Lawrence (1680), and began the occupation of the magnificent valley of the Mississippi, or Louisiana, which was explored by a bold captain, Robert de la Salle (1680). In Africa, he took Goree in Senegal from the Dutch (1665) and seized the eastern coasts of Madagascar. In Asia, the Indian company established itself at Surat, Chandernagore, and later at Pondicherry. In order to reserve for the national flag all colonial commerce, Colbert closed their ports to all foreign vessels, and to develop their cultivation he forbade in 1667 the importation into France of the tobacco and sugar of Brazil, an unfortunate measure which alienated Portugal and threw her into the arms of England.

The Navy.—The merchant marine is at once the training ground and the nursery of the navy; if the first is flourishing the second will become formidable. Colbert first refitted the few ships left in the ports of France by Mazarin; he bought others in Sweden and Holland, while dockyards were constructed at Dunkirk, Havre, and Rochefort, the last being built on the Charente at the centre of the Bay of Biscay. Henry IV. had founded Toulon, Richelieu had founded Brest, but they had rather indicated the possibilities of those ports than made them great. Duquesne remained seven years at Brest from 1665, and when Seignelay, Colbert's son, went there in 1672 he found a fleet of fifty vessels of the line. After the Peace of Nimwegen he executed vast works at Toulon, which made that city what nature had intended it to be, one of the finest ports in the world. The new dock constructed there was capable of containing a hundred ships of the line.

To man the fleet, Colbert created the *inscription maritime*, by which the population of the French coasts was compelled, in return for certain advantages, to furnish the recruits needed for the equipment of the navy, and by which those recruits were distributed, according to age and family position, in different classes which were called up in succession as the needs of the service demanded. This institution was completed by the creation of the bureau of veterans, by which a pension was secured for the retired sailor in his old age. The first census, that of 1670, showed that 36,000 sailors had been enrolled, but in 1683 the number had risen to 77,852. Armaments were also increased.

In 1661, the navy consisted of only 30 ships ; in 1678 it consisted of 120, and five years later of 176. In 1692 the king had 131 vessels of the line, 133 frigates, and 101 other ships. Intendants at Rochefort for the Atlantic station and at Toulon for the Mediterranean looked after the maintenance of this vast material. The administration of the navy was divided from that of the army, with benefit to both services. The corps of marine guards composed of 1000 gentlemen was established in 1672 to act as a school of good officers, and at the same time there were created a school of gunnery, to furnish good marksmen, and a school of hydrography, from which the navy secured accurate charts.

Fine Arts.—Colbert had reformed finance, commerce, and navigation by giving them a minute regulation which too frequently substituted the initiative of government for that of the individual. He wished also to regulate thought, to place the moral life of France under the control of the king, as Richelieu had placed the political life, as Colbert himself placed the material life of the country. A great admirer of the cardinal, he resumed his design of constituting a government of literature. In 1663 he created the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres ; in 1666 that of Sciences, which gave to the researches of scholars that which they had hitherto lacked, a centre and a home. The Academy of Music was organised in the same year, and that of Architecture in 1671. A school of fine arts, established at Rome in 1667, received pupils who had gained the prize of the Academy of Painting at Paris, and who copied on canvas or in marble the masterpieces of antiquity. The cabinet of medals and the school of *jeunes-de-langue* for the study of oriental languages were founded ; the library was increased by more than 10,000 volumes and by a large number of valuable manuscripts ; the Mazarin library was opened to the public ; the *Jardin-des-Plants* was extended, and the creation of provincial academies was encouraged. These excellent foundations were full of hope for the future. In the present, artists and men of letters already found their reward in them, in the honour of being included in the number of their associates and in the profits which accrued from such a position. Louis gave them individually more considerable advantages. Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Molière, Quinault, Lulli, and twenty more received pensions ; even foreigners shared in his liberality. "Though the king is not your sovereign," wrote Colbert to them, "he wishes to be your benefactor ; he commands me to send you the letter attached

as a pledge of his esteem." Among these men may be noted the librarian of the Vatican, Allacci; Count Graziani, secretary to the Duke of Modena; Vossius, the historian of the United Provinces; the Dane Roemer; the Dutchman Huygens, whom Colbert summoned to Paris where he remained fifteen years; and many others. Viviani, the celebrated mathematician of Florence, caused a house to be built with this inscription in letters of gold, *Aedes a Deo datae*. Admiration for Louis passed the French frontiers; a dozen panegyrics in his honour were declaimed in different cities of Italy. It must be added that this admiration was bought cheaply, the budget of literature was never heavy. In the year in which the pensions reached their highest figure the total expenditure did not exceed 100,000 livres, 53,000 of which was for Frenchmen, 16,000 for foreigners, and the balance for presents. The average was 75,000 livres.

Louvois: Reform of the Army.—Colbert had organised peace; Louvois, "the greatest and most brutal of commissaries," organised war. Francis Michel le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois, was born in 1641, and at the age of fifteen entered the office of his father, then secretary of state. He had been trained by a long apprenticeship in the art of administration, in which he showed a degree of activity equal to that of Colbert. When Louis XIV. decided to rule personally, Louvois became the real minister of war, though he only succeeded his father in 1666. He reformed the army, and his reforms lasted as long as the French monarchy. If he maintained the system of voluntary enlistment, which had been practised for three centuries, he reduced the abuses and dangers of the system by strict discipline and severe regulations. He established the French uniform by ordering that each regiment should be distinguished by the colour of its coats and by different marks (1670). He introduced the use of pontoons of hides for crossing rivers; he instituted stores of food and provisions, canteens, military hospitals, the Hôtel des Invalides—all things which had been little known before him. He created the corps of engineers, whence the great Vauban got his best pupils; he created schools of artillery at Douai, Metz, and Strasburg; companies of infantry, grenadiers, regiments of hussars, and companies of cadets, the latter military academies for gentlemen.

The army still felt itself to be feudal. The cavalry had too much importance and the nobles did not care to serve in any other arm. "I declared," says Louis XIV., "that I would give

no employment in the cavalry in future to those who had not served in the infantry." Battles were begun or completed by the one arm, gained by the other. From this time the French infantry became, and remained, except under Louis XV., the finest in the world. Louvois regulated the march and substituted for the pikes, which still prevailed, the musket and bayonet, but it was only when Vauban made the musket a weapon for close quarters as well as for distant fighting that it became the most formidable weapon of destruction that had yet been put into the hands of man.

Louvois made a revolution in the army by the *ordre-de-tableau* and by the creation of inspections. He did not destroy the venality of commissions, which had been introduced into the army and which was used only for the profit of the nobles, but to merit promotion it was no longer enough to possess ancestors, it was necessary also to have a record of service, and from the rank of colonel promotion depended on seniority. The nobles hated this minister, "Who had humbled men born to command others on the pretext that it was reasonable to learn to obey before being placed in command, and who wished to make the nobles accustomed to equality and to mingling with every one." Louvois, with inflexible firmness, required that all should do their duty, and to insure that they did so, he instituted inspectors-general who went everywhere as representatives of the authority of the king and his minister. Severe blame fell upon officers who were negligent, like the colonel of good family mentioned by Madame de Sévigné. "Louvois said very loudly the other day to Monsieur de Nogaret, 'Sir, your company is in a very bad state.' 'Sir, I was not aware of it.' 'You ought to know it,' said Monsieur de Louvois, 'have you seen it?' 'No, sir,' replied Nogaret. 'You must see it, sir.' 'Sir, I will give an order.' 'It must be given: for, sir, you must decide whether you will be a courtier or an officer, and do your duty as such.'" Louvois created the *camp-de-plaisance*, a ruinous innovation when these assemblies of troops were no more than a spectacle to amuse the ladies of the court and relieve the king from boredom, but an excellent school for officers and generals when they prepared seriously for the great manœuvres of war. Only after his death was the Order of St. Louis instituted, designed to pay for military services by honours. In this order there was no distinction of birth, but there was a religious bar, the Protestants being excluded. By such methods France was able in the war of Flanders to place 125,000 men in the field; in the

war with Holland, 180,000; before Ryswick, 300,000; and 450,000 in the War of the Spanish Succession.

Fortification of the Frontiers: Vauban.—There was one point alone on which the minister of war and the minister of marine were agreed, the fortification of the realm. For the accomplishment of this vast work, they found a man who shares with Colbert himself the position of the greatest man of the reign, Le Prestre de Vauban. He was a man of humble family born near Saulieu in Burgundy (1633). His father died on active service, leaving him nothing, and he was received and educated by a neighbouring priest. At the age of seventeen, he found himself in the midst of the *Fronde*, eleven of his brothers, uncles, and relatives being under arms. One morning Vauban escaped and hastened to join the great Condé, who received him as a cadet, and soon made him an officer. The priest had given him some idea of geometry, and this Vauban developed; these facts decided his profession. Entering the royal army, he served under the Chevalier de Clerville, the most famous French engineer of the time, and at the age of twenty-five directed the sieges of Gravelines, Ypres, and Oudenarde. In 1663 his reputation was great enough for Louis XIV. to employ him to fortify Dunkirk, and this first work of the young engineer was a masterpiece. Two jetties extending 2000 metres into the sea, and being defended by formidable batteries, created a port where nature had made only an inferior anchorage. The waters from the land and those of the sea, directed with skill, served to create a great flow of water which constantly bored a channel and carried out to sea the sand and mud which they had moved. From this time Vauban was the indispensable man whom all generals required when a siege was to be undertaken. During wartime, Vauban captured towns; in time of peace, he fortified them. It is calculated that he worked at three hundred formerly fortified places, constructed thirty-two new fortresses, conducted fifty-three sieges, and was engaged in a hundred and forty pitched battles. He was many times wounded, since, in order to reconnoitre the approaches of a place and spare the blood of his soldiers, he exposed himself in a fashion which would have laid him open to the charge of rashness had it not been that his conduct was the result of a cool and reflective courage which made such actions a matter of duty.

Situated between two seas, defended by the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Jura, and by the Rhine from Basle to Landau, France only lacked a natural frontier from the Rhine to Dunkirk on the

north-east. This barrier, which nature or rather policy had denied her, Vauban supplied. He fortified Dunkirk, whence sallied so many bold corsairs that the enemy had to keep the port continually blockaded by thirty or forty ships. Vauban fortified Lille, Metz, and Strasburg, when that place came into the hands of France. He built Maubeuge on the Sambre, repaired Charlemont on the Meuse, and relied on these two places with Philippeville to cover Picardy and the valley of the Oise, which descends towards Paris. By means of Longwy, built opposite Luxemburg, he closed the opening of the Ardennes between the Meuse and the Moselle. The valley of the Moselle was the great route for invasions of France from Germany ; Vauban doubled the strength of Metz and constructed Thionville as an additional work. He built Saarlouis in the midst of the large gap which extends from the Moselle to the Vosges, in order to cover Lorraine, though that province was not yet French. Bitche and Phalsbourg became the chief defences of the Vosges ; Landau, that of Alsace, and that recently conquered province was bound to France by means of Lichtemberg, Hagenau, Schelestadt, Huningue, Neu-Breisgau, and above all by Strasburg. The Vosges do not join the Jura, and in the resulting gap in the defences of France Vauban raised Belfort. He added new works to Besançon, the guardian of the frontier of the Jura, and to Briançon, which covered the basin of the Durance, while Mont Dauphin was built almost on the summit of the Alps. Little attention had been paid to the defences of the Pyrenees, which offered two passages for armies on the side of Bayonne and on that of Perpignan. Vauban made these two places the centre alike of defence and offence, while he placed in the midst of the mountains, St. Jean-pied-de-Port before the first, Mont Louis before the second.

He constantly visited the coasts and left everywhere traces of his visits. He worked at Antibes, the large and safe port of which is unfortunately shallow and difficult of access. He transformed Toulon, which had definitely become the great French port on the Mediterranean, as Marseilles was unable to admit the vessels of deep draught which had replaced the galleys. He wished to make another great naval port at Port Vendres, at the entrance of the Gulf of Lyons. He constructed the fort of Andaye on the Bay of Biscay to defend the mouth of the Bidassoa ; also the citadel of Bayonne, though he did nothing to improve the dangerous passage of the Adour. The mouth of the Gironde was already guarded by the little island

of Pate, Fort Médoc, and the citadel of Blaye, which crossed their fire over the river ; these defences were enough. The Chevalier de Clerville was responsible for the fortification of the Charente and the foundation of Rochefort, but Vauban restored the walls of La Rochelle on a new plan, built the citadel on the Isle of Ré, and fortified Brest. The importance of St. Malo was of too ancient a date for that nest of corsairs not to have been long since protected by imposing fortifications, and one of the towers of the old castle bears an inscription of the Duchesse Anne, " Qui qu'en grogne, ainsi dira, c'est mon plaisir." The pleasure of these hardy mariners was to fall upon the English as soon as war was declared. Vauban recognised the excellent position of Cherbourg on the peninsula of the Cotentin, which juts out like a spur into the Channel, but after some works there, he abandoned his plans, which were not carried out until the reign of Louis XVI. The attempts to free Le Havre from the bar which threatened to close the port were no better executed. Dieppe and St. Valery-sur-Somme had no need of new works. Boulogne received some new fortifications. Vauban wished to work at Calais, but was only permitted to carry out his ideas for the deepening of the harbour ; there was some fear that injury would be done to Dunkirk, the favourite of Louis XIV., and the deserved favourite.

Vauban, who knew so well how to fortify towns, knew still better how to reduce them. The use of shells to destroy earth-works, of ricochet fire to dismount the enemy's pieces and to destroy bastions, and above all the invention of parallels, which he devised at the siege of Maestricht in 1673 to unite the trenches which converged on the place, restored to the attack the advantage over the defence. Vauban advanced slowly but surely, marching under cover by lines always well connected with each other and mutually supporting, never storming when he could avoid that method, sparing his soldiers, whose lives had before his time been wasted, and attaining his object with infinitely more speed and with less danger, because he first silenced the fire of the enemy and never left them a single tenable point on their ramparts or a single piece of artillery which could be used. The impregnable fortress became a thing of the past and Vauban was easily able to calculate beforehand when a besieged town would be taken. He was also the inventor of the socket which enabled the infantry to fire while keeping their bayonets fixed.

Vauban made many tours of the frontiers and coasts to examine all fortified places, but he also considered commercial

centres. He made many military plans, but he also made plans designed to aid agriculture and the arts of peace. He pointed out harbours and canals which should be dug, jetties and piers to be built ; he indicated the means by which the navigation of the rivers might be improved. Colbert himself did not love his country more than did this great citizen, for whom St. Simon invented the title of " patriot." What Vauban accomplished in this regard was nothing to what he wished to accomplish, and his *Mémoires* are at the present day still full of useful ideas.

Séguier: Great Legislative Works.—In a memorandum presented to the king on May 15, 1655, Colbert proposed so to re-organise legislation that France should have one law ; one system of weights, and one system of measures ; he further advocated free justice ; the abolition of the venality of offices at a cost of 420 millions ; a reduction in the number of monks ; and the encouragement of useful professions. A commission was appointed, consisting of councillors of state and masters of requests, Pontchartrain, Chamillart, Voisin, d'Aligre, Boucherat, and Colbert's uncle, Pussort, " that wooden faggot which was always at the head of all the greatest affairs in the kingdom." Having completed their work, they discussed results with the chief members of the parliament, in the presence of the ministers and under the presidency of the chancellor, or, on occasion, of the king himself. Six codes were published as a result of these deliberations. In 1667 the *Ordonnance Civile*, or *Code Louis*, was produced, which abolished various iniquitous judicial procedures, relics of the Middle Ages, " monuments of human imbecility," says Montaigne. Others were modified in order to expedite justice ; the form of the register of civil status was regulated, and it was decreed that these registers should be deposited in the archives of each tribunal. In 1669 came the ordinance of waters and forests ; in 1670, the *Ordonnance d'instruction criminelle* by which the use of torture was limited. The accused in capital cases was still denied any counsel or defender, preliminary punishments were retained in the shape of torture to produce confession, and the penalty was still ill-suited to the offence. In 1673 came the commercial code, a true title of fame for Colbert ; in 1681 the code of the marine and colonies, on which the common law of Europe was based ; in 1685 the *Code Noir*, by which the condition of the negroes in the colonies was regulated. These ordinances together constituted the greatest legislative work accomplished between the period of Justinian and that of Napoleon. In order to secure the observation of the laws,

masters of request were constantly sent through the country, into the provinces, and to the local parliaments, as *enquesteurs* had been under St. Louis.

De Lionne: Foreign and Diplomatic Affairs.—Colbert and Louvois enabled Louis XIV. to wage war with success by the reform of the finances, the creation of a navy, and the reorganisation of the army. De Lionne, secretary of state for foreign affairs, prepared the road to success by his negotiations. He had, according to Choisy, a superior genius; his mind, naturally lively and penetrating, was sharpened by early training in affairs under the cardinal. St. Simon, who was not inclined to flatter him, admits that de Lionne had an ability and superiority out of the common. The king himself supervised all his services; he wrote in person the chief despatches to his ambassadors; he minuted many important letters with his own hand, and all instructions sent in his name were read over to him.

CHAPTER LI

EXTERNAL HISTORY AND CONQUESTS OF LOUIS XIV. (1661-1679)

State of Europe in 1661.—Louis XIV. possessed able ministers, the most united and best-situated kingdom in Europe, an authority which, after the *Fronde*, was freed from the smallest trace of opposition, finances set in good order by Colbert, an army organised by Louvois under the most famous generals, and behind this army a brave nation of 20 million. His strength was great, and was relatively the greater owing to the weakness of his neighbours. Spain had reached that profound decadence towards which the vast ambition of Philip II. had precipitated her, and her actual ruler, Philip IV. (1621-1665), had lost Catalonia and the kingdom of Naples for some years, and Artois, Cerdagne, Roussillon, and Portugal in perpetuity. Germany, divided into over 360 states, all of which had become practically independent as a result of the Treaties of Westphalia, was in a condition of chaos from which Louis XIV. prevented her from emerging by means of the League of the Rhine. Austria, governed by a mediocre prince, Leopold I. (1657-1705), was devoid of credit in the empire, and was sufficiently occupied with her own defence against the Turks. Italy had been of no political weight for two hundred years. Sweden, worn out by the heroic efforts of the great Gustavus, had completed her own exhaustion by her

wars against the Danes, Russians, and Poles. The English had received back the Stuart dynasty, whose opposition to national sentiment neutralised the influence and retarded the development of the country for twenty-five years. Finally, Holland, though rich and powerful at sea, lacked territory, and hence staying power. Louis XIV., surveying Europe at the moment when he assumed the government, saw neither king nor people capable of entering into competition with himself and France, and the earliest acts of his foreign policy revealed a desire for grandeur, a sense of his own dignity, and a degree of pride which were astonishing, but which were justified by success.

First Acts of the Foreign Policy of Louis XIV.—The French ambassador in London, Count d'Estrades, was insulted by the servants of the Spanish ambassador, Baron de Vatteville, at a public ceremony on a matter of precedence. On hearing the news, Louis recalled the envoy whom he had sent to Madrid, sent away the Spanish representative at Paris, and threatened his father-in-law with war if he refused to give open reparation. Philip IV. (1662) gave way, and the Count of Fuentes declared on his behalf at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the court and of the foreign envoys, "That the Spanish ministers would not henceforth claim equality with those of France."

At Rome, the Duke of Créquy, the French ambassador, offended the people by his pride; shots were fired one day at the carriage of the duchess and at the windows of the embassy. Louis demanded satisfaction. As the pope temporised, he seized Avignon and talked of sending an army into Italy. Alexander VII. humbled himself; he erected in the centre of Rome a pillar to serve as a monument of the injury and its reparation, and his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, presented the pontifical excuses to this young prince who had not yet drawn a sword (1664).

Portugal defended its independence against the Spaniards with difficulty, but 4000 veterans under Marshal Schomberg established the house of Braganza on the throne by the victory of Villa Viciosa (1665).

The Barbary pirates infested the Mediterranean. Louis constituted himself the protector of all the nations bordering on and navigating that sea, and his admiral, the Duke of Beaufort, the former *roi des halles*, with a force of fifteen ships, defeated the pirates, burned their bases of Algiers and Tunis, and forced them to respect the name of France and the commerce of the Christians (1665). This war was marked by one heroic deed. Among the prisoners of the Dey of Algiers was an officer of St. Malo, Porcon

de la Barbinais. He was sent to bear peace proposals to the king, having sworn to return if the negotiations failed, 600 Christian captives answering for his word. The proposals were not accepted, as Porcon had foreseen ; he went to St. Malo, set his affairs in order, and returned to Algiers, assured of the fate which awaited him. He was executed, a second Regulus, though his name is unknown to fame.

The king had made trial of his young navy in the Mediterranean ; he bought for it a port in the northern sea. The new King of England, Charles II., always in need of money, sold him Dunkirk for 5 million francs (1662). The harbour was rapidly deepened, the town was surrounded with formidable fortifications, and it became a cause of regret, envy, and terror to the English. When war broke out between England and the Dutch, Louis joined the latter, but was careful not to risk his fleet seriously, his desire being only to exhibit the capacity of the best sailors in the world and to secure a field for serious manœuvres, which should be still without danger. By the Treaty of Breda (January 2, 1667), England restored Acadia which she had conquered.

In 1664 the Turks threatened Vienna ; 6000 men whom Louis sent to the emperor played an important part in the victory of St. Gothard which saved Austria. Louis also aided the Venetians in the defence of Candia, and between 1645 and 1669 more than 50,000 French went there on various occasions. Their last leader, the Duke of Beaufort, died at Candia. This help lent to the enemies of the Ottomans seemed glorious, but was a variation of the secular policy of France. Louis, who thus ran the risk of a rupture with the old ally of Francis I. and Henry IV., soon abandoned another part of their policy, the alliance with the Protestants. He resumed the rôle of Charles V. and Philip II. as the armed chief of Catholicism and absolute monarchy ; he aimed, as they had done, at predominance in Europe, and this ambition was as disastrous for France as it had been for Spain.

War of Flanders (1667): The Law of Devolution.—The death of the King of Spain in 1665 was the cause of the first war of Louis XIV. Philip IV. left only one son, a child of four years, Charles II., the issue of his second marriage. The Infanta Maria Theresa, who for six years had been Queen of France, was born of the first marriage. According to a custom in the Low Countries the paternal heritage was given or devolved upon the children of a first, to the exclusion of those of a second, marriage. Louis XIV. accordingly demanded these provinces in the name of his wife. The court of Spain consulted lawyers and theologians

when it should have raised an army ; it contended that the law of devolution was a civil custom which could not be applied to political succession, and that as far as the Infanta was concerned, she had renounced at her marriage all claims to her father's inheritance. The French government answered that this renunciation was null on the ground that Maria Theresa was a minor when her father had exacted the renunciation, and that the dower which had not been paid was an essential part of the contract. They further contended that the Low Countries were the personal inheritance of the Kings of Spain and thus should be regulated, as were private domains, by the law of devolution. The first ground had some appearance of soundness ; the second was not even specious. But the King of France relied rather on arms than upon arguments.

Spain was then without a fleet, without an army, without money. The land which had sent 100 ships to Lepanto and 165 against England in 1588 was reduced to borrow vessels from the Genoese to carry on her trade with the New World. After having possessed the most formidable armies on the continent, she was only able to place 200,000 effectives on foot. She was forced to have recourse to loans to defend herself and to subsist. She had no longer any commerce ; the manufactures of Seville and Segovia were largely ruined ; agriculture was decayed ; and the population, which had amounted to 20,000,000 under the Arabs, had fallen to 6,000,000. In order to prevent help reaching Spain from abroad, Louis XIV. secured the neutrality of England and the United Provinces, persuaded the princes of the League of the Rhine to furnish him with troops, and even won over the emperor on whom Spain had counted.

The war was a military promenade rather than an invasion. The king entered Flanders with Turenne and 50,000 men (1667) ; Charleroi, Tournai, Furnes, Courtrai, Douai, and Lille were quickly taken, the last alone making any resistance and checking the French for seventeen days. The Count of Bruay commanded the place ; Castilian politeness was then celebrated. As soon as the commandant knew that Louis XIV. was before the walls, he sent to beg the king not to be offended that he should defend the place to the last extremity. He offered to send from the town all that was needed for the service of the royal household and promised that he would not fire upon the side which his majesty might select for his quarters. Louis answered that the whole camp would be his quarters. In three months the whole province was subdued.

At the approach of winter, an armistice was proposed to the Spaniards, but the Governor of the Low Countries, Castel-Rodrigo, repulsed the overtures with contempt, declaring that the projected cessation of hostilities would be granted by nature and that there was no need to receive it as a favour from the enemy. This show of pride, which should have been supported by imposing forces, was punished by the loss of further territory.

"The amusements of St. Germain were in full swing," says Voltaire, "when in the midst of winter, in January, 1668, men were astonished to see troops marching on all sides and gathering in the Three Bishoprics, along the roads of Champagne. Trains of artillery, waggons of munitions, were collected on various pretexts on the road which led from Champagne to Burgundy. The district of France which was full of these movements was ignorant of the cause. Strangers from interest and the courtiers from curiosity made all manner of conjectures; Germany was alarmed; the object of these preparations and of these unusual marches was unknown to every one. No secret of conspirators was better kept than was this plan of Louis XIV. Finally on February 2 the king left St. Germain with the young Duke d'Enghien, son of the great Condé, and some courtiers; the other officers were already with the troops. He rode on horseback for long marches and reached Dijon. On the same day 20,000 men who had assembled by twenty different routes found themselves in Franche-Comté, some leagues from Besançon, and the great Condé appeared at their head." Besançon, Salins, and Dôle capitulated; Franche-Comté was subdued in six weeks, and the Spanish council wrote to the governor that "the King of France need only have sent his lacqueys to take possession of the country instead of going in person."

These rapid successes disturbed the neighbouring states and especially Holland, which in five days concluded with England and Sweden the Triple Alliance of the Hague, which offered its mediation to France and imposed it on Spain. Turenne and Condé wished to disregard the allies and promised the conquest of the Low Countries before the end of the campaign. They had reason for their confidence, since none of the three mediating powers was ready for war. Holland had no army, a few crowns would have bought off Sweden, and the English ships could not have stopped a French advance to Brussels. Louis XIV. on this occasion lacked daring. The King of Spain seemed to be on the point of death and he had no heir. The emperor and the King of France, in view of this expected event, agreed on a partition

of the Spanish monarchy. Louis said that it was useless to fight for some towns when he was about to receive an empire, and signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 2, 1668), by which he restored Franche-Comté and retained only his conquests in Flanders. The reasoning would have been just if the King of Spain had died at this time, but he took thirty years to die and the lost occasion never returned.

Causes of the War of Holland.—Louis did not forgive the Dutch for their intervention in his affairs. He had been shocked by the republican pride of their envoy, Van Beuningen, sheriff of Amsterdam, at the conferences of Aix-la-Chapelle. "Do you not trust the king's word?" de Lionne asked him one day. "I do not know what the king wants; I know what he is able to do," was the answer. Louis XIV. also complained of the insolence of the Dutch newspapers and especially of the injurious medals which they had caused to be struck after the peace. It was alleged at the French court that Van Beuningen was represented on a medal with the legend, *In conspectu meo stetit sol*, and that this was an insulting allusion to the emblem which Louis XIV. had chosen, a sun darting its rays on the globe with the following words as a device, *Nec pluribus impar*.

But absolute king though he was, he would not have set Europe in flames for such reasons. The war which the historians have called the war of medals, of personal resentment, was also a tariff war. Louis XIV. doubtless did not love these proud republicans, who owed their existence to his ancestors in his view, but Colbert detested the rivals of French commerce. He had attempted to drive them from the French coasts and to induce the merchants of France to provide for the carriage of their own goods. The Dutch, attacked by tariffs, defended themselves by surtaxing French wine, brandy, and manufactured goods (1660). "It is very bold of the States; you will soon see that they will have reason to repent," wrote Colbert to the ambassador at the Hague.

Louvois, on his side, considered that the true method of conquering the Low Countries from Spain was to humble and weaken the Dutch, and thus on this occasion the minister of finance was not in complete disagreement with the minister of war, and the king was led by his personal annoyance to accept their ideas. The war was, however, impolitic, since it destroyed the whole system of alliances founded by Henry IV. and Richelieu on the Protestant states; since it turned the arms of France from the one adversary whom it was then the interest of France to

strike; and since it led the French forces unwisely far from their own frontier, beyond the lower Rhine, into a land which it would have been useless to conquer and impossible to hold as long as the Spaniards remained at Brussels.

Alliances formed against Holland.—Louis was first concerned to dissolve the Triple Alliance. There was no difficulty in winning over Sweden, the old friend of France; it was a matter of an annual subsidy of 1,500,000 crowns. England would have hesitated had she been consulted, but Louis only addressed himself to Charles II., who was brought up like all his family in ideas of absolute power; he wished to rule without parliament, and to find the money which he needed he consented to become the pensioner of France. In four years he received 8,000,000 livres. The negotiator between the two kings was a princess of twenty-six, Henrietta, sister of Charles II. and wife of Philip of Orleans, usually called Madame. She went to Dover, where magnificent fêtes were held, on pretence of revisiting her brother, and she persuaded him to join with Louis XIV. against the United Provinces (1670). She died suddenly after her return, and Bossuet cried, "Madame is dying, Madame is dead." But this disaster did not modify the resolutions of the two sovereigns.

At the same time de Lionne renewed the treaties with the emperor and the princes of the League of the Rhine, who promised neutrality or help. This was the last triumph of that able diplomat; he died in 1671 and was succeeded by Arnault de Pomponne.

The war finally broke out in 1672. Thirty vessels of fifty to seventy-eight guns joined the English fleet, itself a powerful force of sixty ships of the line and commanded by the Duke of York. Between Sedan and Charleroi 90,000 men were gathered; the Bishop of Münster, the Elector of Cologne, and other German princes furnished some 20,000. The king led this magnificent army in person; Condé, Turenne, Luxemburg, and Chamilly commanded under him; Vauban was there to take towns and Pellisson to describe victories. To oppose so formidable an enemy, Holland had a considerable navy; Tromp and Ruyter, regarded as the first admirals of the age; rich colonies; an immense commerce. But she had neglected her army, a force always suspect in republics, and could count only on 25,000 militia, ill-equipped and undisciplined, while the 20,000 men promised her by her solitary ally, the Elector of Brandenburg, were at once insufficient and far distant. Internal divisions still further weakened her; there were two parties in the republic,

the first of which, led by John de Witt, grand pensionary of Holland, was wholly devoted to the cause of ancient liberty, and the second of which wished to restore to the offices held by his ancestors the young Prince of Orange. Taking advantage of the present danger, they secured his nomination at the age of twenty-two to the post of captain-general.

Invasion of Holland (1672).—Louis advanced along the Meuse, through the territories of his ally, the Bishop of Liège, in order not to violate the neutrality of Spain, and thence to the right bank of the Rhine from Wesel to Toll Huys. “There some countrymen told Condé that the dryness of the season had made the river fordable. The first step was easy; on the other bank there were only four or five hundred horse and two weak regiments of infantry without cannon. The French artillery outflanked them. While the royal household and the best cavalry squadrons passed the river without difficulty to the number of about 15,000 men, Condé coasted down the stream on a boat of leather. Some Dutch cavalry made as if to enter the river and engage, but fled as soon as they saw the strength of their opponents. Their infantry quickly laid down their arms and begged for quarter. No one was lost during the passage except the Count de Nogent and some horsemen who, missing the ford, were drowned. No one would have been killed in this affair had it not been for the rashness of the young Duke de Longueville. It is said that, the wine having mounted to his head, he fired his pistol at the enemy who prayed for their lives on their knees, shouting to them, ‘No quarter for these swine.’ He shot one of their officers; the Dutch infantry in desperation resumed their arms and fired a volley by which Longueville was slain. A captain of cavalry, who had not fled with the rest, rushed on Condé who was then mounting the bank of the river and put a pistol to his head. The prince moved and turned aside the shot which wounded his hand. Condé received no other hurt. The French in anger fell upon the infantry and put them to flight in every direction. Louis XIV. crossed the river with the infantry on a bridge of boats. (June 12, 1672.) Such was the passage of the Rhine, celebrated at the time as one of those great events which should arrest the attention of posterity. That air of grandeur with which the king invested all his acts, the rapid good fortune of his conquests, the splendour of his reign, the idolatry of the courtiers, and finally the taste of the people, and especially of the Parisians, for exaggeration, combined with that ignorance of war which is characteristic of great cities, all served to cause

the crossing of the Rhine to be regarded at Paris as a prodigious event, which was still further exaggerated. The general idea was that the army had crossed the river at the flood, in the presence of an entrenched army and despite the artillery of an impregnable fort which was called Le Tholus. It is true that nothing could have impressed the enemy more than did this crossing, and that if they had possessed a body of good troops on the further bank the undertaking would have been hazardous to a degree."

When the Rhine had been crossed, Holland lay open to invasion. The provinces of Overijssel, Gelderland, and Utrecht submitted at once, without any attempt at defence; every hour in every day brought the king news of some new conquest. An officer wrote to Turenne, "If you will send me fifty horsemen I can take two or three places with that force." Four soldiers for a moment made themselves masters of Muyden, the key of Amsterdam, since the sluices which allowed the flooding of the suburbs of that capital were there. The generals, called to the council, proposed to advance without delay on the city; Louvois preferred to leave garrisons in the occupied places, and the army was thus weakened and its operations delayed. The Dutch regained their courage and, uniting all the forces of the state in the hands of one man, raised William of Orange to the *stadtholderate*. This prince saved the independence of his country, but he sullied his glory by allowing an infuriated populace to murder the illustrious chiefs of the republican party, John and Cornelius de Witt, two great citizens.

First Coalition against France (1673).—The military dictatorship conferred on the Prince of Orange gave a new aspect to affairs. He caused the dykes to be cut and flooded the country round Amsterdam, forcing the French to fall back before the inundation. William served his country even better in diplomacy. He sent envoys to all the European courts to rouse them against France; he treated with Spain, with the Duke of Lorraine, with the emperor. Many princes of the League of the Rhine abandoned France and the advanced post which Mazarin had placed at the gate of the empire was turned against her. Such was the Grand Alliance of the Hague, the first of those coalitions which France was so often to face.

Campaign of 1673: Capture of Maestricht.—The great Germanic body was always slow to move. While it was preparing, Louis invested Maestricht, the key of the lower Meuse, and Vauban gave it to him. Luxemburg meanwhile held the Dutch; Turenne, who during the previous winter had driven

the Elector of Brandenburg back to the Elbe, checked the imperialists, and d'Estrées exercised the growing French navy by fighting four battles with Ruyter. At this time the English assisted the French, who thus fought two to one ; they were soon to be compelled to fight single-handed against the Dutch and English. At the end of the year the imperialists were at last in considerable force ; the defection of the Bishop of Würzburg enabled them to reach the Rhine and they formed a junction there with the Prince of Orange, took Bonn, and made their quarters in the electorate of Cologne.

Conquest of Franche-Comté (1674).—The war had become European in character. Louis XIV. changed his plans with a decisive vigour which did him honour. Abandoning Holland, which he could not hold, he turned all his forces against Spain, the weakest of the allies. With Vauban and 25,000 men, he attacked Franche-Comté, and the second conquest of that province was almost as rapid as the first. Besançon was taken in nine days, and the whole district was subdued in six weeks ; from that date it has remained a French possession (May, 1674).

Turenne saves Alsace (1674–1675).—The allies planned during this year a double and formidable invasion of France, by way of Lorraine and the Low Countries. Turenne was employed to check the first, Condé to check the second attack. But the enemy showed such a degree of slowness in beginning their operations that the conquest of Franche-Comté had been completed before their forces were set in motion. Turenne was even able to assume the offensive ; he passed the Rhine at Philippsburg with 20,000 men, laid waste the Palatinate that the enemy might not draw supplies from it, and fought a number of small battles at Sinzheim and Ladenbourg (July, 1674) where he exhibited tactical skill such as had not been known before his time. But military science cannot always make good numerical deficiencies. Violating the neutrality of Strasburg, 70,000 Germans entered Alsace, and it was believed that the province was lost, Louvois ordering the marshal to retire into Lorraine. Such was not the plan of the great leader, who, in the opinion of Napoleon, increased in daring as he grew older. He wrote to the king asking for freedom of action. " I know," he said, " the strength of the imperial troops, the generals who command them, and the land in which I am ; I assume all responsibility and will be answerable for the event." He remained in Alsace as he wished, delivered incessant attacks upon the enemy, and when winter arrived, recrossed the Vosges to take up his quarters in Lorraine.

The enemy, freed at last from this disturbing presence, and believing that the campaign was ended, dispersed, and to simplify the question of supplies encamped from one end of Alsace to the other. Turenne was the father of his soldiers, and as under his command they had no fear of useless fatigue or danger, he secured their absolute devotion. Suddenly, at the beginning of December, during a hard frost, he broke up his camps, marched along the western side of the Vosges, turned round their extremity, and reached Belfort after a twenty days' journey along terrible roads. He fell on the imperialists, who believed that he was fifty leagues away, pressed them back, and crushed them at Mulhouse, Colmar, and Turkheim. Driving them in disorder before him, he at last forced them over the Rhine, having inflicted a loss of 40,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners (January, 1675). This campaign, prepared with such secrecy, executed with such far-sighted daring, and ended in less than six weeks, aroused the enthusiasm of the whole of France. Louis XIV. wrote to the marshal, "I desire you to return to me, for I am most impatient to see you that I may tell you with my own lips what satisfaction the great and important services you have rendered have given me, especially this last victory which you have gained over my enemies." All along the road the people whom Turenne had saved from the ravages of an invasion ran out to greet him with admiration and thanks and his return was a triumphal march to St. Germain.

Battle of Seneff (1674).—While Turenne victoriously hurled back the invasion on the east Condé checked that from the north, preventing 90,000 Spaniards and Dutch from entering Champagne. He entrenched himself near Charleroi, before the Sambre, in a position which the Prince of Orange did not dare to attack. Condé, who could never fight a defensive campaign for long, followed the retreat of the allies and attacked their rear-guard at Seneff, near Mons (August, 1674), defeated it, dispersed the main body, but advanced in a disorderly manner against the remainder of the allied army which was very strongly posted. When night came on Condé had had three horses killed under him and the battle was still undecided. "Then," says La Fare, an eye-witness, "he ordered new regiments to advance and sought for artillery that he might renew the battle at day-break. Those who heard the proposal groaned; it was very clear that no one, except the general, had any wish to continue fighting." On the following day, the two armies separated, having both lost from seven to eight thousand men.

The Prince of Orange, in order to prove that he had not been beaten, laid siege to Oudenarde. Condé showed that he had conquered by forcing the prince to abandon this undertaking, but Grave, the last remnant of the French conquests in Holland, opened its gates. Chamilly had defended it for ninety-three days and inflicted a loss of 1600 men upon the assailants.

Last Campaign of Turenne and Condé (1675).—In the spring (June, 1675), Turenne returned to the leadership of the army of the Rhine, and once more engaged in operations in the Palatinate. The emperor sent Montecuculli, who ten years before had defeated the Turks at the Battle of St. Gothard and who was regarded as a consummate tactician, to oppose him. Six weeks were spent by the two commanders in following and in observing each other, and the reputation of each, which had appeared to be incapable of increase, was still further enhanced. Finally the opposing armies met near the village of Saltzbach, on ground which Turenne had selected. The victory of the French appeared to be certain when the marshal, as he was inspecting the position of a battery, was struck by a spent bullet which also took off the arm of St. Hilaire, lieutenant-general of artillery (July 27, 1675). St. Hilaire's son fell in tears on his father. "It is not for me but for that great man that you should weep," cried his father. Turenne's death was a public calamity. Louis XIV., to honour the greatest leader of the age, caused him to be buried at St. Denis in the sepulchre of the kings. But with the passage of time the memory of the services of Turenne grew faint, at least at the court; his renown appeared to be importunate. In 1710, during the disasters of the War of the Spanish Succession, his family built a mausoleum for him in the chapel of St. Eustace; Louis caused the ornaments and arms to be destroyed on the pretext that their appearance was unnecessary.

The death of Turenne caused the loss of all the fruits of his able campaign. The French, discouraged and seemingly filled with terror, fled towards the Rhine; Montecuculli entered Alsace by the bridge of Strasburg. At the same time, Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, laid siege to the great city of Treves with 20,000 men; Créquy, who attempted to relieve it, was defeated at Consarbrück, threw himself into the town, and after a heroic defence of some weeks was obliged to capitulate by the cowardice of the garrison (September, 1675). "His misfortune will make him a great general," said Condé, and Condé was right.

After the death of Turenne, Condé was sent to Alsace to check the progress of Montecuculli and to restore the confidence of the

troops. He forced the imperialist army to raise the sieges of Saverne and Haguenau and to recross the Rhine. This was his last success ; he ceased to appear at the head of armies and retired to Chantilly, where he lived until 1686 in the midst of men of letters, delighting in their discussions, joining in them with spirit, and sometimes, says La Fontaine, taking reason, as he took victory, by the throat.

Campaign of 1676: Naval Victories: Duquesne and d'Estrées.—

In the following year the war of sieges was resumed which Louis XIV. preferred. Condé and Bouchain were taken ; Maestricht, besieged by the Prince of Orange, was relieved ; but the Germans re-entered Philippsburg which du Fay defended for three months and only surrendered when his powder was exhausted. An unexpected glory consoled France for these slight successes and this reverse. The people of Messina, who had revolted from Spain, placed themselves under the protection of Louis XIV. (1675) ; he sent them a fleet commanded by the Duke de Vivonne, brother of Madame de Montespan, with Duquesne under his orders. That great sailor was born at Dieppe in 1610 and had at first been a merchant sailor and a corsair. He then entered the service of Sweden, where he made his reputation, and returning to France to enter the royal navy, he passed through all the ranks, becoming lieutenant-general ; he could not rise to a higher rank as he was a Protestant. On the coasts of Sicily he was opposed to Ruyter and the Spaniards. The first engagement near the island of Stromboli was indecisive (1676) ; the second, off Syracuse, was a complete victory. Ruyter was killed there ; Louis XIV. ordered military honours to be paid in all the French ports to the ship which bore his corpse back to Holland. Finally Duquesne, Vivonne, and Tourville, in a battle near Palermo, annihilated the enemy's fleets, and France for a time possessed the empire of the Mediterranean (1676).

In the same year the Dutch conquered Cayenne and ravaged the French settlements in the Antilles. Vice-Admiral d'Estrées fitted out at his own expense eight vessels which the king entrusted to him, stipulating only for half the prizes taken. With them he regained Cayenne, destroying in the port of Tobago, where they fancied themselves to be free from danger of attack, an enemy squadron of ten vessels. In 1678 d'Estrées also conquered Tobago as well as all the Dutch factories in Senegal. The French flag was supreme in the Atlantic as in the Mediterranean.

Campaign of 1677: Créqui and Luxemburg: Battle of Cassel.—Créqui had succeeded Turenne in Germany, Luxemburg succeeded Condé in the Low Countries. The former repaired the defeat of Consarbrück in a campaign worthy of Turenne. By a series of skilful marches, during which he kept constantly between the enemy and the French frontier, he covered Lorraine and Upper Alsace against an enemy who was in superior numbers; defeated him at Kochersberg, between Strasburg and Saverne (October 7, 1677), and captured Fribourg, with the result that the war was carried to the right bank of the Rhine. Luxemburg (who recalled rather the victor of Rocroi) together with the king took Valenciennes, where the musketeers carried formidable works in broad daylight. He then took Cambrai, and with Monsieur won the Battle of Cassel from the Prince of Orange. St. Omer, a neighbouring town, capitulated (April, 1677), and Ghent opened its gates in the following year.

Defection of England (1678).—Louis XIV. was thus conducting an offensive or defensive with success in every direction; an unexpected event led to the conclusion of peace. The English viewed, not without some alarm, the progress of French influence on the continent and still more the development of French naval power. They murmured at their king, tied in an alliance with so formidable a neighbour, and national opposition became constantly more active in parliament. Charles II. remarked sadly to the French ambassador, de Ruvigny (June 6, 1675), that "pressed by his subjects he was like a besieged town which was incapable of defence." He was obliged to ally with the States-General of Holland, to agree to the marriage of his niece, Mary, with the stadtholder, and to declare war on France (January, 1678).

Treaty of Nimwegen (1678): General Pacification (1679).—Louis XIV. then proposed peace to the United Provinces. The Prince of Orange owed his elevation to the war and tried to break the negotiations by surprising at St. Denys, near Mons, Marshal Luxemburg, who was relying on the armistice. He was repulsed after a desperate fight lasting six hours (August 11, 1678). "I quite expected," he said later, "to be defeated, but this defeat would have little consequence, since when peace was made the troops would be disbanded in any case." What a contempt for human life characterises all warriors! Men are for them of no more account than the pieces on a chessboard.

Holland, England, Spain, and the emperor treated at Nimwegen, the Elector of Brandenburg at St. Germain, and the King

of Denmark at Fontainebleau (August, 1678, to September, 1679). Once more Spain paid the cost of the war; she abandoned Franche-Comté and surrendered in the Low Countries the last two towns of Artois, Aire and St. Omer, with twelve other places, including Cambrai, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Condé, and Bouchain, which Vauban soon supplied with fortifications to enable them to serve as a barrier for France. The Elector of Brandenburg and the King of Denmark had to restore all that they had taken from the Swedes. But France, deviating from the commercial policy of Colbert, granted the abolition of the tariff of 1667 to the Dutch, and thus struck a severe blow to the mercantile marine and even to the industry of France. The Treaty of Nimwegen was the crowning glory of the reign of Louis XIV., to whom soon after the magistrates of Paris granted the title of Great (1680). They had already raised two triumphal arches for this war, those of St. Martin and St. Denis.

CHAPTER LII

LAST PERIOD OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV. (1679-1715)

Conquests of Louis XIV. during the Period of Peace.—After the Treaty of Nimwegen the other nations disbanded their armies, while Louis maintained his forces on a war footing and converted a period of peace into a time of conquests. The agreements, so recently concluded, had assigned to him a certain number of places, towns, and cantons, with their dependencies, and in order to discover what these dependencies were, Louis established at Tournai, Metz, Breisach, and Besançon the so-called *Chambers of Reunion*, which derived their title from the fact that they were employed to reunite to France the lands of which the towns of Flanders, the Three Bishoprics, Alsace, and Franche-Comté were alleged to have been dispossessed. The princes of Germany, the elector palatine, and the King of Spain were to appear by their proctors to defend their titles, and the decrees of these chambers, enforced by superior strength, handed over to Louis twenty important towns, including Sarrebrück, Deux-Ponts, Luxemburg, Montbéliard, and Strasburg, which Vauban converted into the main defence of the kingdom on the side of the Rhine (1681). In Italy Louis bought Casale in Montferrat from the Duke of Modena, in order to control the north

of the peninsula and Piedmont, already held in check by means of Pignerol (1681).

The French flag was displayed in other quarters and in a more legitimate cause. The Barbary pirates had resumed their depredations, and the veteran Duquesne was sent against them. An obscure sailor, Bernard Renau, invented a terrible engine of destruction for maritime places, galleys mounting mortars. Algiers was twice bombarded (1681-1684), partially destroyed, and forced to deliver its prisoners. Tunis and Tripoli suffered the same fate, and the Mediterranean was freed from pirates for some time.

A Christian city was treated in the same way as these piratical haunts. The Genoese had sold arms and powder to the Algerians, and they had built in their dockyards four warships for Spain, who had no fleet. Louis XIV. forbade them to arm the galleys, and when they refused to submit, Duquesne and Seignelay hurled 14,000 bombs into the city in a few days, destroying part of the magnificent palace of Genoa the Superb (1684). The doge was obliged to go to Versailles to beg pardon of the king, despite the ancient law which forbade the first magistrate of the republic ever to leave the city. He was asked what he found most remarkable in Versailles. "That I should be seen there," was his reply.

Even the pope was at one and the same time humiliated as a prince and wounded as a pontiff. The Catholic ambassadors at Rome had extended their rights of asylum and franchise, enjoyed from time immemorial in their embassies, over the whole quarter of the city in which they lived. Innocent XI. was anxious to put an end to this abuse, which made half Rome the habitual resort of criminals. He secured the assent of the other kings without difficulty, but Louis XIV., already irritated against the pope in the matter of the regalian rights, answered loftily that he had never been guided by the example of others and that it was for them to follow his lead. He sent the Marquis de Lavardin with 800 armed gentlemen to maintain his possession of this unjust privilege; the pope excommunicated the ambassador and the king seized Avignon (1687).

The matter was settled under the successor of Innocent XI., but the pontiff was deeply offended, a fact which was not without its influence on the war of 1688. The occasion of that war was the opposition offered by the pope to the French candidate for the Archbishopric of Cologne, Cardinal Furstemberg, who had already opened the gates of Strasburg to France. He was elected by a majority of the chapter, fifteen votes being recorded

for him against nine cast for his opponent, Clement of Bavaria. But Innocent XI. refused investiture to Furstemberg, on the plea that being already Bishop of Strasburg he might not be translated without papal sanction, and gave Cologne to Clement. Louis protested in arms against this decision; his troops occupied Bonn, Neuss, and Kaiserwerth (October, 1688). At the same time, he laid claim to part of the Palatinate in the name of his sister-in-law, the second wife of the Duke of Orleans.

League of Augsburg (1686).—These conquests, made in time of peace, these acts of violence, and this display of pride revived the fears of Europe. France was accused of having destroyed the domination of Austria in order to establish her own, to weigh down Europe as the Hapsburgs had done. As early as 1681, the empire, the Emperor Leopold, Spain, Holland, and even Sweden concluded, through the efforts of William of Orange, a secret alliance to maintain the peace of Nimwegen. No one dared to strike the first blow, and the diet of Ratisbon (August, 1684) declared for twenty years' truce which left Luxemburg, Landau, Strasburg, Kehl, and the other towns "reunited" prior to August 8, 1681, to France. As this did not satisfy Louis's ambition, the states came together once more and signed the League of Augsburg (July, 1686), to which Sweden adhered in the following year and England in 1689.

Internal Condition of France: Death of Colbert (1683).—At this critical moment, a weariness seemed to beset French society, brilliant as it still was and prosperous as it appeared to be. The heavy expenses of the last war, the maintenance in time of peace of an army of 150,000 men, the vainglorious buildings, such as those of Versailles, Trianon, Marly, the Louvre, and the Tuileries, or the buildings of public utility, the construction of ports, fortresses, and the Hôtel des Invalides, had combined to destroy the balance of the finances, to compel an increase of taxation, and to deal a first blow at agriculture and commerce. As early as 1680, Colbert had told the king that every letter from the provinces spoke of the deep misery of the people. But Louis XIV. easily elevated his practice into a theory and was ever fond of arrogating to his habits the character of a principle of government. In order to justify unlimited taxation, he soon secured from the Sorbonne an official declaration that he was absolute master of the life and goods of his subjects, and in order to quiet his conscience in the matter of his monstrous prodigality, he replied to Madame de Maintenon, who demanded money from him for the poor, "A king dispenses charity by

spending largely." A precious and terrible saying, remarks Say, which indicated how ruin might be reduced to a principle.

Colbert was thus very ill-advised to preach economy to Louis. Some popular movements, indications of the unrest of the people, which took place in various provinces did not afford a warning. They were cruelly repressed, and the deficit was continually increased. Colbert, to fill the gap between revenue and expenditure, was reduced to find new resources ; even he was obliged to sell offices, to raise loans at a ruinous rate of interest, and to increase the *taille*. He was distressed to see the finances falling back into the state from which he had rescued them and to see also, after the concessions made to the Dutch by the Treaty of Nimwegen, foreign competition once more injuring the sea-borne commerce and industry of France. He succumbed to his new difficulties, dying in 1683 at the age of sixty-four, worn out by overwork, killed, perhaps, by the unjust reproaches of the king. " Had I done for God what I have done for that man I should have won salvation ten times over ; now I know not what fate is in store for me," he said. He refused to read the king's last letter to him. Like many great French ministers, Colbert was unpopular. The people cursed the man who drew up the financial edicts instead of the man who had dictated them, and finding that twenty-two years of office had enabled Colbert to amass a fortune of 10 million livres they suspected his probity instead of realising his economy. It was found necessary to bury at night, without pomp and under guard, one of the benefactors of France, that a furious mob might not insult his funeral procession. After his death his ministry was divided ; his son, the Marquis de Seignelay, took the marine, while the finances were entrusted first to Le Pelletier (1683-1689) and later to the Count de Pontchartrain (1689-1699), who succeeded Colbert without replacing him. As early as 1689, financial embarrassment was so great that Louis was forced to send to the treasury the masterpieces of chased silver which decorated Versailles.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).—Two years after the death of Colbert, Louis committed the great error of his reign, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Protestants had remained quiet during the troubles of the *Fronde*, and in 1652 Louis XIV. had solemnly renewed the undertaking not to disturb their liberty of conscience. But he hated them as heretics and because they were thought to have little affection for absolute monarchy. Religious unity seemed to him to be as necessary as political. " I formed my scheme of conduct towards

my subjects of the reformed faith as early as 1661," he says in his *Mémoires*, "and I felt that the best means would be to reduce them gradually, not imposing any new hardship upon them, and observing the liberties granted by my predecessors, but granting them nothing beyond those liberties and confining the exercise of their privileges within the narrowest limits that justice and kindness permit. As to their privileges which depended upon me, I resolved to grant them none in order to force them to consider of their own accord and without violence if they had any good reason for voluntarily depriving themselves of the advantages which they might enjoy in common with my other subjects." He was long true to this ungenerous policy. Colbert went further, protecting the Protestants as useful and industrious subjects. He employed many in the arts, manufactures, and navy. Duquesne, the worthy rival of Ruyter, and Van Robais, the great manufacturer of Abbeville, were of the reformed faith, and Colbert even suggested to Louis XIV. the appointment of the Protestant Perrot d'Ablancourt to the position of court historian.

After the Treaty of Nimwegen, various influences, which combined to affect Louis, already growing old, served to lead the government to a more rigorous policy. The king was then engaged in a lively dispute with the papacy on the subject of regalian rights and was anxious to secure the support of the French clergy for the celebrated declaration of 1682, drawn up by Bossuet. He was eager that there should be no doubt of his zeal for the Church, and the Protestants afforded an opportunity for him to show that such zeal was not lacking. The securities which the Edict of Nantes had assured to the reformed religion were abolished by the suppression of the mixed chambers in the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux, and of those liberties which Richelieu and Mazarin had left untouched. Protestants were in succession forbidden to practise as lawyers, printers, booksellers, doctors, surgeons, and even as chemists, a prohibition which forced them, expelled from public functions and the liberal professions, to throw themselves into commerce which fell almost entirely into their hands. The Catholics were forbidden, under pain of the galleys for life, to embrace Calvinism, while the children of Protestants were permitted to change their religion at the age of seven years, at which age, according to the edict, they were capable of reasoning and deciding upon so important a matter as their salvation. As a result of this declaration, many children were torn from their families, and for young

girls of noble birth so converted, Madame de Maintenon founded the convent of St. Cyr. Missions in the provinces were increased, consciences were bought for money, and Pellisson, an ex-Protestant, as the latest favourite, had the direction of a special fund to pay for these abjurations. "Pellisson is extravagant," says Madame de Maintenon (November 13, 1683), "while Bossuet is wiser and more persuasive; it could not have been hoped that all these converts would have been made so easily." Louvois had recourse to still more persuasive means; he thought of mingling the Protestants with the soldiery, and soldiers were therefore quartered on Calvinists. These booted missionaries committed great excesses, and as the dragoons were distinguished for their violence, these measures became known as the *dragonnades*.

Finally the last blow was struck, and an edict appeared revoking the Edict of Nantes (October 22, 1685). All privileges granted to the Protestants by Henry IV. and Louis XIII. were suppressed; public worship was forbidden to them, except in Alsace; their ministers were to leave the realm in fifteen days, and lay Protestants were forbidden to follow them, under pain of the galleys and forfeiture. The resulting condition was monstrous; the reformed no longer possessed a civil status; their marriages were null, their children bastards, unless, by some fraud or lie, the wedding had been blessed by the Catholic Church. The goods of all proved heretics were confiscated, a share being assured to the informer. Nor did they suffer only in their goods and consciences; a large number of ministers were executed, and that their last exhortations might not be heard, drums at the foot of the scaffold drowned their words—a curious anticipation of the death scene of Louis XVI. It must be admitted that this disastrous and criminal measure was hailed with applause by the majority of the nation. Vauban, St. Simon, and Catinat, and a few superior minds alone realised the evil which it would inflict on the country. It was approved not only by Bossuet and Massillon, but by Racine, La Bruyère; even La Fontaine, Mademoiselle de Scudéri, the sweet Madame Deshoulière. Madame de Sévigné, always lively, without being always tender, at least to those who were not connected with her, wrote (October 28, 1685), "The dragoons are excellent missionaries," and in another letter, "Nothing so good, nothing so fine or memorable has ever been done by any king." The old chancellor, Le Tellier, who was dying, rallied himself that he might sign the edict, crying, *Nunc dimitte servum tuum, Domine*,

quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum. He failed to see that he had signed one of the great disasters of France. Between 250,000 and 300,000 Protestants crossed the frontier despite the police of Louis XIV. and carried to foreign lands the arts and manufacturing secrets of France, for which country they felt undying hatred. Whole regiments of Calvinists were created in England, Holland, and Germany, while those who remained in the kingdom thought only of an opportunity of breaking, even at the cost of civil war, the unjust yoke which weighed them down. Marshal Schomberg was expatriated; Huygens, Papin, painters, and sculptors were expelled from the Academy and from France. Duquesne, burdened with glory and his eighty-four years, was urged by the king in person to abjure. "I have rendered unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's for sixty years," he answered. "Permit me, therefore, to render unto God the things that are God's." He was at least allowed to die in France.

The success of this violence was dubious. There were a million Calvinists in France at the time of the revocation of the edict; there are now more than that number. Nor is it possible to estimate how great an impetus this great persecution, which once begun could not be checked, gave to the sceptical and cynical philosophy of the eighteenth century. The immediate result of the measure was to provoke an outburst against France which produced a terrible war and inaugurated a period of reverses.

Revolution in England (1688).—The answer of the Protestant powers to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the English revolution, which hurled the Catholic James II. from his throne and placed upon it the Calvinist William III. (1688). This successful movement established across the Channel limited monarchy in the place of monarchy by divine right. It began constitutional or parliamentary government, involving the discussion of the great affairs of state, the voting of laws, and the imposition of taxes by the representatives of the people. This right of peoples was a new feature in modern society, opposed to that absolute rule of kings which had reigned for two centuries and which reached its most glorious embodiment in the France of Louis XIV. It is not surprising that a bloody conflict broke out between France and England, a struggle which was not merely a conflict of two opposing interests, but of two opposing principles. In the sixteenth century France had undertaken the defence of Protestantism and of the common liberties of Europe; in the seventeenth she threatened the conscience of peoples and

the independence of states. The rôle which France abandoned was seized by England, which became the centre of all coalitions against the Bourbons, as France had been the centre of all resistance to the Hapsburgs.

This change of policy involved a modification of all the conditions of war. As long as Louis had neutralised England by pensioning her kings France had nothing to fear on the continent, since, supported by the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the sea, she could face the Rhine and fight with her full strength without being obliged to guard her rear. England united the enemies of France, and it was necessary not only to have armies on the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Alps, but also fleets in the Atlantic and in the most distant seas. This dual effort France could not bear indefinitely.

War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697).—The coalition declared war on February 5, 1689. Louis had 350,000 soldiers and a fleet of 264 vessels to oppose the allies. Standing alone against princes in ill-accord with one another and ill-obeyed by their subjects, he formed a plan which was at once simple and bold. The soul of the coalition was William of Orange, stadtholder of Holland and King of England ; if he were overthrown, the war would be ended at a single blow. Louis therefore supplied a fleet to James II. to assist him to regain his throne. Spain and Savoy were the two weakest states of the league ; Louis turned against them the larger part of his forces. On this side he attacked ; on the Rhine, the left bank of which he held as far as Coblenz, he preserved the defensive, feeling sure that the Turks, whose negotiations with the emperor had been broken off as a result of French efforts, would keep that prince sufficiently occupied on the Danube, so that France need have no reason to fear the arrival of large imperialist forces on the Rhine. Turenne, Condé, and Duquesne were dead ; Louis found able leaders to replace them in Luxemburg, Catinat, Boufflers, de Lorges, and Tourville. It was the calling out of the first reserve of France in these terrible wars which slew so many of her generals and so many of her armies.

Attempts to restore James II.: Tourville.—The war in support of James II. was at first successful. A squadron of thirteen large vessels carried the prince to Ireland, an island which was devotedly Catholic and which was always restless under the English yoke (1689). Convoys of troops, arms, and munitions left Le Havre, Brest, and Rochefort, protected by Château-Renaud, d'Estrées, and Tourville. The English and Dutch

attempted to intercept their passage, but Château-Renaud beat one of their squadrons in Bantry Bay ; Tourville, with seventy-eight ships, attacking their main fleet on the Sussex coast off Beachy Head, sank or burned sixteen of their vessels, while the rest took refuge in the mouth of the Thames or among the Dutch banks (July 10, 1690). This brilliant victory gave Louis XIV. the mastery of the sea for some time, but James II. was unable to second his ally. He lost precious time at the siege of Londonderry. William III. attacked him on the Boyne ; the Irish fled at the first shock, their king with them, and only the French offered any resistance. A regiment of Calvinist refugees and Marshal Schomberg, who commanded William's army, contributed mainly to this defeat. James returned to France (July 11, 1690).

Louis XIV. then prepared a descent upon England itself ; 20,000 men were gathered at Cherbourg and La Hogue ; 300 transports were held ready at Brest ; Tourville was to escort them with forty-four vessels which were under his command reinforced by thirty which d'Estrées was to supply from Toulon. But the wind changed and the Mediterranean fleet could not arrive in time. Louis, accustomed to force victory, and also counting on the defection of some of the enemy captains, ordered his admiral to seek the English and Dutch fleets, ninety-nine vessels in all. The Battle of La Hogue followed (May 29, 1692). There was no defection. Tourville made head against the enemy successfully for ten hours and the Anglo-Dutch, despite their numbers, suffered more than the French. But on the following day it was impossible to renew the battle. Tourville would have made a glorious retreat if he had possessed an open port in his rear. But the mole of Cherbourg did not then exist. He ordered a retirement on Brest and St. Malo ; seven of his ships gained the first port, the remainder entered the channel which appears at high tide on the west coast of the Cotentin. Twenty-two passed through the Race of Alderney and entered St. Malo ; then the tide went out and the rest were unable to follow. Three stopped at Cherbourg, where their captains, unable to defend them, burned them. Twelve took refuge in the harbour of La Hogue which was no better prepared to resist an attack. Tourville took out their cannons and munitions and removed their rigging ; when the English approached he set the hulls of the ships on fire. The enemy could not boast a single capture. This was the first blow struck at the French navy, but it is not true, as has been often said, that the disaster of La Hogue was that navy's tomb, for in the following year, equal,

if not superior, fleets were opposed to the English and Dutch. The restoration of the Stuarts in England became impossible, and the most important part of Louis's plan had failed.

Defensive War on the Rhine: Duras: De Lorges.—Already in 1688 the dauphin, then aged twenty-seven, had invaded Germany with 80,000 men and Marshal Duras as his instructor. The king had said to him, prior to his departure, "My son, in sending you to command my armies I supply you with an occasion to show your merit; make it known to all Europe that when I am dead the king will not be dead." Philippsburg, Mannheim, Worms, and Oberwesel were taken in a few weeks. It was not the intention of the French to preserve these conquests; the Palatinate was again ravaged, and on this occasion with ferocity; 100,000 persons, driven from their land by the flames, went to seek vengeance in Germany (1689). The king himself regretted these horrible occurrences, and his discontent would probably have led to the disgrace of Louvois had not that minister died of apoplexy (July, 1691). He was replaced by his son, Barbezieux, who had all his father's faults and none of his ability.

The Duke de Lorges, nephew of the great Turenne, who succeeded Marshal Duras (1690), was content to cover Alsace against the imperialists, who found the Palatinate a desert in which they could not exist. The war on the Rhine remained defensive as had been intended; the great blows were struck elsewhere.

War in Savoy and Piedmont: Catinat.—Catinat commanded in Italy; he was a general of humble birth who had risen by merit. Like Vauban, whose friend he was, he united civil virtues with military qualities, and by his wise and methodical tactics recalled Turenne, though he was very inferior to that great general. He was opposed by Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. To force his opponent to a decisive battle before the arrival of German troops he laid waste the plains of Piedmont, cut down the trees, uprooted the vines, and burned the villages. Victor Amadeus was unable to bear these ravages with patience and joined battle at Staffarda, near Saluzzo (August 18, 1690). He lost 4000 men, while the French lost barely 500. Savoy, Nice, and the greater part of Piedmont fell into the power of France. But a relative of the duke, Prince Eugene, whose services Louis XIV. had refused and who had then offered them to Austria, arrived with powerful reinforcements. Catinat was obliged to return to France, followed by the Piedmontese, and Dauphiné suffered

cruel reprisals for the burning of the Palatinate (1692). But Catinat recrossed the Alps and fought a second battle near Marsaglia, not far from Staffarda (October 4, 1693), where Victor Amadeus suffered a second defeat as disastrous as the first. Little was left to him except Turin, and Catinat would have taken that city had not his army been reduced so that he could merely retain his conquests.

War in the Low Countries: Luxemburg.—Luxemburg was the posthumous son of that Count de Bouteville who had been executed by Richelieu. He had first served under Condé, whom he resembled in his daring and his quickness of judgment. In 1690 he found himself near Fleurus in face of the Prince of Waldeck. By a bold and skilful manœuvre he moved his right wing behind some rising ground which covered the enemy's army. The prince, suddenly attacked on the flank and finding his position turned, retreated; Luxemburg seized the opportunity to attack while his opponent was in disorder, killed 6000 men, captured 100 standards, the enemy's cannon and baggage, and took 8000 prisoners (July 31, 1690). Master of the open country, he then invested Mons, the capital of Hainault, at which siege Louis XIV. was present. William III., freed from James II., hastened to its relief with 80,000 men, but he was unable to prevent the capitulation of the town after nine days' siege (April, 1691). In the next year Luxemburg besieged Namur, the strongest place in the Low Countries at the junction of the Sambre and Meuse, and took it under the eyes of Louis XIV. and the enemy army (June, 1692). This was one of the great sieges of the century; Vauban conducted it and the operation was regarded as a model. The place was defended by Cohorn, Vauban's rival, who had constructed part of the fortifications.

But William, though always defeated, never grew weary. On August 3, 1692, he surprised Luxemburg at Steinkirk in Hainault. "A spy, who had been employed by the marshal with William, was discovered, and was obliged before being put to death to write false information to Luxemburg. Following this information, the marshal took the very measures which seemed bound to ensure his defeat. His sleeping army was attacked at dawn; a brigade was at once put to flight, and the general saved himself with difficulty. Without prodigies of energy and bravery all would have been lost. Luxemburg was ill; the danger revived his strength; great achievements were needed to avoid defeat and he achieved them. To change the ground,

to give his army a battlefield which they had not, to restore the right which was in complete disorder, to rally his troops three times, was the work of some two hours. He had in his army Philip of Orleans, Duke of Chartres, afterwards the regent, who was then only fifteen. He would have been unable to strike any decisive blow, but it was much for the encouragement of the army that a grandson of France, still a boy, should charge with the royal household, should be wounded in the conflict, and return to the charge despite his wound. A grandson and a great-nephew of Condé, Louis de Bourbon and the Prince of Conti, and a grandson of Henry IV., the Duke of Vendôme, were also present. Called by the popular voice to the command of armies, they desired that glory passionately, but they never attained it, because Louis knew their ambition no less than their merit, and always remembered the Condé who had made war upon him. All these princes placed themselves at the head of the royal household to charge a body of English who held an important position on which the success of the battle depended. The slaughter was great and the French at last carried the post. The regiment of Champagne defeated William's guards, and when the English had been conquered the rest gave way. Boufflers, afterwards Marshal of France, arrived on the scene from some distance at this moment with some dragoons and completed the victory. William, having lost about 7000 men, retired in as good order as he had attacked. The victory, due to the valour of these young princes and of the chief nobility of the kingdom, created a greater effect than any other battle had made upon the court, at Paris, and in the provinces. M. le duc, the Prince of Conti, M. de Vendôme, and their friends found the roads lined with people on their return; cheers and delight bordered on madness. Men then wore cravats of lace, which were arranged with difficulty and much expenditure of time. The princes, having dressed hastily for the battle, had passed their cravats negligently round their throats; women wore ornaments made on this model, which were called *steinkirks*."

The following year Louis had a good chance of conquering the Low Countries and securing peace. William of Orange had approached Louvain with only 50,000 men; Louis was near with over 100,000 and all the army thought that some great blow would be struck. But it was represented to the king that he ought not to expose his person to the dangers of a battle, and despite Luxemburg, who threw himself on his knees, the king declared that the campaign was ended and returned to Ver-

sailles. From that time he did not appear with the army. His reputation suffered much abroad ; mordant satires paraphrased the famous verse of Boileau :

“ Louis les animant du feu de son courage,
Se plaint de sa grandeur qui l'attache au rivage.”

Yet he appears not to have lacked personal courage. His conduct in camp was satisfactory ; he had no dash, but no timidity ; he exposed himself sufficiently. At the siege of Namur, according to Dangeau, men behind him were wounded.

The victories of Fleurus and Steinkirk had given Hainault and the province of Namur to Luxemburg ; he penetrated into southern Brabant. But he still found William III. before him strongly entrenched at the village of Nerwinden between Liège and Louvain (July 29, 1693). Few battles have been more bloody ; Nerwinden was twice carried by the infantry, who for the first time charged resolutely with the bayonet, an example followed two months later by the troops of Catinat at Marsaglia. For four hours the French cavalry remained under the dropping fire of eighty cannon, and William, seeing them reform their ranks as soon as gaps were made in them, cried in admiration and disgust, “ O insolent nation ! ” There were 20,000 dead, 12,000 being on the side of the allies. It might have been possible after this success to march on Brussels and dictate peace ; the army was retained at the siege and capture of Charleroi. This gave France the important line of the Sambre, from which an army could dominate the Low Countries and render any hostile attempt on Flanders or Artois very dangerous.

The victory of Nerwinden was the last triumph of Luxemburg, “ the tapisserie de Notre-Dame,” as Conti called him, on account of the numerous flags with which he had caused that cathedral to be decorated. The following campaign was not marked by any incident, and the marshal died in January, 1695. His successor, the Duke of Villeroy, was not able to do anything considerable with an army of over 80,000 ; he did not even prevent William from retaking Namur (September, 1695). But in Spain Vendôme entered Barcelona after a memorable siege and a victory gained over the relieving Spanish army (August, 1695).

At sea Tourville had avenged the disaster of La Hogue by a victory in the Bay of Lagos, near Cape St. Vincent (1693). The following year saw the suspension of great armaments, as Seignelay was dead, but corsairs whose names have remained

famous, Jean Bart, Duguay-Trouin, Pontis, and Nesmond, devastated English and Dutch commerce; these countries in revenge tried to blockade the French coast and hurled infernal machines on St. Malo, Le Havre, Dieppe, Calais, and Dunkirk. Vain and ruinous threats. Dieppe alone suffered. In America Count de Frontenac bravely defended Canada by taking the offensive in every direction, though the province had only some 11,000 inhabitants, while the English colonies had ten times that number. Hudson Bay and almost all Newfoundland were conquered.

Treaty of Ryswick (1697).—But the war languished and all were weary. Louis proposed peace. Charles II. of Spain was dying, this time certainly so; he had no child and the problem of the Spanish succession was therefore opened. The king needed the dissolution of the European coalition before Charles died. He showed an unwonted moderation; he first detached the Duke of Savoy from the League by restoring to him all his towns, including even Pignerol, and proposing the marriage of his daughter with the young Duke of Burgundy, son of the dauphin (1696). The defection of Victor Amadeus decided the other princes, and peace was signed at Ryswick, near the Hague (October, 1697). Louis XIV. recognised William III. as legitimate King of England and Ireland. He restored his recent conquests in the Low Countries, the empire, and Spain, with the exception of Strasburg, Landau, Longwy, and Saarlouis, which had been built in 1680 to defend the valley of the Saar. He allowed the Dutch to garrison the most important places in Flanders, which the Spaniards appeared to be unable to defend against him. He restored Lorraine, which France had held in military occupation for sixty years. The tariff of 1667, so burdensome to the Dutch, had been abolished by the Treaty of Nimwegen; the duty of fifty sous per ton was abolished in 1697, and as a result, after being ruined by taxes during the war, the country was ruined by treaties when peace was restored, the commercial policy of Colbert being completely abandoned. These concessions, of which some cost much to the king's pride, were greatly blamed, but Louis hoped to repair them and the loss of some towns by the acquisition of an empire. In America the treaty left France all Hudson Bay and half Newfoundland.

Accession of a French Prince to the Throne of Spain (1700).—Charles II. lingered for three years, during which the question of his inheritance was debated. The two houses of France and Austria, allied for a century to that of Spain by marriage, alike

claimed the throne. The possibility of the accession of either alarmed the maritime powers, England and Holland, who saw the equilibrium of Europe destroyed whether Louis XIV. or Leopold reigned at Madrid. William III. was thus led to suggest to the cabinet of Versailles the partition of an inheritance which was not yet vacant. Two treaties were signed at the Hague. By the first (1698) the Spanish crown was given to a Bavarian prince; the province of Milan to the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; the Two Sicilies, some Tuscan ports, and Guipuzcoa to the dauphin. This arrangement contained illusory or dangerous advantages for France. The royal family would certainly have gained a crown, but France would assuredly have been led by this acquisition to engage in adventures beyond the Alps. A second treaty, concluded after the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, gave Spain to the archduke, and only increased the share of France by Lorraine, a province which at the first cannon-shot was already in the power of France (1700). This offered no compensation for the fact that an Austrian was to rule at Brussels and at Madrid.

These treaties, unsatisfactory to France, were happily rendered void. The dying king had been deeply offended at the idea of the dismemberment of his monarchy, proposed during his life and without consulting him. In order to maintain the integrity of his dominions, it was necessary to give them all either to France or to Austria. The latter was badly served by her ambassador at Madrid; France was well served by the Marquis d'Harcourt, her minister at the court of Charles, and by his last will that king called to the throne Philip of Anjou, second son of the dauphin. In event of his refusal the crown was to pass to his brother, the Duke of Berry, and in the last instance to the Archduke Charles (November 2, 1700). Twenty-eight days later, Charles II. of Spain died. He had hoped to save the integrity of his monarchy by making it the interest of Louis XIV. to preserve it.

At once the question arose as to whether Louis would accept the will or abide by the last treaty of the Hague. An extraordinary council was held, at which only four persons were present, the dauphin, the Duke of Beauvilliers, governor of the children of France, Marquis de Torcy, nephew of the great Colbert and then minister of foreign affairs, and the chancellor Pontchartrain. Opinion was divided, but Torcy remarked with reason that the refusal of France would cause the succession to pass to Austria; that the advantages of the last treaty were

illusory or unimportant; that the emperor had in no case accepted it; that there would be war whatever decision were taken, and that it was thus better to fight for the whole than for a part. Louis XIV. remained silent; for three days his decision was unknown. Finally he declared it to the Duke of Anjou in these words, "Monsieur, the King of Spain has made you a king. The nobles demand you, the people desire you, and I give my consent. Take care only that you remain a Prince of France." He presented him to his court, saying, "Gentlemen, the King of Spain" (November 6, 1700). Some weeks later Philip left for Madrid. "Thus," says St. Simon, "the eighteenth century opened for the house of France with a blaze of glory and of unexpected prosperity."

Third Coalition against France (1701-1713): Grand Alliance of the Hague.—France had then two great interests. The first was that Spain should be friendly, that peace might be assured on the southern frontier and that she might be able at need to throw all her forces to the north-east where she was most vulnerable. The second was that the north-eastern frontier should be pushed back from Paris and that the Low Countries should at least be allied to her. The first point seemed to be gained by the accession to the Spanish throne of a Bourbon, whom the Spaniards received with enthusiasm and whom the other states recognised. The emperor protested and armed, but alone he could do nothing. The second aim was more difficult to attain, since neither England nor Holland wished to see France in possession of the mouths of the Scheldt. To secure it much tact and prudence were needed. But unfortunately the king disclosed his designs too soon and braved Europe at his pleasure. Despite the formal clauses of the will of Charles II., Louis did not require Philip to renounce the throne of France and by letters patent of December, 1700, he preserved to him his hereditary rank between the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry. He thus rendered possible the reunion of the two monarchies, and displayed to an alarmed world the prospect of France and Spain being one day ruled by the same king, a contingency which would have been profitable neither for one country nor the other, and still less profitable for Europe. A little later he expelled the Dutch from the places which they occupied in the Low Countries in virtue of the Treaty of Ryswick, and replaced them with French garrisons. Finally, on the death of James II., Louis continued to the Prince of Wales, his son, the title of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, despite the advice of all hi

ministers. This insult to the English people and to William III. made war inevitable.

A third coalition was formed, the *Grand Alliance of the Hague* (September, 1700); it was composed of England, Holland, Austria, the empire, and a little later Portugal, which had become hostile to France owing to the accession of a French prince to the throne of Spain, and because French ports were closed to its goods. There remained no allies in Europe for Louis except the Elector of Bavaria, to whom the Low Countries were secretly promised, and the Dukes of Modena and Savoy, who soon changed sides. Spain was with France, but having neither an army nor a fleet nor money, "she was a body without a soul, which France had to feed and support at her own expense," said Torcy.

William III. hardly saw the beginning of this war. He died in March, 1702, but his policy survived him, because it was the policy of the nation. Under his sister-in-law, Anne Stuart, a Protestant, though a daughter of James II., England continued to defend her political and religious liberties, threatened by the king that Louis wished to impose upon her, and her commercial prosperity which was menaced by the dominion of the house of Bourbon over so many states and so many seas.

Marlborough and Prince Eugène.—Three men, rendered famous by their hatred of France, Heinsius, Marlborough, and Prince Eugène, replaced by their close union the chief whom the alliance had lost. Heinsius was grand pensionary of Holland; he directed the republic with the authority of a king when the stadtholdership was abolished on the death of William III. Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, had first practised the art of war under Turenne. He ruled Queen Anne through his wife, parliament through his friends, the ministry through his son-in-law Sunderland, secretary of state for war, and by the grand treasurer Godolphin, father-in-law of one of his daughters. Prince Eugène, born in France about 1663, son of a Count of Soissons and a niece of Mazarin (that Olympia Mancini whom Louis XIV. had for a time distinguished), belonged to the house of Savoy. Destined for a clerical career, he preferred the profession of arms, and at the age of nineteen asked a regiment of Louis XIV., who refused to make a colonel of a Savoyard abbé. Austria received him better and sent him to fight in Italy against Catinat. After the Peace of Ryswick he made progress against the Turks, who had invaded Hungary, and gained over them at Zenta a signal victory, which placed him in the opinion of his

contemporaries on a level with the illustrious Sobieski, the saviour of Vienna (1697). Named president of the council of war, he prepared as minister the expeditions which he conducted as general, and he had a decisive influence on subsequent events. Owing to his good understanding with Marlborough he gave the European coalition that union which it had always lacked in the past.

Situation of France.—To triumph over so formidable an array of enemies France needed the great men of the past generation. But Louis had used them and in the stifling atmosphere of Versailles their successors could not be bred. Like a land which has produced too much, France began to grow exhausted and soldiers were soon lacking, no less than generals and ministers. The incapable Chamillart, a creature of Madame de Maintenon, collapsed under the dual burden of the finances and the war, which Colbert and Louvois had shared. The king undertook to direct affairs himself, and never did he show more activity, drawing up plans of campaign and directing their execution from the recesses of his cabinet. But there was a further difficulty. Living this retired life he ceased to understand either men or affairs. "The generals," says Voltaire, "were handicapped by definite orders, as the ambassadors were limited by their instructions. If a general wished to undertake anything of moment he was obliged to ask leave by a courier, who found when he returned that the occasion had been lost or the general defeated." Yet some of the French leaders, Villars, Catinat, Boufflers, Vendôme, deserved more confidence and more freedom of action. It is true that such generals as Villeroy, Taillard, Marsin, and La Feuillade needed counsel and guidance, but holding these generals in the leash did not prevent the French armies from suffering irreparable disasters.

First Campaign in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries (1701-1704).—In the opinion of Louis XIV. the war was to be defensive on all sides except in Germany, to which the Elector of Bavaria called the French. Boufflers was sent to the Low Countries to hold Marlborough and the Anglo-Dutch army in check; Catinat in Italy was to close the Milanese to Eugène and the imperialists; Villars in Germany was to join the elector and march on Vienna.

For three years (1701-1704) success was divided. While Marlborough penetrated (1702) into the Low Countries, in spite of Boufflers, who, having to deal with two armies, was able only to manœuvre between them and to abandon without fighting

the towns of the Meuse as far as Namur, the marshal yet saved Alsace in the following year by defeating the Dutch at Eckeren. In 1701 Eugène descended upon Lombardy in spite of Catinat, who had superior forces but who was badly obeyed, even perhaps betrayed by some Spanish officers who failed to prevent the prince from debouching from Tyrol. Eugène, threatening the whole line of the Adige, had crossed that river without opposition at Castelbaldo in the plain while Catinat was waiting for him at Rivoli in the mountains. At the fight of Carpi (July 9) he forced the passage of the canal Blanc, where Catinat might still have checked him, and the marshal, disturbed by manœuvres as wise as they were bold, retired behind the Mincio and then behind the Oglio, leaving Milan open to the enemy. The court dismissed him and gave his army to Villeroy.

Villeroy: Defeat of Chiari (1701): Surprise of Cremona (1702).—Villeroy, a protégé of Madame de Maintenon, was a good courtier but a bad general. Catinat, who had consented to serve under him, raised objections. "It is not my nature to be circumspect," answered Villeroy, and repassed the Oglio, hoping to surprise Eugène at Chiari. The Duke of Savoy kept the imperialists informed of all the movements of the French. Villeroy, who was himself surprised, was defeated (September, 1701). But the enemy was unable to advance further than the stronghold of Mantua. Villeroy left Count Tessé to make a desperate defence and took up his winter quarters at Cremona. One day, while he slept in absolute security, he was aroused by sudden shots; he rose in haste, went out of his quarters, and fell into a squadron of Austrians. Eugène, in midwinter, had attempted a *coup-de-main* on Cremona. He would have succeeded had it not been for a single regiment which at four in the morning had been assembled for a review by its colonel. The enemy, having reached the middle of the city, were driven out of its gates, but they carried the marshal with them (February, 1702). He was succeeded by Vendôme.

Victories of Vendôme at Luzzara: of Villars at Friedlingen and Hochstedt: of Tallard at Spire (1702-1703).—Vendôme, grandson of Henry IV., was a remarkable general of dubious morals, who never rose before four in the afternoon. But on the field of battle he showed a quickness of vision, a vivacity, a fire, which recalled Condé and Luxemburg; often surprised, never beaten, he maintained for two years a successful war against the imperialists. He first forced them to retire behind the Mincio,

thus delivering Mantua, and then, by a forced march, he captured their supplies at Luzzara on the right bank of the Po (1702). He then approached Tyrol. But at this moment the hidden treason of the Duke of Savoy developed into open defection, the Bourbons having unwisely refused to hand over to him the Milanese in exchange for Savoy (1703). Vendôme was forced to turn against him in order to ensure his communications with France; he took from him the greater part of Piedmont and threatened Turin, but he ceased to threaten Austria.

There was similar success in Germany. Catinat, called to the Rhine, did not restore there the reputation which had been compromised in Italy. He allowed the Prince of Baden to cross the river, take Landau, which sustained a siege of eighty-four days, Wissembourg, and Hagenau. A diversion by the Elector of Bavaria recalled the imperialists to Germany. Catinat, urged to pursue them, did not dare to do so, but Villars, one of his lieutenants, seized the opportunity. He attacked the Prince of Baden in the Black Forest, near Friedlingen, and gained his marshal's baton on the battlefield (October, 1702). A year later he shut up the Prince of Baden in the lines of Stolhoffen, left Tallard to watch him, and joined the Elector of Bavaria, who had on his side beaten the Austrians (May, 1703). The road to Vienna was open; Villars wished to take it and to assist the revolted Hungarians. Eugène declared later that had the army advanced, peace would have been made, and gloriously for France. Another manœuvre, which Bonaparte and Moreau tried later, was attempted and failed. The Franco-Bavarians entered Innsbruck, while Vendôme bombarded Trent. The two armies were to join hands across the Alps, but the defection of the Duke of Savoy recalled Vendôme from Tyrol and two imperial armies threatened Munich and forced Villars to abandon Innsbruck. He avenged himself on the Count of Styrum, who was completely defeated on the plains of Hochstedt (September, 1703). Two months later the imperialists suffered a bloody defeat near Spire which restored Landau to France, Tallard being the victor.

The Camisards.—This victory was the end of French success. Villars, unable to act with the elector, demanded his recall. Louis XIV. sent him against the Camisards, the revolted Protestants of the Cevennes. These unhappy people saw Clement IX. preach a crusade against them by a bull of May 1, 1703. Filled with terror they accepted the assistance of England and Savoy, who were eager to stir up civil war in the heart of France;

having been cruelly treated, they in their turn avenged cruelties cruelly. Villars was rigorous towards those who fought, indulgent to such as would submit. He won over one of their leaders, Cavalier, and in a single campaign restored practical peace in these provinces. But 100,000 persons had perished in this horrible war. Meanwhile Marsin had lost Germany.

Battle of Blenheim: Loss of Germany (1694).—Marlborough and Eugène had conceived an able and bold plan for saving Austria threatened by the capture of Passau in January, 1704. Eugène had left Italy, where the Duke of Savoy occupied the attention of Vendôme; Marlborough hastened from Flanders, where Villeroy was unable to keep him; and the two joined forces in Bavaria. Tallard and Marsin had united their forces with those of the elector, and together had 56,000 men against 52,000 on the side of the enemy. They thought that the allies would fall back and try to reach the left bank of the Danube and the two armies met near Blenheim. The dispositions of the French were unskilful; they formed their troops into two distinct armies. Marlborough easily forced his way between them, drove the right wing back on the river, cutting it off from the centre, and took Tallard prisoner. Marsin, in all haste, re-crossed the Danube, leaving in the village of Blenheim a whole corps which had not fought and was forced to surrender. The disaster cost the French 12,000 dead or wounded, 14,000 prisoners, all their cannon, almost all their standards, and some hundred leagues of territory. In less than a month Bavaria was subdued; the elector, who had flattered himself that he would enter Vienna, fled to Brussels, and the imperialists reappeared on the Rhine. Villars was recalled to save Alsace. The marshal, who never considered modesty a necessary virtue, said to the king, "Make use of me, for I am the only general in Europe whose good fortune has been unvarying. God preserve me this luck for your Majesty's service."

Battles of Ramillies (1706), Turin (1706), and Oudenarde (1708): Loss of Italy and the Low Countries.—The empire was delivered; Eugène and Marlborough parted, the former returning to Italy and the latter to the Low Countries. The plan of the European alliance developed admirably under the direction of these two great generals. They resolved to conquer the outlying provinces of the Spanish monarchy as a prelude to an attack on France itself.

Marlborough was easily successful, since he had to contend with the incapable Villeroy. He penetrated into the heart of

Brabant and arrived near Mehaigne where the marshal had encamped. Villeroy's centre rested on Ramillies, a village which was to become famous and which lay near another having the same destiny—Waterloo. He might have avoided battle, but he was eager to restore his reputation and took all measures necessary to ensure his defeat. He placed half-trained recruits in the centre, left his baggage between the lines of his army, posted his left behind a marsh, as if he wished to prevent them from reaching the enemy. Marlborough quickly appreciated these blunders. The French could not attack his right; he weakened it and fell on Ramillies with superior numbers. Gassion, a lieutenant-general, who saw the plan, cried to Villeroy, "You are lost if you do not change your order of battle." He urged him to weaken his left and draw his lines closer, pointing out that delay would deprive him of the opportunity. Villeroy did nothing. The royal household troops, driven in on the right, laid the centre open, and the centre, attacked on the flank and rear, was dispersed (May, 1706). When Villeroy reappeared at court, the king contented himself with saying, "*M. le maréchal, on n'est plus heureux à notre âge.*"

The greater part of the Low Countries was lost as a result of this defeat, which cost the French 5000 killed or wounded and 15,000 prisoners. Marlborough entered Antwerp, Brussels, and Ostend, and Louis was forced, in order to check his advance, to recall Vendôme from Italy, where that general, after having driven the imperialists behind the Adige by his victories of Cassano on the Adda (August, 1705) and Calcinato near the Chiesa (April, 1706), was covering the siege of Turin directed by the Duke de la Feuillade. Feuillade was another Villeroy; his only merit was that he was son-in-law to Chamillart. Turin taken, Italy would have been in the power of the house of Bourbon, and vast preparations were made for its capture. Vauban, rich in years of glory, offered to attend the siege without a command. "I hope to take Turin in the manner of Cohorn," said Feuillade. This courtier's impertinence caused a French disaster. While Vendôme hastened to Flanders, Eugène, freed from his formidable adversary, conceived the bold plan of relieving Turin by moving up the right bank of the Po. He was obliged to cross fifteen rivers, to defeat or avoid the army of observation, to overcome the besieging force, and to do all these things with exhausted troops, inferior in numbers. Had there been a man in command of the French, Eugène would have been destroyed. But Marsin, who had been beaten at Blenheim,

was in command of the army of Italy. Vendôme, before his departure, had through carelessness allowed Eugène to cross the Adige and the Po ; Marsin, through incapacity, allowed him to cross the Parma, the Trebbia, the Bormida, and the Tanaro, and without trying to check his progress, he merely united his forces with those of Feuillade. The French lines before Turin, being too extensive, were forced (September, 1706), the marshal was mortally wounded, Piedmont delivered, the Milanese lost, and, as a consequence, in the following year the kingdom of Naples sacrificed.

Eugène and the Duke of Savoy, amazed at a victory which led them to the very gates of France, could not resist the temptation to cross the frontier. They invaded Provence by the Col-di-Tenda and laid siege to Toulon, being supported by an English fleet which commanded the sea. The city was well defended ; Eugène lost 10,000 men in the attack and subsequent retreat (August, 1707). Charles V. had already lost two armies in that same district ; an attack on this frontier has always been and should always be, owing to the nature of the district, fatal to those who make it. Victor Amadeus suffered a similar fate in the following year ; he invaded Dauphiné, which he coveted in order to round off Savoy, and was obliged to retreat in great haste.

Reverses in Spain (1704-1708).—Spain not only lost her outlying possessions ; she seemed to be likely to lose herself. In 1703 the English drew Portugal into the coalition and made this country almost a province of their own by the Methuen treaty. In 1704, the year of the defeat of Blenheim, they carried by a sudden attack the impregnable position of Gibraltar, which Blake in Cromwell's time had wished to seize. Since then it has always been held by England, with the result that she has been able to dominate the Mediterranean, a sea in which her flag had till then been almost unknown. The Archduke Charles, rival of Philip V., had at the same time landed in Catalonia with 9000 men. In 1705 he took Barcelona ; Aragon and the neighbouring provinces recognised him. In the following year, he entered Madrid ; the English took Cartagena, the Portuguese took Ciudad Rodrigo, and an Anglo-Portuguese army, commanded by Count de Ruvigny, a Protestant refugee, occupied Estramadura. In the councils of Louis XIV. the abandonment of Spain was mooted ; it was suggested that Philip V. should be sent to reign in America. A brilliant victory of Marshal Berwick at Almanza proved useless ; the archduke seemed to be secure

on his throne, and Pope Clement XI. wrote to him as "Our very dear son, King of the Spains" (1707).

Successes of Villars on the Rhine (1705-1707).—But Villars justified his boasting. In 1705 he had checked Marlborough and covered Lorraine. In the next year he relieved Fort Louis on the Rhine and in 1707 he forced the lines of Stolhoffen, which extended from Philippsburg to the Black Forest and which were regarded as the bulwark of Germany. From this position he was able to influence Franconia and Würtemberg, to levy contributions, and to prevent Marlborough from advancing too rapidly in Flanders. Thus the coalition, victorious at the two extremities of the vast line of operations, in Spain, in Italy, and in the Low Countries, was beaten in the centre on the Rhine. It was convinced of its powerlessness in the south by the failure of its attempts to invade France by the Rhône valley. The allies hoped to succeed better in the north and concentrated all their forces there.

At this time Charles XII. of Sweden was in Saxony with an army which had so far proved invincible. Villars proposed to march across the empire and join him; Louis XIV. urged him, on the ground of the long-standing friendship between Sweden and France, to play the part of Gustavus Adolphus and attack the coalition in the rear. Marlborough hastened to meet the Swedish hero. Germany was in a state of extreme anxiety, and the world watched breathlessly. The storm burst upon Russia and there spent its force uselessly.

Battle of Oudenarde (1708): France Invaded.—According to plan, Eugène joined Marlborough in Flanders. The campaign seemed destined to be decisive. France, believed by Europe to be exhausted, produced a new army of 100,000 men; the allies had 80,000. Louis XIV. entrusted the command to his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, Vendôme acting as his lieutenant, whereas he should have been in sole command. The division of powers produced a further disaster; the army was routed at Oudenarde at the passage of the Scheldt (July 11, 1708). Oudenarde was not a great battle; rather an important affair of outposts which cost the French hardly 1500 men. A large part of the army was not engaged; when evening came, nothing had been lost, and Vendôme proposed to renew the battle on the following day. The Duke of Burgundy and his council refused to do so. "Then we must retreat, as you all wish it," cried Vendôme in anger. "Well, sir," he added, turning to Louis XIV.'s grandson, "you have long been envious." The retreat was as dis-

astrous as that of Turin. Regiments marched without order and without leadership; the enemy followed and killed or took 10,000 men. Ghent and Bruges surrendered; even Lille capitulated, despite the brave defence of Boufflers (October, 1708). France was open to the allies. A party of Dutch penetrated as far as Versailles, and on the bridge of Sèvres captured the king's first equerry, whom they mistook for the dauphin.

France and Spain begin to recover: Battles of Malplaquet (1709) and Villaviciosa (1710).—The winter of 1709 increased the misfortunes of France; the olives in the south, the fruit trees and corn in the north were frost-bitten and famine followed. The king's equerries were seen begging at the gates of Versailles, and Madame de Maintenon ate oat-bread. Louis XIV. humbled himself to ask for peace. But the *triumvirs* did not consider that he had been sufficiently humiliated. They demanded that he should give up Strasburg, renounce the sovereignty of Alsace, and aid in the expulsion of his grandson from Spain (May, 1709). "As it has to be war," he answered, "I prefer to fight my enemies than my children." He wrote to the provincial governors, bishops, and communes a letter in which he called on them to judge between his enemies and himself.

This noble appeal to patriotism moved all France. Those who had no bread became soldiers, and an army was formed as strong as that of the allies. Villars was given the command. At the Battle of Malplaquet it was seen that the war had become a national war. The allies had nearly 120,000 men and 160 cannon; Villars had 90,000 men and eighty pieces of artillery. When the battle began, the soldiers, who had had no bread for a day, came to receive it; many flung it away, so as to throw themselves more lightly into the fight. The enemy's left was almost routed, but Marlborough, on the right, bent the French line. Villars sent some reserves from the centre to the threatened point, charged at their head, and was wounded by a cannon ball which fractured his knee. The weakened centre was then vigorously attacked and the entrenchments which protected it were carried. Retreat was necessary. But the French had only lost 8000 men, while the allies had lost 21,000. The army fell back upon Quesnoy and Valenciennes, taking with them many enemy flags and standards, spoils which consoled Louis XIV. and made a defeat on the field a victory for honour (September 11, 1709).

This glorious defeat marked the end of French reverses. In the following year the allies suffered a real disaster. Louis sent Vendôme to Spain. The marshal had been in disgrace since

Oudenarde, but his name alone was worth an army. A crowd of volunteers gathered under him, and Philip V., who had not yet appeared on a battlefield, put himself at the head of his troops. The Spanish nation roused itself as the French had done at the voice of Louis XIV. The people of the country began that guerilla war which in the mountainous districts of Spain has always been fatal to invaders. The archduke's general, Count Staremberg, was completely defeated at Villaviciosa (December 9, 1710). After the battle, Vendôme said to Philip V., worn out with fatigue, "I will give you the fairest bed on which king ever lay," and made him a couch of the standards and flags taken from the enemy. This victory saved the crown of Philip V. One of its far-reaching results was that Canada, then threatened by a formidable expedition, was saved, the English army and fleet being kept on the coasts of Spain by Vendôme's success.

Defection of England from the Alliance (1711): Battle of Denain (1712).—The unexpected vigour shown by two peoples who were believed to be about to succumb astonished the allies. War-weariness spread among them, especially in England, whose subsidies had fed the coalition and on which the burden of the national debt of sixty millions sterling weighed heavily. A court intrigue hastened the event which public opinion, sovereign in a free country, was already preparing, and which the queen herself desired. The Duchess of Marlborough wearied Anne by her pride; she was disgraced, and with her fell her friends, the relatives of her husband, and soon the duke himself. Viscount Bolingbroke and the Earl of Oxford formed a new ministry, and the majority which they secured in the Commons, after a general election, proved that the nation itself accepted the change which was about to occur in the foreign policy of England.

Marlborough and the Whigs owed their influence to the war; the Tories, the new advisers of the crown, sought to found their credit on peace. In January, 1711, an unknown priest, Abbé Gauthier, who was in Bolingbroke's confidence, approached the Marquis de Torcy and without preamble said, "Sir, do you want peace? I can give you the means of making it." "You ask a dying man if he desires health," answered Torcy. Secret negotiations began; an unexpected event allowed them to become public. The Emperor Joseph I., who had succeeded Leopold I. in 1705, died on April 17, 1711, leaving no heir except his brother, the Archduke Charles. England had fought to prevent the union of France and Spain, and was not prepared to continue the war to unite Spain and Austria, to restore the

empire of Charles V. An armistice was soon arranged and the preliminaries of peace were signed in London, October 8, 1711. The allies followed this example; a congress was opened at Utrecht, January 29, 1712. The emperor and the empire refused to take part, but the forces on the two sides had now been equalised and a single campaign sufficed to prove to Germany that she could not without Europe defeat France.

Eugène was between the Scheldt and the Sambre with 100,000 men; he had taken Quesnoy in the gap which divided the two rivers. He occupied Bouchain on the upper Scheldt, and thus contained the garrisons of Valenciennes and Condé and he besieged Landrecies on the upper Sambre. That fortress served as a barrier against Maubeuge and Charleroi and Eugène with justice called his lines the road to Paris, since if Landrecies fell there was no fortress between his army and the capital. And even if he met with a reverse in this advance he would still retain for his retreat to the Low Countries the gate which he had opened. Enemy detachments were already ravaging Champagne; Reims had been threatened. Alarm was general in the kingdom; the king said to Villars, "My confidence in you is great, for I entrust you with the forces and safety of the state. I know your zeal and the strength of my troops, but fortune may be against them. If disaster occurs I shall go to Peronne or St. Quentin, rally there what may be left of my men, and make a last effort with you to save the state or die in the attempt." Whatever were the faults and pride of Louis XIV., much may be forgiven a prince who had so noble a confidence in his people and who was so devoted to the national honour. Rashness on the part of Eugène and fortunate boldness on that of Villars saved the king and France from such anxieties. The lines of the imperialists, twelve or fifteen leagues long, were too extensive and their divisions were too far apart to be able to give each other adequate support. Villars profited from this mistake; he occupied Eugène by a feint attack on the side of Landrecies, and marched rapidly upon Denain, where the Earl of Albemarle was posted. His men wanted hurdles to cross the ditches; "Our enemies' bodies shall be our hurdles," cried Villars. The camp was carried and seventeen battalions destroyed (July 24, 1712). Eugène hastened to the rescue; he was repulsed; all the positions along the Scarpe were successively carried (July 30); Landrecies was relieved; Douai, Bouchain, and Quesnoy were retaken; the frontiers of France and the glory of the king were safe (September to October).

Naval Expeditions: Duguay-Trouin.—During this war France was still less fortunate at sea. The need of keeping all her forces on land to make headway against Europe caused neglect of the navy. England profited from this and without effort gained possession of that empire of the seas which France abandoned and which Holland could no longer retain. The last naval battle fought under Louis XIV. was that of Vélez Malaga, where the Count of Toulouse with forty-nine vessels against fifty-five would have gained a brilliant victory if, instead of returning to Toulon after a ten hours' fight, he had renewed the attack on the Anglo-Dutch fleet, which was disordered and short of ammunition (March, 1705). From this time there were only squadron engagements and soon only running fights. The French colonies, left undefended, were devastated or conquered.

Some of the French privateers and captains still made names for themselves. Tourville, who with Duquesne was the greatest sailor of the reign, died in 1701. Jean-Bart, who had become the terror of English commerce in the last war, only survived a year. If Tourville had no successor, Jean-Bart found imitators in Forbin, who had long shared his adventurous life; Ducasse, from Béarn, Governor of San Domingo; Pontis, who took Cartagena in America with vast booty. Casart, who with a single ship fell into the midst of fifteen enemy vessels, fought for twelve hours, sank one English ship, dismasted two, and then escaped. "I would give all the deeds of my life for one of his," said one of the bravest French captains.

It was Duguay-Trouin who made this remark. The son of a shipowner of St. Malo, he was born in 1673, and spent his early years on his father's vessels. At eighteen he was entrusted with a ship of fourteen guns. From that day he every year made more adventurous voyages, more numerous captures, but the period of real naval war had passed before he was called into the navy, his captaincy dating from 1706. He had from this time only to engage in fights of ship against ship, to capture convoys, and to ravage the enemy coasts. He practised this type of war as Jean-Bart had done ten years earlier, but was able to play a more important part. He afforded proof of his capacity in his expedition against Rio de Janeiro (October 6, 1711), the vigour of his execution being equal to the boldness of his conception. Rio, which appeared to be impregnable, was taken in eleven days; sixty merchant-vessels, three men-of-war, two frigates, and a vast quantity of merchandise was taken or burned. The city suffered damage to the amount of twenty-five millions.

But the exploits of these sailors had no effect on the result of the war.

Success of Villars on the Rhine (1714): Treaties of Utrecht, Rastadt, and Baden (1713-1714).—The victory of Denain hastened the conclusion of peace. Three treaties were made: that of Utrecht (April 11, 1713) between France, Spain, England, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal; that of Rastadt (March 7, 1714) between France and the emperor; and that of Baden (June 7, 1714) between France and the empire. The Treaty of Rastadt was delayed for a year by the obstinacy of the Emperor Charles VI., who continued the war though abandoned by his allies. Villars, sent to the Rhine to meet Eugène, once more disconcerted the imperialists by the impetuosity of his attacks. He recovered Landau; stormed with his grenadiers, whom his bravery electrified, the mountain of Roskhof, the formidable lines of which covered Fribourg, and took that city. This success at last forced the emperor to accord to the nations that rest which for so long they had not known.

By these treaties Louis XIV. preserved the first conquests of his reign; Alsace, Artois, Roussillon, which had been gained under Richelieu and Mazarin; Flanders, where Lille was restored to him; Franche-Comté, Strasburg, Saarlouis, Landau; and in the colonies, the Antilles, Cayenne, Bourbon, and Senegal. He acquired the valley of Barcelonetta, but ceded to the Duke of Savoy Exilles, Fenestrella, and Château-Dauphin: to England, Newfoundland, with the great Hudson Bay fishery and its trade in furs; also Acadia, which, with its ports open all the year round, is the advance-post of Canada, where the French were now blockaded. He was obliged to demolish the fortifications and fill up the port of Dunkirk; he recognised the Protestant Elector of Hanover, George I., as presumptive heir of Queen Anne; he engaged to send out of France the Pretender, James Edward; to release from prison those of his subjects who had been imprisoned on religious grounds; he promised not to grant Spain any exclusive commercial privileges, while he did grant considerable advantages to England.

Philip V. preserved the throne of Spain and of the Spanish colonies, but renounced for himself and his heirs the crown of France. He ceded Gibraltar, an impregnable fortress, and Minorca, which possessed one of the finest ports in the Mediterranean, to England; Sicily to Savoy; the Low Countries, Milan, Naples, and Sardinia to the emperor.

The Duke of Bavaria, the unfortunate ally of Louis XIV.,

was restored to his lands. The electorate of Brandenburg, increased by the acquisition of Gueldres, became the kingdom of Prussia. The title of king was also given to the head of the house of Savoy. Finally the Dutch secured the right to garrison the chief places in the Austrian Netherlands to serve as a barrier against France, and until 1787 they were paid annually 1,250,000 florins by the Flemings to be their master.

These terms were honourable, if the humiliating proposals of the *triumvirs* at the Hague are considered, and still more the original hopes of the allies. France had saved herself by her perseverance, her strong unity, and the energy of her king ; she had gained the last victory in the field, and she emerged from this terrible conflict weakened but not humiliated, and with the honours of war.

Two powers especially gained from the struggle. England acquired the empire of the seas ; Austria gained vast domains in Italy and the Netherlands. Austria also regained Hungary, which was more necessary to her than Italy ; England remained at Port Mahon, whence she watched Toulon, and at Gibraltar, whence she menaced Spain and guarded the entrance to the Mediterranean. But the Spaniards, having lost the Netherlands, lost also a permanent cause of war with France, and after being enemies for two centuries the countries now became allies.

Numerous Deaths in the Royal Family (1711–1714).—The last years of the reign of Louis XIV. were as sad as the first years had been brilliant. Personal misfortunes were joined to national misfortunes. He lost his only son, the dauphin (April, 1711) ; his second daughter (February, 1712), and her husband, the Duke of Burgundy (February, 1712) ; their eldest son, the Duke of Brittany (March, 1712), and the Duke of Berry, son of the dauphin (1714). Of his numerous family there remained only to Louis his grandson, Philip V. of Spain, and his great-great-grandson, the Duke of Anjou, then five years of age, who afterwards became Louis XV.

These many blows in succession decided the king to take a step which was a fresh assault on public morality. His legitimatised sons, the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, children of Madame Montespan, were declared heirs to the crown in default of princes of the blood. He included them, by his will, in the council of regency, of which his nephew, the Duke of Orleans, was only to be president. The Duke of Maine was to receive the guardianship of the young king and the superintendence of his education, while Villeroy was to be his governor.

Death of the King (1715).—Louis XIV. died on September 8, 1715, at the age of seventy-seven, after a reign of seventy-two years. He left France utterly exhausted. The state was ruined and there seemed to be no resource but bankruptcy. Before the War of the Spanish Succession Vauban had written, "Almost a tenth of the population is reduced to beggary ; of the other nine-tenths, five cannot aid the tenth, being in a similar position ; three-tenths are ill at ease ; the remaining tenth, containing not more than 100,000 families, has only 10,000 who are comfortably off." The condition of affairs was worse in 1715 after a war during which money had been borrowed at 400 per cent., new taxes had been created, the revenue spent two years in advance, and the national debt increased to 2400 million francs, which would be to-day about 8000 millions.

The gain of two provinces, Flanders and Franche-Comté, and of some towns, Strasburg, Landau, and Dunkirk, was hardly enough to compensate for the fearful misery endured, and remembering the state of Europe in 1661, it must be concluded that Louis XIV. did not learn a lesson from it as he might have done. But children soon forget the sufferings of their fathers ; succeeding generations recalled only the victories ; Europe defied ; France all-powerful for twenty years ; the incomparable glory of the court of Versailles ; the marvels of literature and art which made the seventeenth century the *Age of Louis XIV.* History shows the price paid for the king's impossible attempt ; an attempt to rule Europe which caused hatred, coalitions, disasters ; an attempt to bend all wills to his own within France which led to the awful reaction of the next age.

CHAPTER LIII

GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS XIV.

Establishment of Absolute Monarchy. — If the administration of the kingdom was the work rather of the ministers of Louis XIV. than of the king himself, the general direction given to the government and society was due to Louis personally. With energy and ability, he ruled all others, annulling the powers of his subjects or forcing the use of those powers to the service of his greatness. No prince, in the opinion of St. Simon, possessed to a greater degree the art of reigning ; his conception

of his sovereign rights was summed up in the phrase, to which, while he was still young, he gave utterance, "L'état, c'est moi."

He believed that he was the state and every one agreed with him. The Church accepted the dictum; Bossuet founded the divine right of the monarchy on passages drawn from the Bible. "Kings, ye are gods," cried the great bishop, while Lebrun erected in Versailles the apotheosis of Louis. As long as the king lived there was in all France only one uncontrolled and unlimited will, the king's. "In that state, over which you will rule after my death, you will find no authority which is not derived from you and which does not owe to you its character," said Louis to his son.

Suppression of the States-General, of the Provincial States, and of Elective Mayors.—The States-General would have called to mind the rights of others; they were never summoned. Those who spoke of them were punished, and when at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, the allies, distrustful of his ambition, wished to secure the ratification of the peace by a national assembly, Louis haughtily refused and declared that he regarded the demand as an insult to the majesty of his throne. The majority of provinces had states of their own; Louis suppressed them, preserving such assemblies only in Languedoc, Burgundy, Brittany, Provence, and one or two other districts, where the states continued indeed to meet, but only to execute the orders they received from the ministers. The remnants of municipal liberty were destroyed like that of the provinces. Disregarding the old rights, so dear to the towns, the king made the office of mayor hereditary and sold it to the highest bidder. An edict of 1683 placed the financial administration of the towns in the hands of the intendants. Municipal finance did not improve. Communities were made responsible for the payment of the *taille*, as the *curiales* had been under the Roman Empire; the earlier financial policy had ruined the municipal magistrates; the new exempted the magistrates but ruined the communes.

All this policy may be summed up in a few words, unhappily those of Colbert. "It is not good that one should speak for all," he wrote to a governor in a letter in which he ordered him to abolish an elective magistracy.

Municipal life was thus suspended in France, as political life had long been; an unfortunate condition of affairs, since the country failed to acquire practical training in the art of administration. The result was that when she was forced to take the government from the weakened hands of her kings, she found

only bold and able logicians to guide her, instead of experienced men who would have known how to preserve continuity with the past by means of wise compromises. Political liberty, to be stable, must be firmly based upon local liberty. It is because it has been so based in England that it has grown and been preserved there.

Submission of Parliament.—The monarchy had for five centuries struck heavy blows at feudal aristocratic power, and to succeed the better in its conflict with the nobles it had itself created another caste, the judicial order. In the sixteenth century, the parliaments were termed the “strong and powerful columns upon which the monarchy is supported.” But in the seventeenth century the new monarchy required no support other than its absolute right. Louis kept all parliaments subservient to his will; he placed them under the control of the Council of State, even the parliament of Paris which had given the regency to his grandmother and to his mother, and which had made the *Fronde*. By an edict of 1667 he ordered the registration of royal edicts within a week, and he allowed no protests. In the following year he deleted from the records of the body all the discussions which had taken place during the civil war, in order to destroy the very memory of the ancient claims of parliament. Finally he altered the title of the *sovereign court* into that of *superior court*, as if the original title had encroached upon the sovereignty of the crown (1665).

The magistrates reduced to administering edicts were yet forced to render services. D’Ormesson was disgraced for having resisted the wishes of the court during the trial of Fouquet; a judge who had refused to condemn the old *Frondeur* Fargues to death, on the ground that he held special letters of pardon, was replaced by another, more complaisant, who sent Fargues to the scaffold.

Submission of the Nobles.—The reduction of the nobles appeared to be more difficult. Richelieu had demolished their fortresses and had executed the more seditious. Mazarin had bought them or overcome them by craft. Louis XIV. made himself their master by attracting them to him by fêtes, by taking them away from their domains (where they too frequently remembered their ancestors and felt themselves still free) to fill his ante-chambers. His personal bodyguard was composed of those before whom his ancestors had trembled. Louis gathered together a brilliant retinue by which the “earthly representative of God” wished to be constantly surrounded. The governors of the

provinces deprived of all authority, which was transferred to the *intendants*, could no longer make kings. They had no longer the management of the revenues, or even the command of the troops ; they were nominated for three years only, unless by their assiduity at Versailles they could secure the renewal of this empty honour. Those of the nobles who persisted in remaining on their estates were more than once compelled to endure a formidable visitation from the king's officials. Fléchier has preserved the memory of the *Grands jours de Clermont* held in 1665, and of the executions of the nobles of that province who fancied that the court was too distant for the complaints of the people to reach it. The king personally encouraged the severity of the magistrates. "Oppression and violence must be banished from the provinces on your circuit," he wrote to the president of the *Grands jours*. "You have begun too well not to make an end." He caused a medal to be struck, representing a released slave, protected by the royal glove, with the expressive inscription : *Salus provinciarum, repressa potentiorum audacia*. But for the nobles who resided at court, even for those who inspired a moderate esteem, there were constant honours in the shape of marks of consideration. The aim of Louis was to appear as the foremost among them all, and hence the greater in the eyes of the many.

If the nobles had titles and honours they had not the least political influence. Louis XIV. did not forget that the conqueror of Rocroi had possibly aspired to found a new dynasty, and he employed the princes of the blood as little as possible, even his own brother, for fear that they might win distinction. He attempted to encourage in them a taste for frivolity, which, in most instances, became a taste for disreputable pleasures. His brother might possibly have become a prince equal to the majority of princes ; his nephew had perhaps the making of a remarkable man ; the Prince of Conti was both brave and capable. They were compelled to spend in idleness or in debauchery the talents from which the country might have profited. He admitted into his council, after the death of Mazarin, only one man of the old nobility, the Duke de Beauvilliers, governor of the children of France, and he chose all his ministers from the ranks of those of moderate station, that he might be able, as St. Simon vigorously expresses it, "to hurl them back into that depth of obscurity from which he had drawn them." The great nobles were permitted only a limited share in the army and were obliged to submit to discipline at the

rough hands of Louvois and to the inflexible *ordre-du-tableau*. Even questions of honour and dignity, which they had been accustomed to decide quickly, sword in hand, were submitted to the Council of the Marshals, except in the case of dukes and peers. The French nobility had been unable to become, like the English nobility, a political class ; it became merely a military caste.

The Third Estate.—Louis, following the old traditions of the monarchy, preferred to employ the middle class, which was better educated and more devoted, since its members did not yet realise the objections to absolute power and had for centuries experienced those of feudal government. To them Louis gave all financial, political, and judicial offices ; he peacefully established the middle class in the government of the state, since all political activity was concentrated in the royal council and in the offices of the intendants. He urged the same class to engage in industry and commerce, two important activities of the new age ; and by the regard which he had for these humble men, for Boileau, Racine, and Molière, he himself prepared that revolution which established the rights of the intellect at the expense of the rights of birth. He thus, of his own accord, paved the way for the evolution of the democratic France of the Revolution, as by his large armies and his victories he paved the way for the military France of the empire. But Louis XIV. must not be regarded as a kind of *bourgeois* king, a *roi-des-maltotiers*,¹ as St. Simon disdainfully calls him. His policy, his lofty idea of his personal dignity, that rigorous ceremonial which made of him a sort of redoubtable divinity, which made him so inaccessible ; his banquets, his brilliant fêtes—none of all these suggest the more modest picture of a constitutional king. And the humble individuals whom Louis made his ministers, his ambassadors, his secretaries of state, left their original humble position when they entered the court. Louvois became a marquis, Pontchartrain a count, Torcy a marquis. While using middle-class servants, the grandson of Henry IV. still wished to be a king of gentlemen.

The Clergy: Declaration of 1682.—The clergy were treated like the nobles. They were honoured, but they were left no power. The great nobles, with few exceptions, were excluded from the Church as they were from the administration. The aristocratic St. Simon reproached Louis with having ruined the episcopate by filling it with pedants from the seminaries and

¹ King of tax collectors.

their pupils ; men without knowledge or birth, whose sole merit lay in their obscurity and boorishness, a strange rebuke in the mouth of one who was a contemporary of Bossuet, Fénelon, Fléchier, and Massillon, whose illustrious names are a perpetual honour to the Church of France.

The clergy, under Louis XIV., were a force making for the support of the monarchy. In the matter of the regalian rights the bishops supported the king even against the papacy. These regalian rights were the right of the king to receive the revenues of certain benefices, bishoprics, and archbishoprics during a vacancy. In 1673 an edict declared that this rule was to apply to all the sees in France. Two bishops refused to obey and were supported by the pope, Innocent XI. Louis, to end the dispute, called an assembly of the French clergy, which adopted in 1682, under the influence of Bossuet, four famous propositions. The first laid down that God had given to St. Peter and his successors no power, direct or indirect, over temporal affairs. The second declared that the Gallican Church approved the decrees adopted in the fourth and fifth sessions of the Council of Constance, by which general councils were declared to be superior to the pope in spiritual matters. The third laid down that the regalian rights, established in the kingdom and church, should be preserved unimpaired. The fourth stated that the decisions of the pope on matters of doctrine were unalterable only if approved by the Church.

The tribunals and theological faculties registered these four propositions, and it was forbidden to publish anything against them. Innocent XI. neither approved nor annulled the propositions, but he refused to grant bulls of investiture to bishops nominated by the government and to those who had been members of the assembly, with the result that at his death twenty-nine sees were without bishops. The matter was concluded only in 1693 when Innocent XII. granted the bulls of investiture and the king ceased to impose on the faculties of theology the obligation of signing the four propositions of 1682.

Protestants, Jansenists, and Quietists.—These disputes with the court of Rome did not benefit the dissentients. At the very height of the quarrel the king revoked the Edict of Nantes. He showed no more leniency towards the Jansenists, who were at variance on some points with the Roman Church. They owed their doctrines to a Bishop of Ypres, Jansénius, who died in 1638, and to the Abbot of St. Cyr, who had maintained some old opinions which seemed to be novel on the questions of pre-

destination and grace. Jansenism deserves to be remembered mainly on the ground of the character of the men by whom it was defended. The most illustrious among them, the great Arnauld, Lemaistre de Sacy, Nicole, and Lancelot, retired to Port-Royal des Champs, near Versailles, where Pascal also settled in 1654. There, living as solitaries, these puritans of Catholicism afforded to the world an example of constant toil of body and mind, of piety and of austerity, bordering on asceticism. They compiled, generally together, excellent books which are still used ; they had illustrious pupils, Racine among others ; and they won over to their views almost the whole magistracy. The spirit of political opposition was hidden under this religious opposition.

Louis XIV. frequently referred their opinions to the court of Rome, and as the sect would not submit to the decisions of the spiritual authority, he turned the power of the state against it, with a degree of severity which was regarded as excessive even at the time. In 1709 he ordered the destruction of Port-Royal ; even the bodies buried there were dug up and thrown into the graveyard of a neighbouring parish. But the troubles continued, and were revived by a book written by Quesnel, a priest of the Oratory. A hundred and one of his propositions were condemned at Rome by the bull *Unigenitus*, which the king imposed upon all the clergy of France (1712). Those who opposed the bull were disgraced, imprisoned, or exiled. Quietism had the same fate. This was an ancient doctrine, revived and expanded by a woman, Madame Guyon. " It is necessary," she said, " to love God for Himself, with a love which is disinterested and pure, inspired neither by hope of eternal happiness, nor by dread of eternal pain." Fénelon, the former teacher of the Duke of Burgundy, Archbishop of Cambrai, appeared to defend this opinion in a book called *Maximes des saints*. Bossuet denounced the book in 1699. The pope, after long hesitation, condemned it. Fénelon submitted with the most Christian humility. He was in the pulpit when he received the brief which proscribed his doctrines ; he left the sermon which he had prepared and preached on the obedience due to the Church in terms so touching and forceful that his defeat was admired almost as much as the victory of Bossuet.

Creation of a Police: Large Standing Army.—Two institutions assisted the king to establish this absolute power of the monarchy, the police and the army. The former was the creation of Louis XIV. In 1667 he established a magistrate with the duty

of supervising the police of Paris. This magistrate, Nicholas de la Reynie, was succeeded by the Marquis d'Argenson; they were the first lieutenants of police. They introduced better order, propriety, and security into the city. The system of public lighting was begun; from November 1 to March 1 a lantern in which a candle burned was placed at the entrance and in the middle of every street, there being a total of 5000 in Paris. The watch was instituted, rather than increased. Bodies of firemen replaced the Capuchins in the work of dealing with outbreaks of fire (1699). The narrow streets, often unpaved and irregular, were widened, cleaned, and paved; carriages and *fiacres* for the public were introduced. Pascal even conceived of the omnibus, which, however, was not then adopted. The custom of riding on horseback in Paris was kept up only by a few representatives of stubborn conservatism.

The police also served another purpose. They acted as censors; they intercepted the post and read suspect correspondence in what was later known as the *black cabinet*, and in order to free the government from the slowness of the ordinary forms of justice, they multiplied the *lettres-de-cachet*, by which all guarantees for the liberty of the individual were destroyed. This new power, employed to watch over persons and opinions, became an ever open, ever suspicious eye of monarchical power.

The army also served a dual purpose. It was employed against the enemy abroad and at home broke all resistance to the will of the king. During the War of the Spanish Succession its number exceeded 450,000. Large standing armies date from this reign; also schools of discipline, loyalty, and honour; all were a heavy burden on the national finances. This numerous army, which long enabled Louis to triumph over his foes, became within the kingdom, says Lemontey, "a supple, docile, ready instrument, which could be used without reserve in all branches of the administration. The troops were sent to the provinces to support the increase of the power of the intendants; in difficult times or in disaffected districts they aided by the terror which they inspired the collection of the taxes; they were finally employed in an extraordinary way to reconcile the consciences of dissenters to the true faith."

The Court.—All the orders in the state, all the authorities which existed in France, all conditions, parliaments, nobles, bourgeoisie, clergy, and dissenters were subjugated and dominated. Under the pressure of such authority the national character deteriorated. Vauban, Catinat, Fénelon resisted

the contagion. St. Simon, the inexorable judge in private, was a mute and submissive witness in public. Condé himself, despite his rank, services, and pride, became a courtier. Turenne alone was left in a position to speak truths to the king which others dared not utter, "being miserable grovellers."

This general condition of slavery showed itself most of all in the court, where Louis kept the nobles in gilded captivity. Versailles had been built with this design; all France was kept there under the eye and hand of the king. Those who did not live there were either of no account or were among the malcontent. Three conditions had to be fulfilled to win the favour of the king: to demand and secure a lodging at Versailles, to follow the court everywhere, even when ill or dying, and to approve of everything. During forty years, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld did not sleep twenty times away from the palace, but to his last hour he had his master's ear. Marquis Dangeau remained fifty years about the king, always in the same favour; the secret of his success was declared by Madame Maintenon to be the fact that he never blamed any one, that he always applauded. In this lay the road to graces and honours. Henry IV. sent back his nobles to their country houses; his grandson kept them in his antechambers. The old life of the great lord was a thing of the past; family life and connection with the land were gone for the nobles. They were left an artificial existence, in which certain qualities of mind developed, in which they lost all true dignity and all the virtues which belong to it.

At these splendid fêtes at Versailles, in the midst of all these artistic marvels, there blazed a society which was incomparable for its wit, elegance, grand manners. But the many errors of the king were lightly veiled. The first personages of the state, grave magistrates, illustrious prelates, dared not even protest by their silence or retirement against the scandal of doubly adulterous intrigues. The Duchess de la Valière secured pardon by her humility, her sweetness, and her eventual repentance. The haughty Montespan reigned longer over the court and king, despite the rivals whom she failed to overthrow. But she in her turn was at length supplanted by the Marquise de Maintenon, whom she had entrusted with the education of her children, and the widow of Scarron became the wife of Louis the Great (1685).

The trouble was not confined to the royal family. It threatened the state also, for Louis, violating all civil and religious law, placed by the side of the princes of the blood the legitima-

tised princes. He compelled the court to regard them as equals, and public morality received a blow which it long felt. The lessons in scandal given from the throne were not lost, and the spirit of corruption, which increased despite the apparent austerity of the last years of Louis XIV., blazed out without limit or shame under the succeeding reign. The Dukes of Orleans and Vendôme given over to debauchery, the Duke of Antin caught in the very act of theft, and many others who knew how to repair at cards the losses of fortune ; the princesses of the blood who at Marly, close to the king and Madame de Maintenon, engaged in such strange pastimes ; a court which, says St. Simon, "sweated hypocrisy" under a king turned pietist—all combine to prove that morality, conscience, and human dignity cannot be violated with impunity. Already, in the midst of Versailles itself, a warning cry was heard. "The nobles have no soul ; I would be of the people," wrote La Bruyère, seeing this gilded vice. At Versailles, the nobles of France were destroyed. The boredom produced by the court led to secret debauches ; compulsory piety produced impiety ; the habit of receiving everything from the king led to the belief that everything was the price not of services, but of servility.

Signs of a New Spirit.—But a few great minds saw the clouds on the horizon and dared to offer respectful counsel. Vauban, who felt all the sorrows of the land, formed plans for their relief ; he demanded the restoration of the Edict of Nantes and a return to religious toleration ; he proposed to replace all taxes by a single impost, the royal tithe, payable by all, nobles and priests no less than commoners. When he presented his book to the king in 1707, Louis, forgetting the vast services of the marshal, condemned the book to the pillory. The patriotic ideas of a great citizen were received as the perverse imaginings of a sacrilegious dreamer. Six weeks later Vauban died.

Colbert had already died in despair. Racine fell into disgrace for an act of patriotism ; it was less his religious opinions than his political ideas which secured for Fénelon that exile from which he did not return. But the opposition, stifled at home, found vigorous expression beyond the frontiers. As early as 1690, there were printed in Holland fifteen memoirs under the title *Les soupirs de la France esclave*, in which the old liberties of the country were demanded, the privileges of the three orders and the summoning of the States-General. These were the preliminary signs of that new spirit which in the eighteenth century was to agitate French society, after dual proof of the short-lived

benefits and far-reaching dangers attending that absolute monarchy of which Louis XIV. was the most striking personification.

CHAPTER LIV

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

Literary Character of the Seventeenth Century in France.—The sixteenth century was the period of religious reformation, the eighteenth that of political reformation. Lying between these two revolutionary periods, the seventeenth century displayed in the realm of literature so perfect a harmony of mental force, a power of expression in such complete accord with the power of thought that it has remained for all time the golden age of French literature. Those who live in periods of stress, in the midst of violent discussions, see a more lofty and a deeper vision, but they do not attain that calm and serene beauty which posterity delights to contemplate.

The Age of Louis XIV. before Louis XIV.—It has been generally held that the king played an important part in the creation of this age of intellectual glory. But it is now known that before Louis assumed the reins of government France had already acquired a large part of that literary fame which the period had in store for her. Corneille, Descartes, and Pascal had produced their greatest works. Madame de Sévigné, La Rochefoucauld, Molière, La Fontaine, Bossuet were at their prime; the two great painters of the age, Le Sueur and Poussin, were dead or dying; and Boileau had written his first satire.

No one can become a great writer unless he is made so by nature, education, and circumstances. Genius asks of power only that it should not be stifled; authority cannot give genius a voice, though it can silence that voice. Authority can support genius, can rouse it by favour, still better by recognition, and Louis understood this and performed it admirably. This king, whose smile was regarded as a striking reward even for the most brilliant services, loaded Racine with marks of his esteem; he allowed Boileau to defeat him in a literary discussion; he permitted Mansart to talk to him at all times; and the nobles saw with astonishment the son of a weaver, the author of the *Misanthrope*, sit opposite the king at his table, an honour which the princes of the blood received only on the most solemn occasions of their lives.

The muses, in gratitude, gave to the king more than they received ; they consecrated his name. At the present time, while realising that it is not every Maecenas who finds a Virgil, we preserve the phrase *The Age of Louis XIV.* to denote that period of French literature which extends from the first writings of Corneille to those of Voltaire. And we use the phrase because Louis had a real taste for the arts and for letters ; because, though his favours assuredly did not create a single great writer, yet by honouring letters they prepared the way for the establishment of their empire.

The Academies and Pensions.—Louis XIV. did not regard literature as a power, and in his time it had not become so. But he regarded it as a necessary ornament, as a luxury worthy of a great king. He favoured letters while keeping them under control and during his reign there was established that real government of literature which Richelieu had inaugurated. Colbert was the minister employed on this work. By founding the academies he attempted to organise worthy temples of the mind and of learning, in which the rules of literature should be drawn up, its tone decided, and its limits set. The members of these bodies were in a sense public functionaries, their pensions and rewards for attendance were their salaries. The Academy of France continued to prepare the dictionary of the language, and to accelerate this work Colbert prescribed the hours of their meetings. The Academy of Inscriptions prepared devices for medals and escutcheons, and inscriptions for the monuments, the decoration of which was arranged by the Academy of Painting and Sculpture. The province of the Academy of the Sciences was defined by the wording of the medal struck at the time of its foundation, *Naturae Investigandae et perficiendis artibus*.

The academies formed corporations of literature, science, and art. Their most eminent members had official functions and a rank at court. Jules Mansart was first architect and superintendent of the royal buildings ; Lebrun was first painter ; Lulli was first musician. Louis XIV. did not give poetry an office at court ; he was content to bind it to him by favour. Such a post, however, was granted to history, that the judgment of posterity might be assured in advance. Racine and Boileau were the historians. Even Molière, his valet-de-chambre, played a part in that great piece which was performed so gravely round the king at Versailles. Louis, who made his nobles ascend the triumphal car of monarchy, readily allowed the poet to direct his bitter sarcasms at them from below, and on occasion

would draw his attention to something disgraceful which he had forgotten, a marquis whom the immortal comedian had not struck.

Prose Writers.—"In eloquence, in poetry, in literature, in books both moral and entertaining," says Voltaire, "the French have been the lawgivers of Europe. True eloquence was everywhere ignored, religion was made ridiculous in the pulpit, causes were made ridiculous at the bar. Preachers quoted Virgil and Ovid; advocates quoted Augustine and Jerome. No genius was found who could give to the French language power, measure, style, and dignity. A few verses of Malherbe suggested that force and grandeur were not alien from it, but that was all. The same men who wrote so well in Latin, men like the President de Thou, the Chancellor l'Hôpital, were no longer the same when they turned to their own tongue, which proved rebellious in their hands. The French were recommended as writers only by a certain *naïveté* which formed the merit of such authors as Joinville, Amyot, Marot, Montaigne, Regnier, and the author of the *Satire Ménippée*.

"Jean de Lingendes, Bishop of Macon, was the first orator who spoke with really good taste. His sermons, though still marked by the rust of ages, were the model for those later orators who imitated and surpassed him. The funeral oration on Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, pronounced by Lingendes in 1637, was full of passages of great eloquence, so that, long afterwards, Fléchier borrowed the whole introduction as well as many other passages to adorn his famous funeral oration over Turenne."

"Balzac (1594-1654) gave rhythm and harmony to prose. It is true that his letters were bombastic harangues; he wrote to Cardinal de Retz, 'You are about to take the sceptre of kings and the livery of roses.' With all his faults Balzac charmed the ear; eloquence has charmed men at all times and he was admired because he had discovered some small part of an art, unknown but necessary, the harmonious choice of words, and he was not admired the less that he often employed words wrongly. Voiture (1598-1648) had some idea of the light grace of that epistolary style; but his letters are inferior since they consisted only of pleasantries. His two volumes of letters are two volumes of jests, with no trace of that depth of feeling which makes it possible to depict the manners of a period, the period itself, and the character of men. His work was in a manner an abuse of capacity." Voltaire is here too severe. Voiture had

something better than brain ; he possessed probity, courage, a lofty heart, and, like Voltaire himself, was able to force the great to reckon with him. As a writer his reputation is poor and there is no need to attempt to enhance it, but it is something to find another honest man in history, and Voiture was such a man. A judge enabled him to secure from a lawsuit more than was due to him ; Voiture repaid his opponent. One of his friends was robbed : " Have the honest fellows had the politeness to leave you a little money ? Fearing that they have not done so, I send you these hundred pistoles, and you may have twice that amount if you need it."

" One of the works," says Voltaire, " which most contributed to form the taste of the nation were the short *Maximes* of Francis, Duke of La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680). Though there is only one truth in the work, that " *amour propre est la mobile de tout*," yet this idea is presented under so many varied aspects that it is always striking. It is less a book than materials for adorning a book. It is greedily read. It causes thought and its ideas are expressed in a manner vivid, clear, and delicate. But the first work of genius in prose was Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales* (1657). All kinds of eloquence are there united. To this work the fixing of the language was due ; there is hardly a word which has suffered any change of meaning, though in a living tongue such changes are so frequent. The Bishop of Lucon, son of the famous Bussy, asked Bossuet what work he would soonest have produced after his own ; the answer was *Les Lettres Provinciales*.

" One of the first to exhibit eloquent reasoning power in the pulpit was Father Bourdaloue (1632-1704) about 1668. He was a new light and was followed by other pulpit orators, such as Father Massillon (1662-1742), Bishop of Clermont, who introduced into their sermons more grace, finer and more illuminating pictures of the manner of the age, but whose memory has not survived. In his style, nervous rather than florid, without any imagination in his expression, Bourdaloue seemed rather to convince than to move ; and he never strove to please." But in him there may be observed boldness in censuring contemporary morals. " M. Bourdaloue's sermons caused the courtiers to tremble owing to their power ; he struck like a tempest," says Madame de Sévigné.

" Bourdaloue had been preceded by Bossuet (1627-1704), afterwards Bishop of Meaux. He who became so great a man had preached before the king and the queen-mother (1661) long before Bourdaloue was known. His sermons, illustrated by noble

and moving gestures, were the first to be heard at court which bordered on the sublime. They met with great success and the king wrote to the preacher's father to congratulate him on the possession of such a son. But when Bourdaloue appeared Bossuet was no longer regarded as the first preacher. He had already preached various funeral orations, a species of eloquence which demanded a degree of imagination and a majestic grandeur akin to poetry. The funeral oration on the queen-mother (1667) secured him the see of Condom, but that sermon was unworthy of him and was not printed in the collection of his discourses. The funeral oration on the Queen of England, the widow of Charles I. (1669), was almost his greatest achievement. That on Madame, cut off in the flower of her age and dying in his arms, had the greatest and most singular success, since it caused the court to weep. The preacher was forced to stop at the words : '*O nuit désastreuse, nuit effroyable, où retentit tout à coup comme un éclat de tonnerre, cette étonnante nouvelle, Madame se meurt ! Madame est morte !*' The church resounded with sighs ; the voice of the preacher was drowned in sobs and lamentations. The French alone succeeded in this form of eloquence. Some time later Bossuet invented another type of eloquence which was successful only in his hands. He applied the art of oratory to history, from which it appeared to be divorced. His *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, composed for the instruction of the dauphin, had never been anticipated and was never imitated. The majestic power with which he describes manners, governments, the rise and fall of great empires, is astonishing ; not less amazing are the rapid and yet vigorously true passages in which he paints and judges the characters of nations. Almost all the works which adorned this age were of a kind unknown to antiquity. The *Télémaque* is one of the number. Fénelon (1651-1715), the disciple and friend, afterwards, despite himself, the rival and enemy, of Bossuet, composed this curious work, which was at once a romance and a poem, in which rhythmic prose takes the place of verse. He apparently wished to treat romance as Bossuet treated history, giving it an unknown dignity and charm, and above all drawing from his fictions a moral valuable for mankind. He composed this book to provide essays and instruction for the Duke of Burgundy, whose tutor he was. Full of the learning of the ancients and born with a lively and tender imagination, his style was essentially his own and flowed as from a never-failing source. In his original manuscript there are not ten erasures. It is said that a servant stole a copy from

him and caused it to be printed ; if this be so, that breach of trust gained for the Archbishop of Cambrai his whole European reputation, though it possibly destroyed his reputation at court. In *Télémaque* there may be found an indirect criticism of the government of Louis XIV. Sésostris, who triumphed too extravagantly ; Idomeneus, who established luxury in Salentum and forgot the necessities of life, both afforded portraits of the king. In the eyes of the malcontent, Louvois appeared to be represented as Protésilas, vain, harsh, proud, the foe of the great captains who served the state and not the minister. Among productions of a unique character may be counted the *Caractères* of La Bruyère (1644-1696). There is no example of this kind of work among the ancients. A rapid, concise, nervous style, picturesque expressions, an entirely novel use of language, which broke rules but attracted the public, and allusions which the vulgar could follow, secured the success of the book. Malezieu remarked when Bruyère showed him the manuscript that the work would win many readers and many foes. The book lost its standing when the whole generation attacked in it had passed away, but it will never be forgotten, since there are in it things which belong to all time and all places."

At this time there was one special class of writers, those who related what they had seen or done. Thanks, perhaps, to a trait in the national character which leads Frenchmen to wish to discuss themselves with their contemporaries and with posterity, to secure the verdict of the future beforehand, France has always been the great land of memoirs. This curious branch of literature dated from a relatively early period beginning with Joinville and Villehardouin. The seventeenth century produced a rich collection of these works, written in most cases with fine and delicate spirit, and revealing very clearly the secret history and causes of events. Those of Richelieu are a mine of valuable material for the general history of the age ; those of Madame de Motteville (1621-1689), the confidante of Anne of Austria, make us intimate with that princess. Abbé de Choisy (1644-1724), who lived a very adventurous and not wholly blameless life, wrote memoirs to assist in the writing of a history of Louis XIV. Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz (1614-1679), left a book which is one of the monuments of the language and which will always be read with pleasure though the author may not always be believed. Gourville (1625-1703), receiver-general of the *taille* in Guienne, a man of vast wealth quickly acquired, who shared in the fall of Fouquet, wrote memoirs of the years 1642 to 1678 ; Pierre

Lenet, councillor of the parliament of Dijon, wrote on the period of the *Fronde*. The great nobles also indulged frequently in this type of literature. Under the regency of Anne of Austria there were the memoirs of La Rochefoucauld, which caused a great scandal when they appeared ; on the last part of the reign of Louis XIV. and for the first part of that of Louis XV. there are the twenty volumes of St. Simon, who was not a Tacitus but who was a prolific writer.

Poets.—Regnier and Malherbe belong to the previous period, since the former died in 1613 and the latter in 1628. Rotrou is well in the seventeenth century (1609–1650), but hardly anything of his is now read except his tragedy *Wenceslas*. With Corneille the masterpieces begin to appear in numbers, raising the French to the level of the Greek theatre. “ Pierre Corneille (1606–1684),” says Voltaire, “ was the more to be admired because he was surrounded only by bad models when he began to produce his tragedies. The path to excellence was barred still further by the fact that these bad models were esteemed, and to complete the discouragement they were favoured by Richelieu, who was the protector of men of letters rather than of good taste. Corneille had to contend with his age, his rivals, and the cardinal, who decried *Le Cid* and disapproved of *Polyeucte*. Corneille formed himself as a writer ; Louis XIV., Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides combined to form Racine (1639–1669). An ode which he wrote at the age of twenty won him an unexpected prize and resolved him to devote himself to poetry. His reputation increased daily, while that of Corneille tended to decline. The reason was that Racine in all his works after his *Alexandre* was always elegant, always correct, always true, speaking from the heart, whereas Corneille failed in all these duties. Racine far surpassed the Greeks and Corneille in his appreciation of human passions, and he brought the sweet harmony of poetry and the grace of language to a higher point than any of his predecessors. A considerable party piqued themselves on never doing justice to Racine. Madame de Sévigné (1626–1696), the leader of her age in the art of letter-writing, always declared that he would not go very far ; she talked of him as of a café, of which she said *qu'on se désabusera bientôt*. It takes time for a reputation to become assured. A curious destiny made Molière (1622–1673) the contemporary of Corneille and of Racine. It is not true that when Molière appeared he found the theatre absolutely without good comedies. Corneille himself had produced *Le Menteur* ; and Molière had published only two of his great works when

La Mère coquette of Quinault appeared, a piece which has both character and intrigue and is a model of the latter. This was in 1664; it was the first comedy in which those who were known as the marquises were depicted. The majority of the great nobles of the court of Louis XIV. tried to imitate their master's grand air, his éclat and dignity. Those of a lower rank imitated their superiors, and there were those, and many of them, who carried this haughty manner and self-assertion to an absurd point. This affectation lasted a long time. Molière often attacked it and helped to laugh down these self-important nobodies, as well as the affectations of the *précieuses*, the pedantry of the *femmes savantes* and of the lawyers, and the Latin of the doctors. Molière was in fact the lawgiver of good manners; this was his service to his own age, and he rendered services also to all ages. This period is worth the attention of all time, when there appeared the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the characters of Molière, the symphonies of Lulli—all new to the nation; when the voices of Bossuet and Bourdaloue were heard by Louis XIV., by Madame, so famous for her taste, by a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, by that crowd of great spirits who then appeared in every walk of life. There will never again be a time when a Duke de la Rochefoucauld, author of the *Maximes*, will leave a conversation with a Pascal and an Arnaud to attend a play by Corneille. Despreaux (1636-1711) raised himself to the level of these great men not by his early satires, for posterity reads only *Les Embarras de Paris*, and remembers only the names of Cassagne and Cotin, but by his *Épîtres* and his *Art Poétique*, from the latter of which Corneille learned much. La Fontaine (1621-1695), less chaste in his style, less correct in his language, was unique in his *naïveté* and his peculiar graces, and by his simplicity placed himself almost on a level with these great men."

Philosophy.—Philosophy was given a new lease of life by Descartes (1596-1650), less by what he taught than by what he destroyed. His system has fallen, as do all philosophical systems; his method remains, and is the most powerful arm for the combating of error and for the discovery of the truth. Descartes accepted as true only that in moral and physical science which seemed evident to reason, which evidence he placed, in philosophical matters, in the irresistible position of a manifestation of consciousness. In his *Discours de la Méthode* (1637), written in that clear style which marks contemporary French prose, and in his *Méditations* (1641) he tried to prove by the aid of reason

alone that God exists, that the soul is spiritual and immortal, that the human will is free and that man is therefore a responsible being. His principles were adopted by the most religious minds of the age; they inspired Malebranche, who was called the French Plato, in his admirable work *La Recherche de la Vérité*; Bossuet in his *Traité de la Connaissance de Dieu et de soi-même*; and Fénelon, in his eloquent *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu*. Thus in the seventeenth century France founded speculative philosophy in opposition to the empiricism which triumphed in England with Bacon and Locke; as in the eighteenth century she defended experience against the cloudy metaphysics of Germany, going on, step by step, guided always by her own clear light of reason, along the highways which Plato and Aristotle opened to the world, and leaning, to restore equilibrium, to that side which the exaggerations of other nations endangered.

Pascal (1623-1662), another great mind, was also a great writer in his *Lettres Provinciales* (1656), directed against the loose morals of the Jesuits, and his *Pensées*, fragments of a work which he proposed to write on the truth of Christianity. Pascal was less an inventive genius like Descartes, despite his great discoveries, than a critical genius of very great power. With Pascal must be mentioned his friends the pious recluses of Port-Royal, minds intensely earnest, if somewhat narrow, who founded in the midst of Catholicism an energetic and vigorous sect which Louis XIV. persecuted and which revived theological quarrels in the mid-eighteenth century. The chief Jansenist doctors were Le Maistre de Sacy (1612-1694), who translated the Bible in the Bastille where the Jesuits kept him for three years; Antoine Arnaud (1612-1694), called Le grand Arnaud, whose life was one long theological discussion with the Jesuits, the Protestants, and Malebranche. Nicole (1625-1695) is known chiefly by his *Éssais de Morale*; Lancelot, by his works on education. Far removed from this current of ideas, Bayle and La Mothe le Vayer continued the sceptical tradition of Montaigne and Rabelais, which was to be resumed by Voltaire.

Erudition.—Some mention must be made of those laborious minds who continued to reveal the history of antiquity or to unravel the chaos of the early periods of France. Their influence on the language was slight or non-existent, for in general they were not writers, and the majority of their works were in Latin, but they influenced thought considerably, since the right understanding of the past makes the present more easily com-

prehended. They further pursued a species of truth, that of history, and their works still guide us. The greatest of these savants were Casaubon, Scaliger, Saumaise, Ducagne, Baluze; various Benedictines, such as Mabillon and Montfaucon; and the Protestant, Bayle. Mézeray (1610-1683), author of a "history of France to the time of Louis XIII.," of more value for its style than for its matter, strove to win a place among the writers, and succeeded. Father Daniel (1649-1728) revised the work of Mézeray without consigning it to oblivion; Abbé Fleury (1640-1723) wrote an ecclesiastical history which is still regarded as of merit; also the *Mœurs des Israélites*; Le Nain de Tillemont (1637-1698) left a learned history of the Roman emperors. Finally there were the orientalist Bochart, d'Herbelot, Galland, and the travellers in the East, Le Vaillant, Chardin, Bernier, who restored to Europe knowledge of a world unknown since the crusades.

Literary Influence of France.—No nation in Europe could at that time present so magnificent an array of literary productions. Italy and Germany were sunk in moral decadence. Spain, like a rich ruin which preserves nothing save precious relics of its lost fortune, produced only eminent painters and over-prolific writers. England had produced Shakespeare at the beginning of the age, Milton in the middle, and Dryden at the end of the century, but no literature now came from that island. France, on the other hand, was really at the head of civilisation, and by the recognised superiority of her intellect and her taste, she caused all Europe to accept the peaceful sway of her artists and writers.

Sciences.—In the realm of science, France was in the midst of the movement, but did not lead it. If she had Descartes and Pascal, other nations produced Kepler, Galileo, Newton, and Leibnitz. Antiquity and the Middle Ages had cultivated with success the science of reason, but the study of the physical world was sterile since the true methods of experiment were not known. They could not become known until the belief had been established that the universe is governed by the immutable laws of an eternal wisdom and not by the arbitrary whims of capricious powers. Then alone could the human mind be acquitted of the charge of sacrilegious daring, *Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas*, when men strove to read the secrets of creation. Alchemy, magic, astrology, all the follies of the Middle Ages developed into the sciences as soon as man no longer concerned himself with the impenetrable essence of things, and instead of considering iso-

lated phenomena, endeavoured to grasp the laws by which those very phenomena were produced. This period of human thought began with Copernicus in the sixteenth century, but it was only in the seventeenth that the revolution was triumphantly accomplished with Kepler, Bacon, and Descartes. Descartes gave an immense impetus to the study of algebra by inventing the notation of powers by numerical exponents and to the geometry of curves, which enabled him to solve hitherto insoluble problems. He found the true law of refraction; with Galileo, he believed in the revolution of the earth round the sun, and as even the errors of genius bear fruit, his chimerical theory of vortices—according to which the sun and fixed stars were the centre of so many vortices of matter, round which the planets circled—was the germ of the celebrated Newtonian theory of attraction. For Descartes, as for Newton, the problem of the physical universe was a mechanical problem, and Descartes, though he failed to discover the solution of the problem, was at least the first to indicate its true nature. Pascal discovered the elements of geometry unaided and with no books at the age of twelve; at sixteen he wrote his treatise on conic sections. A little later he invented the calculus of probabilities, demonstrated the weight of the air by his famous experiment on the Puy-du-Dôme, contrived the dray and perhaps the hydraulic press. Round these great men there was a numerous crowd of imitators. Pierre Fermat (1601–1665), councillor of the parliament of Toulouse, printed nothing, but was possibly the great mathematical genius of the age. He shared with Descartes the glory of having applied algebra to geometry, and devised the method *de maximis et de minimis* at the same time as Pascal created the calculus of probabilities. Abbé Mariotte (1650–1684) recognised that the volume of a gas at a given temperature varies in inverse ratio to the pressure to which it is subjected. Denis Papin, born at Blois in 1647, created or perfected many machines, and was the first to think of employing steam as a motive force. In Germany, on the Fulda, he made some experiments with a steamboat which ran up stream. Some stupid sailors destroyed the great physicist's machine, and Papin died in London in want (1710).

Geography was reformed by Nicholas Sanson (1600–1667) and by William Delisle (1675–1726), whose maps are still esteemed. Tournefort (1656–1706) restored botany and enriched the royal gardens with rare plants, which he had collected during a voyage in the Levant. The royal printing press equalled the

Dutch presses in the correctness and elegance of the editions produced. Finally in surgery the traditions of Ambroise Paré were continued. People came from all over the continent to consult Félix and Maréchal at Paris.

Three strangers whom Colbert attracted to France justified by their work the royal favour. The Dane Roemer determined the speed of solar rays; the Dutchman Huygens discovered the rings and one of the satellites of Saturn; the Italian Dominic Cassini discovered the other four moons of that planet. Huygens was responsible also for the invention of the pendulum clock, and Cassini was the first to begin the calculation of the size of the earth. He conducted his experiments in this regard with Abbé Picard, professor of astronomy in the College of France, and the two began in 1669 the meridian which was later extended as far as Roussillon. It was according to the measure of a degree given by Picard that Newton was able to calculate the force which kept the moon to its orbit. The observatory was constructed at Paris specially for the work of Cassini.

Arts: Painting.—The intellectual development of a people proceeds at once on all sides; when the age of great writers has arrived that of great artists is not far distant. This species of moral infection, which spread to all the great minds of the period and excited all those of superior talents, was too vigorous in the seventeenth century for artists not to be found side by side with the writers. Yet except in painting, the sixteenth, rather than the seventeenth, century is the great age in France. There is nothing among the monuments of the reign of Louis XIV. to compare with the central portion of the palace of the Tuileries, with the old Louvre, with part of Fontainebleau, or with the châteaux of the period of Francis I. and Henry II.

There were four painters of the first rank, Poussin, Le Sueur, Claude Lorraine, and Lebrun; one admirable sculptor, Puget; architects of some talent, Mansart and Perrault; and one able musician, Lulli.

Poussin lived for a long time at Rome and had the reputation of being the greatest artist of the period, a reputation which he has kept. Despite the fact that his colouring was too sombre, he remains the head of the French school in respect of his moral elevation, the dramatic interest of his works, the richness and poetry of his compositions, and for that search for the ideal which he himself called "the chief joy of intellect." It may be added that he was also pre-eminent for the purity of his life, a quality which is not alien from art. He despised fortune, honours, the

advances of the great, and shut himself away with his noble thoughts and his arts, as he depicted his Diogenes in the midst of the most magnificent scenes of nature, rejected by the philosopher as a final futility. Le Sueur, Lebrun, and Mignard may be regarded as his pupils, for they received his lessons and advice for many years. Poussin belonged to Les Andelys in Normandy, and died at the age of sixty-two (1665). Le Sueur was born in Paris, lived poor and obscure, and died at the age of thirty-eight (1655), not, as has been said, in the Carthusian convent for which he painted his beautiful series of twenty-two pictures representing the life of St. Bruno, but near the Hôtel Lambert, which, in company with Lebrun, he decorated with paintings still to be seen. He had a gentle and open disposition ; his paintings were always gracious, even when dealing with the most severe subjects, owing to the softness of tone and delicacy of drawing, expressing to perfection the feelings and even the most intimate affections of men and women. His rival, Lebrun, born in Paris two years later (1619), was quite different in temperament, and his talent, often theatrical, was more to the taste of Louis XIV., who appointed him his first painter and employed him to decorate Versailles, a task on which the artist was engaged for fourteen years. Lebrun was, until the death of Colbert, the arbiter and even the dictator of art in France ; nothing was done except according to his designs and in conformity with his opinion ; his influence, and even his work, can be traced in all the paintings of the time. His drawing was weak and heavy, the expression of his faces was rather exaggerated than true ; he had neither the splendid colouring of Titian, nor the natural grace of Le Sueur, nor the spirit of Rubens, nor Poussin's depth of thought. But he was an artist of merit, the first among those of the second rank. The foundation of the French school at Rome was due to him ; to that school the young artists who have won what is known as the "grand prix de Rome" are sent at the expense of the government to complete their studies amid the masterpieces of antiquity and of the great Italian painters. With these four masters a place must be found for Philip de Champagne, who has left some admirable portraits and one masterpiece, *L'Apparition de St. Gervais et de St. Protais* ; for Mignard (1610-1695), who was for some time the rival of Lebrun on the score of his great fresco, the *Val-de-Grâce*. But posterity does not give him so high a place ; affectations of delicacy and grace are called, in reference to him, *la mignardise*. Claude Gelée, called Lorraine, was born in Lorraine in 1600

and died at Rome in 1632. He was the best French landscape painter and one of the first in Europe. He was the artist of light ; his richness of style and beauty of colouring in landscapes and seascapes may be admired at the Louvre where they are preserved. Mention must also be made of Jouvenet de Rouen (1647-1717), a pupil of Lebrun, painter of *Esther devant Assuérus* and *Une pêche miraculeuse* ; Santerre (1651-1717), who painted the beautiful *Sainte Therese* in the chapel of Versailles ; La Fosse, who painted the dome of Les Invalides and the vault of the chapel of Versailles, on which the two brothers Bon Boullongne and Louis Boullongne also worked ; Lemoine, of the salon d'Hercule ; and above all Watteau of Valenciennes (1684-1722), who inaugurated the genre style, but with brilliant colours.

Sculpture and Engraving.—Puget, like Michael Angelo, whose pride and energy he equalled, was at once painter, sculptor, and architect. He was born at Marseilles in 1622 and died in 1694. For a long time he carved figures in wood for the poops and galleries of the ships of Toulon, built many fine houses in the Rue Cannebière, and filled Genoa with his masterpieces. Louis XIV. commanded from him the groups of the *Persée* and *Milon de Crotone*. This last marble rivals the works of antiquity in its energy of expression and in its truth of design, save that one cannot find in it that nobleness of form which the artist ought never to forget even when he depicts material strength. The mighty athlete, so many times crowned by all Greece, should show by the sorrow of his face the memory of past victories. Puget was too independent to succeed at Versailles. He went there and was well received, but with difficulty secured for his *Milon* the cost of the marble. His bas-relief of Diogenes and Alexander, despite the skill which it shows, was only a proof of the powerlessness of sculpture to rival painting. The marble clouds and flags hang heavily, whereas in painting they float lightly ; and the chief actor is missing in the sculpture—that ray of sunlight which the conqueror intercepted. Puget left no pupils. Coysevox, the two Coustou, Girardon, followed a different system ; they were rather sculptors of grace, masters of a brilliant and facile style without elevation. The Tuileries received from Coysevox *Les Chevaux ailés* which decorate the entrance on the side of the Place de la Concorde ; *Le Fluteur*, *La Flore*, and *L'Hamadryade* which are in front of the château ; and from Nicolas Coustou, *La Seine*, *La Marne*, *Berger chasseur*, and *Jules César* ; from William Coustou, *Hippomène* and *Atalante*, while the *Chevaux indomptés* at the entrance of the

Champs Elysées are by the same artist. Girardon peopled Versailles with his works ; the mausoleum of Richelieu is his masterpiece. The engravings of Callot, Nanteuil, and Audran are to be found throughout Europe.

Architecture.—Francis Mansart forsook the elegance and grace of the Renaissance for a style which he believed to be majestic but which was merely heavy. He began the Val-de-Grâce, built the château of Maisons near St. Germain-en-Laye, and invented the mansard roof. His nephew, Jules Hardouin Mansart, was a cold and regular genius, who almost attained to grandeur of design since Louis stinted him neither in space, nor money, but who seemed to lack inspiration and elegance save in his beautiful cupola of Les Invalides. Claude Perrault (1628–1688) was a doctor, a surgeon, and a great architect ; he had a great reputation in spite of Boileau. Another artist of genius, Le Notre (1613–1700), created the science of artistic gardening, and was a pastmaster in beautifying the châteaux. The agriculturist La Quintinie joined the useful to the beautiful. Louis XIV. employed them both, and their names must be joined to those of the great men of this period.

Music.—The Florentine Lulli came to Paris at the age of thirty, and was with Quinault the true founder of French opera. His music now seems cold and characterless, even in the case of church music in which he excelled, but his contemporaries judged him differently. “I do not believe that any music save his will be used in Heaven,” wrote Madame de Sévigné, on hearing the service for the Chancellor Séguier (May 6, 1672).

Monuments and Public Buildings.—The chief monuments of the reign of Louis XIV. were the Val-de-Grâce, the dome of which was decorated within by Mignard with a work which recalls the great mural paintings of Italy at a distance ; the observatory, built according to the designs of the astronomer Picard and of Claude Perrault (1666) ; the gate of St. Denis and the gate of St. Martin, designed by Blondel and his pupil, Bullet ; Les Invalides, by Liberal Bruant (1674), with its church, somewhat small for the majestic dome with which Jules Mansart so boldly crowned it ; the Place du Carrousel, between the Louvre and the Tuileries, so named from the magnificent banquet given there in 1662 ; the Place des Victoires and the Place Vendôme, created or enlarged to receive the statues which Marshal de la Feuillade and the councillors of Paris caused to be erected to Louis XIV. at the time of the Treaty of Nimwegen. Work on the Tuileries

had been carried on from the beginning of the reign. Levau (1664) built the *dome de l'Horloge*, which completed the western front, and in the following year the garden was restored to the château, from which the road had separated it. It was laid out on a new plan by Le Notre, being extended to the Champs Elysées, which were planted with trees in 1670, at the same time as the northern boulevards replaced the old ditches of the city. The *College Mazarin*, now the *Institut*, was also built by Levau, who was the architect of Fouquet's castle at Vaux, and that of the intendant Bordier at Raincy.

There was more work to be done on the Louvre. Under Louis XIII., Lemercier had completed the western interior façade by the construction of the dome de l'Horloge which was adorned by eight colossal caryatides. The masterpiece of Pierre Lescot was still to be finished. Colbert submitted the matter to competition; the plans of the physician Claude Perrault were preferred to those of Bernini. From 1666 to 1674 the celebrated *colonnade du Louvre* was constructed, and at the same time the exterior façade on the side of the Seine, and that on the north on the side of the modern Rue de Rivoli, were begun. At first this great work was actively pressed forward; by degrees, progress became more slow, finally it was suspended. In spite of the remonstrances of Colbert, Louis then built Versailles.

Under Louis XIII., Versailles had been merely a village and a hunting-box. Louis XIV. determined to make it a great city and a palace. The work, which was begun in 1661, was entrusted to Jules Mansart, and went on without interruption to the end of the reign. Le Notre, Lebrun, and his pupils, especially Girardon, continued the adornment of this royal dwelling, which cost some 250,000,000 francs of our money, and which was no part of France but a creation of the king.

Water was scarce at Versailles. Louis at great expense created the machine of Marly, the result of the genius of the Liège mechanic, Rennequin Sualem. It seemed to be insufficient, and the king was anxious to divert the Eure to Versailles over valleys and hills. This was a gigantic enterprise, reminiscent of the costly and useless buildings of the Pharaohs. Dangeau wrote (June 8, 1685), "M. de Louvois returned yesterday from the river Eure where he had been to view the works. Some 1600 arches for aqueducts have been made, some of them being twice as high as the towers of Notre-Dame. Besides these 1600 large arches there are to be innumerable small arches." Ten thousand soldiers were engaged for some years on these works,

but pestilence and the wars which followed compelled their suspension, nothing being left save vast and useless ruins.

Louis also built at the same time the grand Trianon which was twice reconstructed (1671-1683) and Marly (1679), which, according to St. Simon, cost as much as Versailles, some milliards in addition to that which was expended on the famous machine. And Marly was no more than a "cottage"! The castles of St. Germain, Fontainebleau, Chambord, St. Cloud, and Sceaux were enlarged, restored, and embellished by the magnificent gardens of Le Notre. Some 160 million francs were expended on these extravagant works.

There were constructions of public utility, ports, arsenals, forts, and the canal du Midi, but the disproportion between the expenditure due to the king's whims and that due to the national interest was still excessive. That disproportion was the inevitable result of a system of government which placed the whole public revenue without debate or control at the discretion of the king.

Beginning of a New Literature.—Voltaire ends his picture of the age of Louis XIV. with these words, "The period hardly bred great geniuses despite the time of illustrious writers; towards the close of the reign nature seemed to rest." Voltaire is too modest; nature did not rest, for Voltaire himself appeared, and with him Montesquieu, Buffon, and many others. But the new writers had a different spirit. Louis XIV. had established the absolute authority of the king, but at the same time he had encouraged literature and industry, and thus prepared the two forces destined to overthrow the absolute power of the crown. Industry gave to the third estate riches for which it demanded guarantees; literature gave that estate intellect which led it to demand rights. The critical spirit which during the minority of Louis XIV. had shown itself so strongly in religious and philosophical discussions had been silenced by the splendour of the reign and had been driven to take refuge in the humble cells of some solitaries. It revived when sincere or official enthusiasm was exhausted by the weight of public misfortunes. Fénelon addressed a celebrated letter to the king (1694), which was a bitter criticism of his government, and wrote the *Télémaque*, which was a further criticism. Bayle published his *Dictionnaire historique* (1697) and St. Simon every evening wrote his famous *Mémoires*. The death of Louis XIV. saw an era of change approaching.

FOURTEENTH PERIOD—THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: DEVELOPMENT OF ABUSES IN THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY: PROGRESS OF PUBLIC OPINION

(1715-1789)

CHAPTER LV

MINORITY OF LOUIS XV. AND REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS
(1715-1723)

Regency of the Duke of Orleans (1715-1723).—The weight of the authority of Louis XIV. had borne heavily upon France during the last years of the reign, and the news of his death was greeted with a sigh of relief. The court and the city exhibited an outburst of unseemly joy ; the very coffin of the great king was insulted. "I saw some small tents set up on the road to St. Denis," says Voltaire, "in which people were drinking, singing, laughing. The Jesuit Le Tellier was the chief instigator of this universal delight. I heard many spectators declare that the houses of the Jesuits should be set on fire with the torches which illuminated the funeral procession." Thus the eighteenth century opened with an unbecoming protest against the absolute monarchy and against the religious policy which had prevailed during the last period of the late reign.

The new king was five years old, and the question of the regency was urgent. Louis XIV. had certainly left a will, but he was under no misapprehension as to its probable validity. "As soon as I am dead it will be neither here nor there ; I know too well what happened to the will of the king, my father."

As had been the case at the death of Henry IV., and again at the death of Louis XIII., there was for a time a feudal reaction, but the decline of the nobles may be gathered from the increasing weakness of their efforts. Under Marie de Medici they had still been able to excite a civil war ; under Anne of Austria they had made the *Fronde* ; after Louis XIV. they only produced memoirs. The boldest and most infatuated of all these nobles,

the Duke of St. Simon, wished the first prince of the blood, Philip of Orleans, to whom the testament of the king had left no more than the shadow of power, to demand the regency from the dukes and peers as the representatives of the great vassals of the past. Philip of Orleans rejected such fragile support. He assembled the parliament to destroy the posthumous despotism of Louis XIV., and in a solemn meeting alleged that the following words had fallen from the lips of the dying king, "I recommend to you the dauphin; serve him as faithfully as you have served me and labour to preserve his kingdom for him. If he dies, you will be master and to you the crown will belong. I have made such dispositions as I believe to be wise, but all cannot be foreseen, and if there is anything which is not well let it be changed." The regency, with the right of constituting the council of regency as he desired, was given to the Duke of Orleans; even the command of the royal household was taken from the Duke of Maine, who did not resign this important privilege without a violent altercation in which neither of the two princes showed to advantage.

To reward the services of his two allies the regent called upon the great nobles to take part in the affairs of state, from which Louis XIV. had excluded them; the regent replaced the ministers by six councils, almost all the members of which were nobles, though he recognised the right of the parliament to make remonstrances. But two years had not passed before the ministers were restored and parliament once more silenced, being banished in 1720 to Pontoise in a body for having opposed the schemes of Law. Neither the nobles nor the parliament could become the heir of the absolute monarchy.

State of France.—The regent had power, but Louis XIV. had left a formidable heritage. His glory had cost much; more than 2,400,000,000 of public debt, with 800,000 livres in the treasury; an extreme scarcity of coin; commerce paralysed; the nobles overburdened with debt, their lightest loan bearing an interest of 15 or 20 per cent.; the magistrates and the bond-holders long since deprived of the revenues owed them by the state; the peasants in some provinces lacking everything, even a bed on which to lie; the poor on the frontiers emigrating; much of the country uncultivated and deserted. Thanks to the sword of Villars, the great king had been able to die facing Europe nobly and proudly; but the effort could not be repeated. Peace was needed by France that she might recover; by the regent that he might retain his position.

Alliance with England (1717).—France had then no more formidable enemy than England. Despite the advantages gained from the Treaty of Utrecht, the Whigs still felt that France had escaped too lightly and demanded a renewal of war. Here, then, was an apparent danger to the country, though in actual fact there was little danger of war, Europe being for the time exhausted, and the Hanoverian dynasty, which a few months before had ascended the English throne, being forced to secure its own position before indulging in adventures abroad. A personal danger threatened the regent from Spain. Philip V., who accused Orleans of having criminal intentions towards Louis XV., demanded the regency and proposed to claim the crown, despite his earlier renunciations, if the young king died. To ally with England against Spain was to unite with the jealous guardian of the renunciation by Philip V. of all claim to the French throne ; to remove the apparent national danger by an alliance which would protect him against a personal danger ; such was the foreign policy of the regent, a policy beneficial to himself though fatal to the true interests of France.

By the Triple Alliance, concluded January 4, 1717, between France, England, and Holland, the regent undertook to send beyond the Alps the Stuart pretender, to demolish the new fortifications of Mardyke, which Louis XIV. had designed to replace Dunkirk as a naval base, and to complete the destruction of the port of Dunkirk, an operation which English and Dutch commissioners were authorised to supervise. The commerce and even the navigation of the south seas were forbidden to the French. The Protestant succession in England was recognised, while the English government on its side recognised the succession to the French throne as regulated by the Treaty of Utrecht, that is, the exclusion of Philip V. Finally, a defensive alliance was concluded between the two countries.

War with Spain (1719–1720).—This treaty led to a war with Spain, the plans of Cardinal Alberoni precipitating hostilities. That bold minister of Philip V. had undertaken to revive the finances, agriculture, and marine of Spain at home, while abroad he proposed to regain the provinces taken from Spain by the Treaty of Utrecht. That he might succeed the better in this object he set Europe in flames. The emperor was already deeply involved in war with the Turks ; England was to be occupied by hurling upon her Charles XII. of Sweden, who should overthrow the Hanoverians and restore the Stuarts ; France was to be neutralised by a similar plot having for its aim the

restoration of Philip V. All the enemies of the regent were approached and united. The Spanish ambassador, Cellamare, was the agent in these culpable intrigues ; the Duchess of Maine, who had all the energy and ambition which her husband lacked and who kept at Sceaux an opposition court to that of the Palais Royal, was the soul of the plot. The nobles of Brittany, wounded by the loss of certain privileges, were almost all engaged in the conspiracy. But the plot was discovered ; Cellamare and the Duke and Duchess of Maine were arrested. The regent made the most of this event, in order to give the appearance of reprisals to the almost fratricidal war on which he was about to enter.

Austria joined the Triple Alliance in 1718, and France, used under Louis XIV. to fighting single-handed against all Europe, found herself at the head of a coalition against Spain. The English, who now adopted a system which they constantly practised during the century, fell upon the Spanish fleet without a declaration of war on the coast of Sicily and defeated it (August, 1718). Another fleet, which was to carry the Pretender to Scotland, was destroyed by a storm, and the English captured the port of Vigo in Galicia, while Berwick with a French army carried Fontarabia (June, 1719). A French army thus marched against Philip V., whom French arms had seated on the throne of Charles V. and whose flags bore the lilies of the Bourbons. Alberoni fell before so many reverses, and Spain accepted the conditions dictated by the Quadruple Alliance. The Duke of Savoy received Sardinia in exchange for Sicily, which went to the emperor with the Milanese. But the elder of the infantas of Spain was granted the reversion of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany (January, 1720). This peace strengthened the dominion of Austria over Italy and of England over the ocean.

Dubois.—The enemies of France owed these results to a counsellor to whom the regent had delivered himself body and soul, the Abbé Dubois. “Dubois,” says St. Simon, “was a little thin man, mean and ferret-like. All the vices—perfidy, avarice, debauchery, the basest flattery—fought for mastery over his soul. He lied so that he would boldly deny a thing when taken red-handed. He learned to talk with an assumed stammer to give himself time to read the minds of others. Falseness sweated from every pore of his body.” He had also a supple and active intelligence, extreme malice, and great capacity for work. Such was the former tutor of the Duke of Orleans, who had, with the

help of the court of St. Cloud, communicated to his pupil every vice that the duke's generous nature could assimilate. Dubois had ably negotiated the treaty of the Triple Alliance. The regent recompensed him by giving him the ministry of foreign affairs, on the advice of the British cabinet, and Dubois wrote to Stanhope, "I owe you the position that I hold and I earnestly desire to use it always according to your wishes, for the service of his Britannic Majesty, whose interests will always be sacred to me." On this occasion Dubois was speaking the truth, for England paid well to be served well; 50,000 crowns a year, or even a million, according to St. Simon.

Dubois did better later on. "Sir," he said to the regent one day, "I dreamed that you made me Archbishop of Cambrai." "You, an archbishop," cried the regent, and told him some hard truths. Yet, as was his habit, he gave way, laughing always at the impudence of this man whom he despised and whose brains he used. Shameful to relate, Massillon and another bishop vouched for the high moral character of the postulant, who received all his orders in one day and profaned by his occupancy the see which had so recently been dignified by the virtues of Fénelon. A little later Dubois also became a cardinal at a cost of 8,000,000 and in 1723 the assembly of the clergy of France elected him as its president.

Peter the Great at Paris (1717).—In the midst of such pettiness and corruption there appeared at the court of France a gigantic figure, who seemed the greater from his semi-barbarism, Peter the Great, the creator of Russia. He was received magnificently and with the most delicate attentions, but he was not misled by the brilliant exterior of the French capital. Seeing the statue of Richelieu at the Sorbonne, he seized the marble with both hands, crying, "Great man, I would give half my kingdom to learn from you how to govern what remained." All that Peter found to admire in France was the past; the present seemed to him so poor that he foretold the decay and approaching ruin of the French people. He saw only the surface and he judged the nation by the court; but according to his knowledge he was a true prophet, for the nobles and the monarchy were dying.

Disorder of the Finances.—A debt of 2,400,000,000, a third of which was immediately repayable; a revenue, the gross value of which was 165,000,000, but which, collected by 100,000 collectors or agents, had a net value of only 69,000,000; 147,000,000 annual expenditure; and thus an annual deficit of 78,000,000; the bulk of the receipts for the next year already

spent—such was the condition of the finances at the death of Louis XIV. As a remedy some advisers recommended bankruptcy, alleging that the government was not responsible for the debts of the previous reign, and among these was St. Simon. But he proposed to accomplish the bankruptcy by means of the States-General, finding no other use for them than this.

The Duke de Noailles, president of the council of finances, at first secured some resources by recoinage ; then he tried, on the one hand, to reduce the debt by reducing the rate of interest, by a careful inquiry into frauds, and by an examination of accounts ; and on the other hand, to bring expenditure more into harmony with income. The brothers Paris, distinguished and upright financiers, were entrusted with the work of investigation which much reduced the number of state bills in circulation. They had to be supported by a chamber of justice in order to overcome the resistance of the bondholders ; a system of terror and denunciation was organised against the creditors of the state ; many persons were ruined, condemned to the pillory, and even executed ; others committed suicide, but the majority found a way of escape by buying the protection of the regent's friends, of influential women, and even of members of the chamber of justice. It had been hoped that 220,000,000 would be derived from this inquiry which affected 4410 individuals ; 70,000,000 was secured, hardly fifteen of which reached the treasury as cash. Despite these executions and some useful measures, the deficit in 1716 was still 97,000,000. The remedy had not yet been found, when a man appeared who claimed to know the secret of success.

Financial Revolution of Law (1716–1720).—A Scotsman, John Law or Lass, son of a goldsmith, was initiated at an early age into the work of banking, and later became accustomed to the combinations of gaming by which he made his fortune. He was endowed with great mental capacity and with a great power of speech ; he dreamed of creating a new factor, credit, basing his plans on a principle which was only a half-truth: that the prosperity of commerce and industry depends on abundance of money, with the natural consequence that a metallic coinage which is not susceptible of indefinite increase is not advantageous, but that paper money, which *is* so susceptible, is the best form of currency.

Noailles opposed the idea of making the first experiment with the finances of the state, and Law was forced to confine himself to the foundation of a private bank (May, 1716) with a capital

of 6,000,000 represented by 12,000 shares of 5000 livres each, payable one quarter in coin and three-quarters in notes. The bank discounted at 6 per cent. per annum and soon even at 4 per cent. bills of exchange which had not hitherto been capable of being discounted except at a ruinous rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per month. The bank also issued notes payable at sight in coin. Every one hastened to secure its paper, which greatly facilitated commerce. Activity revived in all businesses and the state established the reputation of the bank for solvency by ordering the officials of the treasury to receive its notes as coin in payment of dues and taxes (April, 1717). On December 4, 1718, the bank was erected into a royal bank.

But already Law had added to the bank a company which secured the monopoly of trade in the Mississippi valley. His initial success made men anticipate a like success for his new venture ; wonderful results were to follow from the exploitation of Louisiana. The *Compagnie d'Occident* issued shares in a great undertaking for the cultivation and colonisation of the banks of the Mississippi, and the customary stories of gold and silver mines discovered in these districts attracted the public by the hope of rich profits. The company soon absorbed the other companies of Senegal and the East Indies, assumed the title of *Compagnie des Indes*, and opened every quarter of the globe as a field for speculators. So rash were the hopes formed of this enterprise that shares of 500 livres were bought at ten, twenty, thirty, and forty times their face value.

Law had promised the regent that his system would extinguish the national debt ; to keep his word he laid down that the shares in his company, which were so greatly appreciated in value, could be bought only by paying one-fourth in coin and three-fourths in treasury notes. As a result the treasury notes, which had been at a discount of 20 or 30 per cent., recovered, since they were required in order to buy shares, and the state paid its debts with paper which it could increase at will without alarming the public. Once this conflict between paper and coin had begun, the government maintained the paper by every means and struck blows at the value of the coinage in order to discredit it ; such was the aim of the constant changes to which the coinage was subjected, its value being alternately raised and reduced.

This was the most brilliant period of the system. The shares rose, in October, 1719, to 20,000 francs. The Rue Quincampoix, which had become the seat of the state bank, was crowded to suffocation ; Paris, all France, even foreigners, hastened to it,

attracted by the hope of gain. All classes gave themselves up to frenzied stock-jobbing, and enormous profits were made in a moment. A servant in the morning became the master by the evening. A tanner of Montelimart retired with 70,000,000; a banker's servant with 50,000,000; a Savoyard with 40,000,000, while a little hunchback made 150,000 livres by allowing his back to be used as a desk. The Duke of Bourbon and his mother made 60,000,000. This grandson of Condé showed one day to a favourite courtier the magic wealth in his portfolio. "Sir," said the courtier, "two of your grandfather's deeds were worth all this wealth." It would have been enough to have said one deed. The regent also made profit, and as much as he wished, but it went to the courtiers, as he knew not how to keep it. Public morality fell to a low point under the stress of such sudden changes of fortune and of these illegitimate gains. A Count of Horn murdered a courtier in order to steal his shares.

But the bank attained its end; it lent the state 1,600,000,000 livres of paper money with which the national creditors were paid and which came back to the bank in exchange for shares in the company. But the loss clearly had to fall on some one, and it came upon those who did not know, like the wiser financiers of Geneva and Holland, when to go out of the system. In vain Law tried to moderate the issue of paper; he could no longer do so. To maintain the extraordinary business operations and to satisfy so many insatiable appetites, he was obliged to create continually more and more paper, the amount of which soon passed three milliards, while the currency was below 700,000,000. This disproportion prepared a disaster. The system rested only on the confidence of the public and this confidence could not sustain it long. To save the company, the adventurous part of his system, Law reunited it with the bank, the serious and useful part of the system. This was the destruction of both. As early as the end of 1719 some became less enthusiastic; the more prudent began to realise and presented their notes to the bank. The example was followed and alarm spread; those who realised increased in numbers; they sold their shares as high as possible and bought with the notes gold, silver, and diamonds, or lands; or, like the Duke de la Force, an infamous monopolist who was afterwards put on his trial, tallow, grease, soap, spices, for fabulous sums. The shares ceased to rise; their value fluctuated; then they began to fall rapidly. Every one saw the approaching catastrophe and demanded specie. Law, who was now comptroller-general, struggled despairingly against those who were realising; cash

payments were suspended, except for small transactions which were specified. It was forbidden to hoard gold and silver and prosecutions, domiciliary visits, denunciations followed, a son even denouncing his father. To support the paper currency against the metallic coinage, notes for ten livres were issued ; offices were opened for the sole purpose of dealing with these notes, which were mainly in the hands of the poor. There was such a crowd that three persons were stifled, and the angry mob bore the corpses to lay them below the regent's windows. Law barely escaped being torn in pieces. Then by a sudden change of policy, the state which had almost proscribed the metallic coinage, announced that it would no longer receive payments in paper, and thus sentenced the system to death. Law escaped from France, pursued by the curses of the people. When he arrived in Paris he had 1,600,000 francs ; he took away with him only a few louis (December, 1720). It remained to effect the liquidation of the company. The brothers Paris-Duverney conducted that operation, the state recognising its liability for 1,700,000,000 for the benefit of the company's creditors. But the extinction of a great number of offices and the recovery of many forms of revenue which had been alienated compensated for this burden. The state was at least in no worse a financial position than it had been when Law arrived.

Changes in Manners and Ideas.—Such was the story of the famous system of Law. It illustrated the power of credit ; it gave to industry and oversea commerce an energetic impulse ; it freed agriculture from the tithe on landed property and from the arrears on the *taille* ; it released the country from a number of useless sinecures, and though it ruined individuals, it improved the public fortune by a reduction of 20,000,000 in taxation and by a redistribution of public burdens more favourable to the lower class. But by revolutionising the positions of individuals and by effecting great changes of fortune, it also accelerated the dawning change in manners and ideas. The solemn and grave court of Louis XIV. vanished. It could not revive under a king who was a minor and who had not the granting of favours, under a regent who was ready enough to snatch some moments from his pleasures in order to attend to affairs, but would not spare a minute for the service of etiquette and the task of representing the monarchy. Following his example, every one threw off all restraint and all taste, both in the great and in the petty affairs of life. The severe and majestic were replaced by the piquant and amusing. The coldly sublime pencil of Lebrun no longer

depicted vast heroic scenes on the great walls of the palace, but Boucher made gay the interiors of elegant boudoirs with laughing and insipid shepherdesses, bathed in rose-coloured light under blue skies.

If art declined, manners followed suit, and cynicism both of conduct and of thought was openly adopted. The regent himself set the example. He forbade nothing; he permitted all things and himself overthrew the idols of an earlier day. "How does it concern the state, if I or my servants get drunk?" he remarked cynically. Never had there been such frivolity of conduct, such licentiousness of mind, as in the foolish gatherings of the profligates of the Duke of Orleans. There had been only one *salon* in France, the king's; a thousand appeared in a society which was occupied neither with religious matters, for Fénelon and Bossuet were dead; nor with war, for all spoke of perpetual peace; nor with the grave futilities of etiquette, since Versailles was a desert. The world demanded change and pleasure; a free rein was given to the intellectual, to the men of letters, even to the most daring.

The *Œdipus* of Voltaire and the *Lettres persanes* of Montesquieu struck the first blow at the old regime (1718 and 1721), and that hardly thirty-six years after La Bruyère complained that, being born a Christian and a Frenchman, he could deal with no great topics.

Plague of Marseilles (1720).—While the court indulged in a saturnalia, a terrible scourge desolated Provence, where the plague carried off 85,000 persons. The admirable devotion of Bishop Belzunce, the Chancellor Roze, and many sheriffs at Marseilles, all of whom risked their lives a thousand times to save those of their fellow-citizens, consoled France for this calamity. And as devotion also is contagious the farmers gave 3,000,000 to succour this unhappy district during the famine which followed the pestilence. The father of Vauvenargues was then first consul of Aix; he remained at his post, bore himself well, and his lordship was raised to a marquise.

Death of Dubois and of the Duke of Orleans (1723).—On February 13, 1723, Louis XV. was declared to be of age, having completed his thirteenth year. This declaration ended the regency of Orleans, but the king was bound long to remain in need of guidance. The duke, to preserve his power after the regency, had already given Dubois the position of first minister, which on the death of the cardinal he assumed himself. But he held it less than four months, dying on December 2, 1723, from

an attack of apoplexy which he and every one else saw coming, which he could have prevented, but which he did not care to avoid by changing the murderous habits of a life of debauchery. France had been eight years in his hands ; that time sufficed for the moral revolution which had been preparing during the last years of Louis XIV. to burst forth. To control the political and social effects which followed, a great reign was needed, but the prince who now began to rule set instead an example of every scandal, developed every abuse, and humiliated France before all foreign countries.

CHAPTER LVI

REIGN OF LOUIS XV. (1723-1774)

Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon (1723-1726).—The morals of the Duke of Bourbon, who became first minister on the death of the ex-regent, were little better than those of his predecessor. He showed extreme rigour against the Protestants and Jansenists. He renewed and even increased the severities of Louis XIV. Not only were Protestants obliged to be converted, but those who simulated conversion were condemned to death as relapsed ; a dying man, who declared himself a Protestant and subsequently recovered his health, was banished and his property confiscated. Emigration was renewed, as had been the case after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; the senate of Stockholm offered Sweden as an asylum for the fugitives and the French government was compelled by the popular outcry to reduce its rigours.

The English ministry had continued to Madame de Prie, who was all-powerful with the Duke of Bourbon, the pension which had been granted to Dubois, and the duke maintained the Anglo-French alliance. He sealed that alliance by a new and insulting rupture with Spain. The regent, towards the end of his life, had attempted a reconciliation with the court of Madrid and had demanded the hand of an infanta for Louis XV. The young princess, aged four years, was brought to Paris that she might be educated in the court over which she was one day to rule. Bourbon, when he became minister, disliked the idea of a marriage of which he was not the author, and which further, since it could not be consummated for some time, left the kingdom meanwhile without an heir. An accident might raise to the

throne the new Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, and that could not advance the credit of the Duke of Bourbon. The duke was further alarmed by an illness which seized the young king. As soon as Louis was restored to health, without considering the resultant anger of Spain, or the proposals of the czarina, Catherine I., who offered her daughter and the powerful alliance of Russia, the minister determined to provide the king with a wife who should owe everything to the Duke of Bourbon and have no external support. Madame de Prie at first wished the new queen to be a sister of the duke, but as that princess treated her with hauteur, she feared the effects of her power. At that time a Polish noble, Stanislas Leczinski, who had been deprived of the crown which Charles XII. of Sweden had once secured for him, was living at Weissembourg on a pension received from France. One day the ex-king entered his room in great agitation and cried to his wife and daughter, "Let us fall on our knees and give thanks to God." "Have you been recalled to the throne of Poland?" asked his daughter. "Much better; you are to be Queen of France." It was upon the pious and gentle Marie Leczinski that the first minister had decided, despite the fact that she was seven years older than the king, very poor, and without either beauty or youth. On her marriage day she distributed her wedding presents among the ladies of the palace, saying, "There, this is the first time in my life that I have been able to give presents." The infanta of Spain was sent back to her father, this being the second occasion in ten years that the foreign policy of Louis XIV. had been repudiated.

Angry at this insult, Philip V. was led to conclude with Austria the Treaty of Vienna (1725). Charles VI. had founded at Ostend, for trade with the Indies, a company in opposition to the English and Dutch companies. The King of Spain granted the Austrian merchants extensive privileges in all the ports of his dominions. The emperor had promulgated a pragmatic sanction under which the succession was assured to his daughters, contrary to the custom of the Austrian territories, and Philip V. guaranteed this act. In return the emperor engaged to aid Spain to recover Gibraltar and Port Mahon, renewed the promises already made as to the duchies of Parma and Tuscany, and even affianced the two archduchesses to two infants of Spain, thus foreshadowing the reunion of Spain and Austria which Louis XIV. had prevented by such great efforts. Such was the outcome of the policy of Bourbon. He at least began the formation of a counter-alliance between France, England,

and Prussia, but it was left to another minister to complete this work.

Fleury took the place of the Duke of Bourbon. Prudent and ambitious, the new minister pursued the path to power without causing discussion and without haste. He had been Bishop of Frejus when Louis XIV. appointed him tutor to his grandson. An amiable and spiritual old man, he gained the full confidence of his pupil, who wished to make him first minister on the death of the regent, but Fleury declined the post, feeling that "from M. le Duc d'Orleans to a private person would be too great a come down." As a political nonentity, the Duke of Bourbon appeared to be suitable to soften the transition; Fleury meanwhile neglecting no means of making himself dear and necessary to the king. Bourbon was jealous and tried to accustom the king to do without the prelate. One day Fleury waited a long time in the royal cabinet, and Louis did not appear; the bishop at once left the court, retired to Issy into the house of the congregation of St. Sulpice, and the king, on his return from hunting, received a letter full of laments, in which the retirement of his former tutor was announced as well as his resolution to pass the rest of his days in obscurity. Louis was in despair. "Well, sire," said the Duke of Mortemart, "are you not master? Inform the duke that he must send at once to fetch M. de Frejus, and you will see that he will return." Fleury came back more powerful than he had ever been, while the duke on the other hand was discredited. The restoration of the *droit de joyeux avènement* and of the *ceinture de la reine*, ancient exactions which had become obsolete, was unpopular. A project, impracticable at that time, for the prevention of begging, and the prohibition of building in the suburbs of Paris, for fear of plague which was only too likely to come from the narrow and dirty streets of the centre of the city, caused dissatisfaction. Complaints were also made against the establishment of a militia raised by lot from the male population of each parish, and still more against the imposition of a fiftieth levied in kind on all the fruits of the earth and in coin on other forms of revenue. Against this, not only the people at large, but also the upper classes, were roused, for both classes were equally threatened; so loud an outcry was raised that the minister fell. One day, as the king left for Rambouillet, he said graciously to the duke, "My cousin, do not make me wait for supper." At seven on the same evening, a lieutenant of the guards escorted Bourbon to Chantilly. The disgrace of the minister killed Madame de Prie and reflected

on the queen, to whom the king wrote sternly, "I ask you, madame, and if need be I order you, to do all that the Bishop of Frejus tells you on my behalf, as if the command came directly from me.—Louis." (June 11, 1726.) The intervention of the police alone prevented the people of Paris from lighting bonfires.

Ministry of Fleury (1726-1743): Internal Affairs: The Convulsionists.—Such was the history of the rise to power of the septuagenarian Bishop of Frejus, who soon afterwards became a cardinal. He refused, as too high-sounding, the title of first minister, taking only that of minister of state, and he urged the king to declare that "he would govern personally and in all things follow as far as possible the example of his great-grandfather," an excellent but lying declaration. Though he was of an age to rule, Louis XV. contented himself with exhibiting to the council his handsome person and impassive face, which nothing could make animated. Besides this, when he was neither gambling nor hunting, he worked at tapestry, carved in wood, and read either the secret correspondence which he carried on with his ambassadors without the knowledge of his ministers or the scandalous stories which were supplied to him regularly every day by the lieutenant of police. Such were his pastimes; at a latter date, they became different and worse. Fleury bore the weight of government alone, but did so modestly and without display. Having become the first personage in the state, he appeared to be still merely the Abbé Fleury. "His position," says Voltaire, "did not change his manners at all. Men were astonished to find the first minister the most amiable and most disinterested person in the court. He allowed France to make good her losses in peace and to become rich from her extensive trade, making no innovations, treating the state as a strong and robust body which would recover naturally without aid." D'Argenson often heard Fleury speak with contempt of Richelieu and with admiration of Mazarin. Like the latter, the minister loved to evade difficulties rather than to overcome them, and if he had not the dexterity and breadth of view of Mazarin, it must be added that he was also without Mazarin's greed. At his death his property amounted hardly to that of an average bourgeois.

The country was weary of hare-brained financiers and politicians, and this senile ministry, this government which governed as little as possible and which made *laissez-faire* a system, was popular and lasted for seventeen years. Fleury made his object

peace and economy, two excellent aims, provided that the first is not inconsistent with the maintenance of prestige and that the second does not degenerate into miserliness. He was blessed for the abolition of the *fiftieth*, for the reduction of the *taille*, for remitting arrears of taxation, and for certain other measures which were suggested by the able financier Orry. He revived public credit, restored for a time the balance between income and expenditure, built roads, unhappily with the aid of the *corvée*,¹ and restored Sainte Menhould which had been destroyed by fire seven years before. But, with all his desire for economy, he could not check the greed of the contractors of the revenue ; he left industry and commerce to themselves, which would have been excellent if they had been free, and he allowed the navy to go to rack and ruin, reducing the budget to 9,000,000 for personnel and to 500,000 livres for material. And when he was forced to make war, and his ministry both began and ended in war, he made it half-heartedly, and consequently unsuccessfully.

Like his predecessor, Fleury forgot that tolerance which had been practised by Richelieu and Mazarin. He put in force the bull *Unigenitus* ; he imprisoned many ecclesiastics, and even a bishop who refused to sign the bull, dismissed the Jansenist professors from the Sorbonne, Rollin among them, and annulled a protest from the parliament. When the magistrates persisted in their protest, he exiled forty of them ; fearing disturbance, he presently recalled them (1730), with the result that the parliament, emboldened, allowed a spirit of opposition to enter once more into the sanctuary of the laws. Such mingled violence and feebleness led the Jansenists to adopt a new plan. One of their number, the deacon Paris, of the parish of St. Medard in Paris, an austere and ascetic man, died in 1727, in the odour of sanctity according to his partisans. It was presently announced that he was working miracles and one of those moral epidemics which occur and spread at certain times and which are more infectious than ordinary epidemics at once followed. Strange things occurred at the cemetery of St. Medard ; those who laid themselves on the tomb of the deacon experienced, by the aid of their imagination, convulsions, nervous twitchings, sometimes harmful, sometimes beneficial. The government was wise enough not to interfere ; ridicule made an end of the folly which lasted five years. When the police finally closed the cemetery in 1732, a jester wrote on the wall :—

¹ Statute labour.

“ De par le roi défense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu.”

Foreign Affairs: Reconciliation with Spain (1726-1731).—The Duke of Bourbon had left his successor a quarrel with Spain then allied to Austria, a circumstance which compelled the maintenance of the English alliance. Robert Walpole, the chief minister of George II., needed peace to maintain himself in power, desiring from motives of policy that which Fleury desired from his nature. The two easily agreed, and relying on each other made mutual sacrifices. Fleury neglected the navy in order to avoid giving offence to the English people, and Walpole, assured of the moderation of France, was undisturbed by the size of the French army and certain victories won by that force. The war between the two alliances produced no events except a vain attempt by the Spaniards on Gibraltar in 1727. Fleury put an end to the conflict in the same year by the preliminaries of Paris, and in the following year, at the Congress of Soissons, Spain and Austria broke away from each other. To make this rupture definite France and England hastened to guarantee the Italian duchies to Spain by the Treaty of Seville (1729), and two years later, on the death of the last Duke of Parma and Piacenza, Don Carlos was placed in possession of those territories. The emperor complained in vain, and withdrew his opposition when the powers accepted the Pragmatic Sanction. At the conclusion of these intricate negotiations, a good understanding was restored between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, and a Bourbon had acquired a duchy in Italy, which he was soon to exchange for a kingdom.

War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735).—The death of Augustus II., King of Poland, produced a breach of the new peace. His succession was claimed by Stanislas Leczinski, the national candidate, and by Augustus of Saxony, who was supported by the Russians and Austrians. Fleury would have willingly remained neutral, but was forced by public opinion to aid the queen's father. But he exhibited such a degree of slowness in reaching a decision that Augustus III. was crowned at Cracow and forced Stanislas to take refuge in Dantzic, where he was besieged by the Russians. Fleury sent 1500 men to help the protégé of France. Their commander, realising the valueless character of such a force, retired to Copenhagen. There he found Count Pelo, who blushed as an ambassador of France for his country, and wished to cover at least some of the shame by a sacrifice; he sent the men back to Dantzic. “ I know that I shall never return; I recommend

my wife and children to you," wrote the commander to the minister Maurepas. He forced three of the Russian lines, to fall, mortally wounded, at the fourth; his soldiers, surrounded, were slain or surrendered. Stanislas was compelled to fly in the disguise of a sailor, and Poland fell into a state of dependence on Russia and Austria. France had lost a chance of saving that country from the abyss into which she was drifting.

Something had to be done to repair this disgrace. Fleury concluded the Treaty of Turin with Spain and Savoy against Austria, by which the kingdom of Naples was promised to Don Carlos and some parts of Milan to the King of Sardinia. By promising to abstain from all attacks on the Austrian Netherlands, Fleury secured the neutrality of England and Holland. He then set on foot two armies, one on the Rhine and the other in Italy, commanded by the old marshals, Berwick and Villars, the latter of whom was still as vigorous as a young man. Berwick took Kehl, opposite Strasburg, despite Eugène, laid siege to Philippsburg, and was shot in the head. "I always said truly," cried Villars, "that Berwick was born happier than I was." Villars did not have that soldier's death for which he longed. After two brilliant campaigns, which had been conducted with great rapidity, because, as he gaily said, he was too old to be slow, the marshal died at Turin in his eighty-second year (1734). Marshal Coigny, who succeeded him, won the victories of Parma (June) and Guastella (September), which gave the French the Milanese, while Count Montemar gained the Battle of Bitonto which placed the Infant on the throne of Naples and Sicily (May). France had revived gloriously, but the timidity of the cardinal prevented her from winning the fruits of her success. It would have been possible, as the Chancellor Chauvelin, the ablest member of the council, wished, to have forced the emperor to renounce all his Italian possessions. He was merely obliged to renounce the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and even so, was compensated by the acquisition of Parma and Piacenza for himself and of Tuscany for his son-in-law in exchange for Lorraine. A supplementary clause, due to Chauvelin, assigned Lorraine and Bar to Stanislas, as compensation for the throne of Poland, with reversion to France after his death. The acquisition was valuable, but had long been inevitable. Such were the terms of the Treaty of Vienna (1735-1738). This was the best period of Fleury's ministry; France, in this war, had once more won glory and had appeared as a mediator for Europe.

War of the Austrian Succession (1741-1748).—In 1740 the

Emperor Charles VI. died. In his anxiety to secure his inheritance for his daughter, Maria Theresa, he had shrunk from no sacrifice. He had suppressed the Ostend company in order to conciliate the maritime powers ; he had ceded Lorraine in order to gain France and Naples, and Sicily in order to gain Spain. He had obtained from every state a solemn recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction, and he left his daughter an ample collection of parchments. "It would have been of more value to have left her an army of 200,000 men," said Frederic II. Hardly was Charles VI. dead than five claimants presented themselves. The Elector of Bavaria, descendant of a daughter of Ferdinand I. ; the King of Spain, descended in the female line from Charles V. ; and the Elector of Saxony, son-in-law of the Emperor Joseph I., demanded the whole inheritance by right of blood. The King of Sardinia desired the duchy of Milan ; Frederic II., King of Prussia, desired the four duchies of Silesia. Frederic had a small kingdom, but his father had left him a large treasure and a fine army, and he was endowed by nature with rare talents. He began by seizing what he claimed, instead of negotiating, and the Battle of Mollwitz gave him three-fourths of Silesia (April 20, 1741).

Alliance of France with Frederic II.—At the opening of this campaign Frederic had said to the French ambassador, "I am going to play your game ; if I win, we will share." A grandson of Fouquet, Count Belle-Isle, a man of schemes, bold and adventurous, proposed in the council an alliance with Prussia. He also brought forward a plan which was to limit the possessions of Maria Theresa to Hungary, Lower Austria, and Belgium, the rest being divided among the various claimants, the Elector of Bavaria becoming emperor, and France taking nothing for herself. The scheme was over-generous, but lofty sentiments in foreign affairs were popular at the court of Louis XV. Magnanimity would make it possible to limit action, and despite Fleury, the Treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded on this basis (May 18, 1741).

Campaign of Bohemia: Defection of Frederic II.: Death of Fleury (1741-1743).—France, instead of acting resolutely with all her forces, as she should have done when once she had drawn the sword, only set on foot an army of 40,000 men, and in place of acting on the side of the Low Countries, where her destiny called her, she renewed in Germany the errors which had once been committed in Italy, sending her army into the heart of Bavaria. It is just to add that the maritime powers had consented to remain neutral on the same terms as in the War of

the Polish Succession, that the French should not attack the Austrian Netherlands. Master of Linz, the chief barrier of Austria on the upper Danube, the elector might have taken Vienna ; he preferred to conquer Bohemia. Maria Theresa had time to raise her faithful Hungarians. While the elector caused himself to be crowned emperor at Frankfort, the Austrians entered Munich (January, 1742). Frederic, it is true, threatened Moravia and defeated the Austrians at Czaslau in Bohemia (May 17), but Maria Theresa was capable of making a needed sacrifice. She abandoned Silesia to Prussia, and on this condition Frederic broke his oath to France (July).

This defection produced others. The Elector of Saxony retired from the war ; the King of Sardinia entered it, but on the side of Austria ; and England began to abandon the pacific policy of Walpole (February, 1742), declaring war on Spain because that country closed her colonies to English trade and demanding war against France because her commerce had been rapidly growing. Carteret, who succeeded Walpole, promised Maria Theresa a subsidy of 12,000,000. All the burden of the conflict thus fell on France, after she had taken up arms for the benefit of others. The army of Bohemia was cut off from Bavaria by the recovery of Linz, from Budweiss by the Austrians, and besieged in Prague where it had at least offered a stout defence. Fleury, who had thought the war finished and had begun to disarm, was disturbed at these reverses and wrote to Count Koenigsegg, the Austrian general, a most humble and confidential letter. Koenigsegg published it. The old man complained of this in a second letter and declared that he had only written just what he thought. This letter was likewise made public. Fleury, twice made the laughing-stock of Europe, redoubled the amusement by disavowing his own letters. He had ruined everything by his timidity. Maillebois, who was operating in Franconia, could do nothing for the relief of Prague except capture Egra, which at least left Belle-Isle a line of retreat down the Main. Belle-Isle evacuated Prague with 14,000 men, and through ice, snow, and the enemy made a glorious though painful retreat ; the noble and unfortunate Vauvenargue lost his health in this operation. Chevert remained in Prague with the sick and wounded ; he was summoned to surrender at discretion. " Tell your general that if he does not grant me the honours of war, I will set fire to the four quarters of Prague and bury myself in its ruins." The conditions which Chevert demanded were granted (January, 1743). Some days later, Fleury died at the

age of eighty-nine ; he had desired to maintain peace at all costs and he left France involved in a great war.

Battle of Dettingen (1743): Defection of Bavaria (1745).—England now entered the lists. An Anglo-German army of 50,000 arrived in the valley of the Main ; Marshal Noailles hemmed them in at Dettingen, but the rash impetuosity of the Duke of Gramont ruined his able combinations, and in place of a victory there was merely a bloody fight. De Broglie who commanded on the Danube fell back as far as the Rhine before the Austrians, and Noailles was obliged to follow this retirement (1743). To restore the fortunes of war, it was felt necessary that the king should appear at the head of the army. A new favourite, the Duchess of Chateauroux, an energetic and ambitious woman, wished to draw the king from his unworthy sloth. Louis XV. was thus induced in 1744 to show himself to his troops. The general plan of the war had been modified ; instead of fighting in the heart of Germany, it was decided to strike nearer home. The king invaded the Low Countries and saw Marshal Saxe take some towns. Hearing that the Austrians were threatening Alsace, he hastened to that district with Noailles and 50,000 men.

A serious illness overtook him at Metz. The approach of death filled him with edifying thoughts, which did not endure, but enabled him to utter one fine remark. He sent away the Duchess of Chateauroux in order that he might be reconciled with the queen, and he remarked to Noailles, "Remember that while Louis XIII. was being borne to his grave, the Prince of Condé gained a battle." France gave willing recognition to this effort on the part of her king. The whole realm was filled with grief ; "if he dies, it will be because he marched to our help : he will die at the moment when he has become a great king." One night a rumour came to Paris that he was no more ; the afflicted crowd spread through the streets, into the churches, with tears and groans. When it became known that he was alive, there was each day a crowd of people round the couriers, and those who brought good news were carried in triumph. When at last his health was restored, the churches resounded with thanks to God for having preserved the *Bien Aimé* (1744). It was an easy task that a king had to perform when monarchy was so popular. Meanwhile the King of Prussia, alarmed at the progress of Austria, once more took up arms and penetrated into Bohemia. This diversion freed the line of the Rhine. The Emperor Charles VII. returned to his electorate, but only to die.

His son treated with Maria Theresa ; she restored him all that she held in Bavaria, and Maximilian renounced all claims to the Austrian succession (Treaty of Fussen, 1745).

Marshal Saxe: Battle of Fontenoy (1745).—The war had now no purpose from the point of view of France, but as her enemies refused to treat, she was obliged to fight for peace. France sought that peace by way of the Low Countries. Marshal Saxe, dying though he was, put himself at the head of the army and invested Tournai. To prevent the fall of that town 55,000 English and Dutch came up, under the Duke of Cumberland. Saxe decided to fight a defensive battle, and took up a strong position seven kilometres to the south-east of Tournai, his right resting on Anthouin, his centre on Fontenoy, and his left on the wood of Barry. The two villages and the wood were protected by a hundred cannon. The battle began at six in the morning. The English three times assaulted Fontenoy and the Dutch twice appeared before Anthouin, being so vigorously repulsed on the second occasion that they did not renew the engagement.

The attack having failed at these two points, the Duke of Cumberland massed his infantry in a single column in order to pierce the centre of the French line. The English advanced, preceded by six pieces of artillery and with six other pieces in their centre. At a distance of fifty paces from the French line their officers saluted by raising their hats. The officers of the guard returned the salute. Then Lord Hay cried, "Gentlemen of the French guard, fire." Count Auteroche answered in a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first ; fire yourselves." The English fired a volley, which brought to the ground 23 officers and 380 soldiers. The first rank was thus broken and disorder spread to the others. The English advanced slowly as if on parade. The majors were seen laying their canes on the muskets of the soldiers to make them keep them lowered and in line. Fontenoy and the redoubt in the wood were outflanked. Ten regiments in succession hurled themselves against this long column, massive and unbreakable owing to its bravery and strength. They were repulsed, since the attacks were not concerted ; the battle was compromised. Saxe, who was borne in a little osier carriage, because he could not mount a horse, dared not risk more, as he had to guard the king and the dauphin, and everything was prepared for a retreat. But the English column, astonished at finding itself in the midst of the French with no cavalry, and with no support from the Dutch, halted, in doubt but full of pride ; it appeared to be master of the

battlefield. Richelieu advised firing at the mass with cannon ; some pieces of artillery were placed together for this purpose and the marshal ordered a general assault at the same time on the flanks of the column. The English broke under this attack, and the murderous artillery and musketry fire. They opened their ranks ; the column was broken and its strength gone. Its remains fled hastily towards the reserves. The allies lost from 12,000 to 14,000 men ; the French over 7000. It was a great victory, though it had not been wisely gained. Considerable results followed ; Tournai, Ghent, the general depôt of the allies, Oudenarde, Bruges, Dendermonde, and Ostend capitulated. At the beginning of the following year the French entered Brussels.

Second Defection of Prussia: Reverses in Italy (1745-1756).—

The King of Prussia, victor at the same time at Friedburg in Silesia, wrote to Louis XV., " I am about to pay the bill which your Majesty drew on me at Fontenoy." The victory of Kessel-dorf opened Saxony and Dresden to him ; he signed a new treaty with Maria Theresa by which Silesia was confirmed to him. This defection left France without an ally in Germany ; the defeat of the Pretender Charles Edward, who, after having penetrated to within twenty leagues of London, was vanquished at Culloden (1746), prevented a revolution which would have paralysed England for a considerable time. Maria Theresa and George II., free from all anxiety, the one on the side of Prussia, and the other on the side of the Jacobites, showed a renewed activity. Maria Theresa sought to compensate herself in Italy for her losses in Germany and for what she might yet lose in the Low Countries. The Franco-Spanish army, after a fruitless attempt on Savoy, had secured the county of Nice by the victory of Coni (1744) and the Piedmontese Apennines by an alliance with Genoa and the Duke of Modena. The Battle of Basignano gave them the Milanese (1745). But the empress sent superior forces into Italy. Lichtenstein assembled there 45,000 Austrians, to whom Maillebois could only oppose 28,000 men. The Battle of Piacenza (1746) and the defection of Spain gave the imperialists all the north of the peninsula. England (1745) had bombarded all the coast of Liguria and Genoa and attempted to support the King of Sardinia in an attack on Provence, capturing Lorient. The allies arrived within sight of Toulon, but this invasion suffered the fate of all the others. The energetic measures of Marshal Belle-Isle and the revolt of Genoa against the Austrians secured the retreat of the invaders.

Victories of Raucoux and Lawfeld (1746-1747).—In the south France could do no more than defend her frontier, and the excellent scheme devised by the minister d'Argenson for the expulsion of all foreigners from Italy and the union of all the states of the peninsula in an Italian confederation was defeated, to the great detriment of Italy herself and of the peace of the world. But in the north France gained brilliant successes. The Battle of Raucoux, won by Marshal Saxe, marked the year 1746. After each victory Louis asked for nothing but peace, though he added that he would treat as a king, not as a merchant. This implied disinterestedness was not credited, and Holland, alarmed at seeing the French near her gates, restored the stadtholdership, as had been done in 1672, sacrificing liberty on the altar of independence. Led by England, which was now among the foes of France, the Czarina Elizabeth (1747) concluded a treaty of subsidies and placed at the disposal of the enemies of France fifty Russian ships and 37,000 men who marched towards the Rhine. France, fighting single-handed against all these enemies, still advanced in the Low Countries, with the sword in one hand and peace in the other. Marshal Saxe won the Battle of Lawfeld (1747) and Count Lowendal took the impregnable Berg-op-Zoom. Holland was invaded and Saxe, by skilful manœuvres, succeeded in investing Maestricht (1747).

Naval Operations: La Bourdonnais: Dupleix.—France did not declare war against England until 1744, after the brilliant naval Battle of Toulon which was indecisive as so many naval battles have been. But this excellent beginning was not maintained. Brest and Toulon were blockaded by the English; Antibes was bombarded and Lorient was saved only by a panic which seized the English and caused them to fly to their ships, instead of entering a town which was ill defended. With thirty-five vessels of the line France had to fight against 110. Her commanders at least made their defeat honourable by their heroism. On May 3, 1747, off Cape Finisterre, Marquis la Jonquière, to save a convoy for Canada, attacked seventeen ships with six, and was taken after a glorious resistance. "I have never seen such courage," wrote one of the victors. France retained in the Atlantic seven vessels; they were given to L'Estanduère to convoy a merchant fleet of 250 vessels. Near Belle-Isle he met Admiral Hawke with fourteen ships and to save the convoy accepted battle. The fight was bloody. Two ships, the *Tonnant* and the *Intrepide*, made their way through the victorious fleet and returned to Brest, the English admiral holding a court martial on those who had

allowed them to escape. "In this war," as an English historian has said, "the victories of England were only the result of superior numbers." In America, Louisburg was taken from France, as well as Cape Breton Island at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. In the Indies, France had two men who, if they had been able to agree and if they had been supported, would have given her Hindustan—La Bourdonnais and Dupleix. The former had created everything at Bourbon and the Ile de France, which he governed for the East Indian company, introducing culture, establishing fortifications, and arsenals. Engineer, general, and sailor—nothing checked him, and the Ile de France, having become, with its excellent harbour, the key of the Indian Ocean, La Bourdonnais sailed that sea and expelled the English. Dupleix, another man of genius, wished to expel the English from the mainland, imagining great projects. He desired the company, all of whose stations in India were under his administration, to become great territorially as well as commercially. For success to be secured it was essential that these two men should work together. At the capture of Madras they had a mortal quarrel, and La Bourdonnais, recalled to France, was on his return confined in the Bastille on charges sent from India. Dupleix redeemed this ill-deed by the fine defence of Pondicherry (1748); he saved that town and inflicted a check on the English which was not without effect in Europe. Both in India and in the Low Countries peace came inopportunately for France, but the French fleet was reduced to two ships, her debt had risen to 1,200,000,000, and the king, incapable of doing violence to himself any longer, demanded that he should be left to his pleasures. England, which feared to see France permanently established at the mouth of the Scheldt, at last agreed to treat.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).—The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (April, 1748) stipulated for a mutual restoration of conquests. England recovered for four years the *asiento*, the right of importing negroes, and the *vaisseau de permission* (*permissory ship*) in the Spanish colonies. Austria ceded Parma and Piacenza to the Infant Don Philip, Silesia to the King of Prussia, and many places in the Milanese to the King of Sardinia. France restored Madras and regained Cape Breton Island, but she kept nothing in the Low Countries, which had been almost entirely conquered, and she was still forbidden to fortify Dunkirk, except on the land side. English commissioners, paid by the French government, insured the execution of this clause, and when George demanded the expulsion of the Pretender, the

Stuart prince was arrested at the opera, as if to indicate that the English ministers exercised police rights even in Paris. Marshal Saxe, who might have expected a better result from his victories, did not long survive the treaty, dying at the age of fifty-four.

Commercial Prosperity.—The eight years which followed this peace were the brightest period of French commerce during the eighteenth century. Lorient, which in 1726 had been little more than a village, received in 1736 the equivalent of 18 millions in merchandise. If La Bourdonnais was no longer at the Ile de France, his memory, his lessons still lived; Bourbon became a great agricultural colony. Dupleix, relying on the support of the native princes, attempted to create a vast colonial empire in India. In the Antilles, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and above all San Domingo, reached a degree of prosperity which affected the trading towns of the mother land; Nantes and Bordeaux benefited especially and still regret those days of riches; Marseilles flourished also, having a monopoly of the trade of the Levant. The sugar and coffee of the French West Indian islands captured the European market from the sugar and coffee of the English plantations, and Louisiana, which had not been prosperous, found in the free trade which was granted to it in 1731 a fortune which had been unobtainable under the monopoly.

The maritime war only suspended this movement; on the restoration of peace, it was resumed energetically and supported by the government since, despite the inertia of Louis XV. and the disastrous influence of Madame Pompadour, the increasing strength of public opinion forced certain men on the government and certain actions. The Marquis d'Argenson was thus called to the ministry of foreign affairs (1744) as were Rouillé and Machault to the ministry of marine, these ministers making praiseworthy efforts to re-establish the fleet. In 1754, there were fifty ships of the line, thirty-one frigates, and twenty-one other vessels in the French navy. England, with 243 men of war, including 131 ships of the line, was not jealous of the French marine, imposing in numbers perhaps, but lacking everything else. Yet she showed some alarm at the revival of French naval power and still more at the growth of French commerce, which had received a great impulse when the duty of fifty sous a ton was doubled by Machault in 1749, and she easily found a cause for a renewal of war.

Causes of the Seven Years' War.—When it is desired to make peace at any price, the peace is never enduring. Madame

Pompadour had said to the plenipotentiaries sent to Aix-la-Chapelle, "Remember that you must not return without peace; the king wills it." The result was that what should have been kept was surrendered, and that no care was taken to remove the grounds of dispute. France had magnificent possessions in America, Canada, Louisiana, the valley of the St. Lawrence, and that of the Mississippi, the two greatest rivers of North America, each extremity of which she thus held. Commissioners were appointed to define the frontier. They could not agree, and the colonists, drawing the Indians into their quarrels, began hostilities. Washington, still very young, became famous in these encounters, though in an unfortunate manner. The detachment which he commanded surprised and killed Jumonville with his escort, when that officer came to summon the English to evacuate the Ohio valley and to retire behind the Alleghany range. This was the first blood shed in the war (May 28, 1754). In the next year, without a declaration of war, the English admiral, Boscawen, captured two ships of the line; the French ministry protested, but for six months failed to follow up words with deeds. Meanwhile the English took more than 300 merchantmen, laden with cargoes valued at 30,000,000 livres, and manned by 10,000 sailors, the majority of whom were enrolled in the English service. The inevitability of war had to be recognised and France resigned herself to this fact.

The Diplomatic Revolution (1756).—It was to the interest of France that the war should be purely a naval war, and that all her strength should be directed to the duel with England. But England had no intention of letting this occur. The English ministry, thanks to its gold, once more brought about a continental war, offering subsidies to all who would declare against France. Prussia accepted the offer, feeling that she was threatened by the unexpected reconciliation between France and Maria Theresa. The latter, who could never restrain her tears at the sight of a Silesian, had an implacable hatred for Prussia and proposed an alliance to the court of Versailles on the basis that Silesia should be restored to Austria, that the Low Countries should then be ceded to a Bourbon of the Spanish branch, Mons and Luxemburg passing to France. A friendly letter from Maria Theresa to Madame Pompadour, whom the proud empress addressed as "her very good friend," secured the reversal of the secular policy of France. By the Treaty of Versailles (1756), which was wholly to the advantage of Austria, since the promise of the Low Countries was withdrawn, the two

powers united after a rivalry which had cost much blood. Elizabeth of Russia, who was offended by the epigrams of Frederic; Sweden, which aimed at the recovery of Pomerania; and Saxony, which desired increased territory, joined the league. Austria thus became the friend of France and the foe of England, her old ally, while France prepared to attack Prussia, her recent ally. Such was the Diplomatic Revolution by which the system of European alliances was reversed.

The Seven Years' War (1756-1763): Conquest of Minorca (1756).—France, forced to fight both on land and sea, struck vigorous blows. She replied to the action of Boscawen by sending against Minorca, then an English possession, a squadron commanded by Le Galissonnière, who defeated the English fleet under Vice-Admiral Byng. France also sent an army under Marshal Richelieu, which took the supposedly impregnable fortress of Port Mahon by one of the finest feats of arms of the century. England revenged herself for this reverse like a second Carthage; the unhappy Byng was condemned to death and shot on his quarter-deck.

Difficult Position of the King of Prussia.—On the continent the war began with an invasion of Saxony by Frederic who, as always, anticipated his enemies. He surrounded the Saxons in their camp at Pirna. The Austrians advanced to relieve the place: Frederic hastened to meet them in Bohemia, defeated them at Lowositz, and on his return captured the whole Saxon army, which he incorporated with his own forces. France forthwith declared that the Treaty of Westphalia had been broken and placed two armies in the field. Marshal d'Estrées entered Westphalia, while Soubise marched towards the Main. Attacked by all his neighbours, supported only by England, Frederic would have been unable, despite his genius, to defend himself against this formidable coalition had the allies acted with any concert. But the Prussian king was aided by the ineptitude or slackness of the French generals, and by the dilatory methods of Daun, the Austrian commander-in-chief. From Saxony, which he had boldly occupied, Frederic returned to Bohemia and won the bloody Battle of Prague (1757). Defeated in his turn near that city, at Kollin, by Daun (1757), he was forced in his retreat to divide his army, which exposed him to a further reverse. At the same time, the Russians on the east took Memel and defeated Joegerndorf though they were unable to profit from their success. On the west, d'Estrées won the Battle of Hastenbeck over the English, and occupied Hanover, while

another French army marched rapidly on Magdeburg and Saxony. The circle of enemies, by whom Frederic was surrounded, daily closed more nearly upon him, and he asked for peace. He was supposed to be beaten ; his offer was refused. He then decided that he would die a king, as he told Voltaire, and the incapacity of his foes saved him.

Capitulation of Klosterseven (1757).—Richelieu, who succeeded d'Estrées in the command of the army of Hanover, shut up the Duke of Cumberland in a cul-de-sac, in the midst of marshy country, but instead of making him prisoner, he granted him the capitulation of Klosterseven which the English government, under the leadership of the famous William Pitt, disavowed. Richelieu had made the mistake of not destroying this army which he found before him once more with strength unimpaired, and the fruits of two fortunate campaigns were lost. He committed a further blunder by setting his officers and soldiers an example of scandalous greed. On his return to Paris he built with the profit of his depredations an elegant house which the public sarcastically nicknamed *Pavilion de Hanovre*. The soldiers, whose looting he authorised, called him *le bon père la Maraude*. Discipline was thus weakened at the very moment when the French were called upon to face the Prussians, the best disciplined troops in Europe.

Battle of Rosbach (1757).—Soubise, the favourite of Madame Pompadour, was entrusted with the difficult task of facing the Prussians. He united his troops with the "army of execution" which the empire had raised to support Maria Theresa and marched upon Saxony. Frederic hastened from Silesia to the Saale ; he had only 20,000 men against 50,000. He posted himself, not far from the famous fields of Jena and Auerstadt, at the village of Rosbach on some heights, concealing his cavalry behind some rising ground and his formidable artillery behind the tents of his camp. The allies advanced rashly, without order, to the sound of fanfares, being deceived by the seeming hesitation of the king and believing that he was about to retreat. Suddenly the Prussian artillery was unmasked and fired ; the cavalry hurled themselves on the right flank of Soubise which that general had believed to be free from danger of attack, and the Prussian infantry followed. The allied army was dispersed in a short time ; the Prussians killed only 3000 men, for there was little fighting, but they made 7000 prisoners, took 63 cannon, and lost only 400 soldiers. Soubise wrote to Louis XV., "I address myself to your Majesty in an access of despair. The

roul of your army is complete ; I cannot tell you how many officers are slain, taken, or missing." But a more terrible judge than the king, the public, began to appear at this time and to punish with mordant satires the inexperience of generals and the faults of ministers. The popular songs ran :—

" Soubise dit, la lanterne à la main :
J'ai beau chercher où diable est mon armée ;
Elle était la pourtant hier matin.
Me l'a-t-on prise, ou l'aurais-je égarée ?
Ah ! je perds tout, je suis un étourdi."

Battle of Krefeld (1758).—Frederic allowed Soubise to escape in order to turn against the Austrians, whom he expelled from Saxony. He pursued them into Silesia and defeated them at Lissa, a battle in which he repeated the manœuvre of Rosbach, threatening one wing and crushing the other (1757). Pitt, who at this time became prime minister in England, made greater efforts in support of his ally. The king, in exchange for numerous subsidies voted to him under the influence of Pitt, lent one of his lieutenants, Ferdinand of Brunswick, to command the Hanoverian army which violated its oath and re-entered the campaign. Before this able general the French fell back, recrossing the Weser, Ems, and Rhine, after having been again defeated at Krefeld (1758). The general who conducted this inglorious retreat was the Count of Clermont, a member of the family of Condé, Abbé of St. Germain des Prés. This title afforded material for jests ; Frederic called him the general of the Benedictines, and at Paris they sang :—

" Moitié plumet, moitié rabat,
Aussi propre à l'un comme à l'autre,
Clermont se bat comme un apôtre,
Il sert son Dieu comme il se bat."

Disorders in the Army and Administration of France.—Napoleon said of the courtiers whom the caprice of Madame Pompadour placed at the head of the French armies that all, whether generals in chief or generals of division, were of the most perfect incapacity. It may be added that the quarrels of the court were continued in the camp and that many were accused, not unjustly, of defeating the plan of campaign and losing battles in order to ruin an adversary. Not only were the tacticians incapable, but the administration was deplorable. The armies were ill-composed and worse supported. When Clermont succeeded Richelieu, he had to cashier eighty officers. With the army of Soubise there appeared at one time 12,000

merchants' carts and provision waggons; on the battlefield 6000 marauders were behind the lines. Nor was this the limit of the evil. As women ruled, the higher posts in the administration were distributed according to the most violent caprices. From 1755 to 1763 twenty-five ministers were called to office or removed, "Falling one after another, like the figures of a magic lantern," says Voltaire. Plans changed with the ministers, or rather no plans were made and all was left to chance.

Successes and Reverses in Westphalia: d'Assas.—But after the shameful reverses of Rosbach and Krefeld, if the generals were not changed they were given forces so superior to those of the enemy that even Soubise and Clermont, the Duke of Broglie and Marshal Contades, to some extent retrieved the fortunes of France, winning some of that success which in the previous years had fallen to the Prussians, Hessians, and Hanoverians.

Soubise was on the Main while Clermont was retreating. By threatening Hesse, where Broglie gained a slight success at Sondershausen near Cassel, he recalled Brunswick and defeated a division of his army at Lutzelberg (1758). Next year Broglie gained another and more important success at Bergen on the Nidda, but being placed under the orders of Contades he served him badly and the rivalry of the two generals produced another disaster at Minden (August, 1759). Contades suffered for it and was removed; Broglie was given his command with a reinforcement which raised his army to over 100,000 men. He did not know how to use them and contented himself with occupying some towns, Cassel and Minden, and with a success which Count St. Germain gained over the Prussians at Corbach (1760). A detachment on the Rhine had better fortune. A Prussian army of 20,000 tried to take Clèves; De Castries beat them at Klosterkamp. This was the scene of the devotion of the Chevalier d'Assas, captain of a regiment of Auvergne. Falling into an ambuscade by which the enemy hoped to surprise the whole French army, he shouted at the top of his voice, "A moi, Auvergne; here are the enemy." He was pierced with wounds, but the army was saved (1760).

Energy of Frederic the Great (1758-1762).—Thus in the west of Germany the war had no result except to lay waste the districts in which the French armies usually went into winter quarters. In the east and south Frederic himself was opposed to the Russians, who took Königsberg, but were beaten at Zorndorff near Custrin (1758), and to the Austrians, who killed 10,000 of his men at Hochkirchen in Lusatia. The Russians

revenged themselves in the next year at Zullichau and Kunnersdorff, where each side lost 20,000 men, and Frederic would have found himself in a difficult position if his enemies had known how to profit from their success. The brilliant victory of Brunswick at Minden revived the hopes of Prussia. Frederic used the return of fortune to ask for peace; his enemies, seeing in this overture only a proof of weakness, still declined to treat (1760). The king undeceived them. He defeated Laudon at Liegnitz, relieved his capital, which had been surprised by the Russians and Austrians, drove Daun out of a formidable position near Torgau, and remained master of two-thirds of Saxony, while his lieutenants checked the attempts of the French and Swedes in the north and west.

But "these labours of Hercules" had weakened the forces both of the king and of his people. During the whole campaign of 1761 Frederic was kept on the defensive. He had little success; if Broglie was beaten at Fillinghausen because he relied on Soubise, who failed to come to his help, the Prussians lost Schweidnitz and Dresden, and were deprived of the subsidies of England. The death of the czarina relieved the situation for Frederic, her successor, Peter III., declared the neutrality of Russia (1762), and Sweden at the same time retired from the war. At peace on the east and north, Frederic acted with vigour in Silesia, which he regained, and in Saxony, where Prince Henry won the Battle of Freyberg. France, moreover, was about to follow the example of Russia.

Reverses of France at Sea.—France carried on the war on land without suffering any very serious reverses, though without winning any great degree of glory, since she had Austria and Russia as allies while Frederic had no ally. But at sea she was face to face with a foe whose crushing superiority left the sailors of France hope only of isolated success. The naval victory gained by La Galissonnière in 1756 was not repeated; but the honour of the French flag was maintained in a number of isolated combats. In the straits of Rochefort two French frigates attacked an English frigate and ship of the line and disabled them. One of the French captains, Maureville, having lost his arm, cried at the boarding bridge to his men, "Courage, my friends; I forbid you to yield." There were many similar instances. But while England devoted all her attention to her navy, the French government allowed the colonies to be left without ships, soldiers, or money. Discipline was undermined by unfortunate disputes; the gentlemen officers, called *officiers*

rouges, despised the rankers, *officiers bleus*, and refused to obey them. Courts-martial and desertions resulted and the service deteriorated. The English blockaded the French ports; not a ship sailed which did not fall into their hands; thirty-seven ships of the line and fifty-six frigates were thus taken, burned, or wrecked. Descents made by the English on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, at Cherbourg and St. Malo, had no permanent results, but indicated that the territory of France might be attacked with impunity as the fleet could not protect its shores. In one of these expeditions upon St. Malo the enemy lost at St. Cart 5000 men, whom the Duke of Aiguillon and the gentlemen of Brittany attacked in a body, killed, or captured (1758). In the following year Admiral la Clue, with only seven vessels against fourteen, was beaten at Cap Ste. Marie, and the rashness of Conflans resulted in the loss of the Brest fleet. In 1763 the English captured Belle-Isle; they thus secured in the Bay of Biscay opposite Nantes, between Brest and Rochefort, the same advantageous position that Jersey gave them off the coast of Brittany opposite St. Malo, between Cherbourg and Brest. All the French coast on the Atlantic, from Dunkirk to Bayonne, was practically in a state of siege.

Reverses in the Colonies.—Dupleix had been recalled in 1745; had France sent him money and good soldiers instead of sending, as he complained, *la plus vile canaille*, India would perhaps now belong to France and not to England. Dupleix died at Paris in misery in 1763. An Irishman in the service of France, Lally, without having broad views, had at least indomitable courage. But being obliged to raise money to make war on the Indian rajahs fifty leagues inland, he could not prevent the English, commanded by the able Clive, from regaining the advantage. He attacked Madras, the breach was opened; he ordered the assault, but his soldiers refused to advance because they had not been paid. In his turn Lally was besieged in Pondicherry, where with 700 men he defended himself for nine months against 22,000. The English, eventually masters of the town, expelled the inhabitants and razed it to the ground. This was the death-blow of French domination, which has never revived in India.

And in the same way in Canada the French flag was raised high, only to be brought down. Marquis Vaudreuil and the Marquis of Montcalm took the forts of Oswego and St. George, on the lakes of Ontario and St. George, outposts of the English dominion (1756). But in 1759 the French had only 5000 soldiers

to oppose to 40,000 and the colony lacked foodstuffs, lead, and powder. Madame Pompadour cost France three or four millions a year; for lack of a like sum the country was unable to send to Canada 4000 soldiers who would have remained as colonists after the war and who would have changed the issue of the struggle. The English besieged Quebec; Montcalm accepted battle to save the city: mortally wounded, he still cried to his men, whose idol he was owing to his chivalrous courage, "Forward and hold the battlefield." The English general, Wolfe, struck by three bullets, heard in his death agony his men shouting, "They fly!" Raising himself for a moment, he said, "I die content." Vaudreuil still fought on for a time, but in the end Canada was lost. Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Louis in Senegal, and the Isle of Gorée were lost also.

Choiseul: The Family Compact (1761).—At this moment an able minister secured the chief influence over the affairs of France, the Duke of Choiseul. Madame Pompadour recalled him from the embassy at Vienna to give him the portfolio of foreign affairs (1758), which he exchanged in 1761 for that of war. Two years later, he also assumed the ministry of marine, while the ministry of foreign affairs was given to his cousin, the Duke of Praslin. Choiseul preserved the Austrian alliance, but he negotiated another alliance. He wished to gather, as in a sheaf, all the branches of the Bourbon house, established in France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Parma, and Piacenza; to realise the dream of Louis XIV. and to give France the valuable support of the Spanish navy. This treaty, the famous *pacte de famille*, was signed on August 15, 1761, the contracting powers mutually guaranteeing each other's territories. England soon declared war on Spain, and induced Portugal to follow her example. The French navy had fallen to a low point, that of Spain was languishing, with the result that their union produced no immediate result. Spain, which had entered the war too late, suffered only losses; Manilla, the Philippines, and Havana, twelve ships of the line, and a 100 millions in prizes were taken from her. An invasion of Portugal had no result.

Treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg (1763).—By 1762 the powers, whether victorious or defeated, were weary of a war which had ruined them all and which had cost the lives of a million men. France on her side had spent 1350 millions. England had attained her object, the destruction of the French navy and mercantile marine. But even her conquests had exhausted her

treasures, her national debt was increased, recruiting had become difficult, since to preserve that empire of the ocean which she had seized she had constantly to increase her armaments. Prussia, without commerce or industry, devastated and depopulated, was sustained only by the energy of her king. Austria had wished to seize Silesia from Prussia and now despaired of doing so. France and England signed preliminaries (November 3, 1762) which developed into the Treaty of Paris (February 10, 1763). By it, England acquired Canada with its 60,000 French inhabitants, Acadia, Cape Breton Island, Grenada and its dependencies, St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, Senegal, and in Europe, Minorca. France preserved the right to fish on the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, but was not permitted to fortify them. She recovered Guadeloupe, Marie-Galante, Désirade, and Martinique, and obtained St. Lucia. The island of Gorée in Senegal and that of Belle-Isle off Brittany were restored to her. But she demolished once more the fortifications of Dunkirk and accepted the insulting presence of a resident English commissioner to prevent the restoration of those quays from which Jean-Bart had sailed. In the East Indies, Pondicherry, Mahé, and three small factories in Bengal were left to her on condition that they were not garrisoned. Spain, while regaining Cuba and Manilla, lost to England Florida and the bay of Penascola, France compensating her some time later by the cession of Louisiana. By the Treaty of Hubertsburg, between Austria and Prussia, Silesia was left to Frederic. "The war began for two or three wretched villages. The English gained two thousand leagues of territory, and humanity lost a million men," such was the judgment of the Prussian king.

Political and Military Decadence of France.—The Seven Years' War had been undertaken for the ruin of the King of Prussia; he emerged from it victorious, and a new state, lately a mere electorate, took its place among the great powers of Europe. As a result both Austria and France were weakened. At the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, France still appeared to be the first military power, thanks to the victories of Marshal Saxe, which had revived something of the glory of the reign of Louis XIV. But the Seven Years' War showed the worthlessness of the French generals, the want of discipline in her soldiers, and, despite some happy exceptions, the decline of military qualities in France. At sea, it was not a case of decay but of complete ruin.

Attempts of Choiseul to revive the Navy: Acquisition of

Corsica (1768) and of Lorraine (1766).—Choiseul, a patriotic if not a great minister, earnestly desired to raise France from the abyss into which she had fallen. He tried to reorganise the army and to render the transition from a peace to a war footing more easy. He resumed the work of Machault towards the creation of a fleet. Life returned to the ports and England saw with grief the rebirth of that navy which she believed that she had destroyed. When Choiseul fell there was a fleet of sixty-four ships of the line and fifty frigates or corvettes, which soon afterwards, in the American War, disputed the command of the sea with the English squadrons. Some deeds and some energetic works showed that France was reviving after her reverses. An Englishman, taken at the moment when he had stolen the plans of the fortifications of Brest, was put to death without the English ambassador daring to complain. Corsica revolted against its old masters, the Genoese; it was occupied, conquered, and united to France, and England was content to make a hero of Paoli, who had commanded the Corsicans against the French. The island was acquired in 1768, just in time to enable Napoleon to be born a French subject in 1769. Three years later, the death of Stanislas Leczinski led to the reunion of Lorraine with France. That prince had earned blessings by his paternal rule and his memory still lives at Nancy, which is proud of the monuments with which he decorated the town. These were acquisitions without glory but of value, and at which England groaned. Choiseul did not trouble to soothe her. Some English, having established themselves in a Spanish island in America, were expelled; England threatened Spain with war, and Choiseul at once prepared to assist the ally of France, raising formidable armaments which caused England to reflect. At the same time he encouraged the growing unrest in the English colonies; he detached Portugal and Holland from the English alliance and prepared that union of the secondary maritime powers which some years later became the Armed Neutrality against those who claimed to rule the seas.

At the other end of Europe, Choiseul tried to strengthen the Swedish government against the intrigues of Russia, and stretched out a friendly hand to Poland, which, suffering from the vices of its constitution, sank daily lower into the abyss. Had he succeeded, a barrier would have been formed against the Colossus of the North, which since the time of Peter the Great had not ceased to expand, its head at the pole, its feet resting on the Danube, one arm stretched towards the Baltic, and the

other already resting upon Poland. Only one reverse was sustained in foreign policy, the failure of an unhappy attempt to colonise Guiana.

Suppression of the Jesuits (1762).—One important act of the administration of Choiseul, though it was not directly his work, was the suppression of the Jesuits. That mighty society had spread everywhere. After having fought vigorously in the sixteenth century against Protestantism, and having directed and dominated Catholicism during the seventeenth, it had allowed abuses to grow up within its own body as a result of too prolonged good fortune. Pascal, under Louis XIV., had already attacked its lax morality in his *Provincial Letters*. The Jansenists had continued the struggle. Parliament distrusted an army so devoted to the holy see, which had no longer France as its native land, and the philosophers applauded every blow that was struck. Presently hatred for them became almost universal in Europe. In 1717 they had been expelled from Russia and in 1759 they were banished from Portugal. La Valette, administrator of the Jesuit missions in the Antilles, who had united commercial to religious activities, went bankrupt for a sum of 3 millions, and this led to an inquiry. The trial resulted in an examination of the constitution of the order; it was found that the society was contrary to the interest of the state, and the Jesuits, condemned by a decree of parliament in 1762, were suppressed two years later by a royal edict. Spain and Naples followed this example (1767), as did Parma (1768). Pope Clement XIII. protested in vain by a bull which continued the Jesuits in all their rights. The papacy was obliged to give way to the vigorous representations of the Catholic powers, and Clement XIV. in 1773 solemnly pronounced the suppression throughout Christendom of the Society of Jesus. There were at this time about 20,000 Jesuits, of whom 4000 were in France.

Fall of Choiseul (1770).—Choiseul had many enemies. The Jesuits left behind them a powerful party which did not forgive the minister for their expulsion. Their pupil, the dauphin, was hostile. The Duke of Aiguillon, who had been recalled from his government of Brittany; the Chancellor Maupeou; Abbé Terray, the controller of the finances, formed against him a secret triumvirate which would have been powerless without a shameful ally that it secured. To Madame Pompadour, who died in 1764, there had succeeded the Countess du Barry, whose mere presence was a disgrace to Versailles. Choiseul refused to bow to her disgraceful influence; she swore to ruin him and

besieged the king with requests for his dismissal. The triumvirate urged her on and gave her definite grounds for her request. The king was told that Choiseul was the head of the philosophers and the vicious monarch detested freedom of thought; he was told that Choiseul was the friend of the parliaments and Louis was angry at their interference in public affairs; he was told that Choiseul dreamed of war and Louis desired peace. Finally the intrigue triumphed; in 1770 Choiseul was banished to his lands at Chanteloup, near Amboise, where he was followed by a large crowd of partisans and friends who did not fear now to abandon the court, so greatly had times changed. Louis XV. one day uttered a eulogy on his fallen minister, which was his own condemnation. When he learned that Russia, Austria, and Prussia were about to partition Poland, he cried, "Ah, this would never have occurred if Choiseul had still been here." Choiseul never resumed office, but his influence on Marie Antoinette allowed him still to serve France indirectly by bringing pressure to bear on the king to support the Americans.

Destruction of the Parliaments (1771).—During the whole century, the parliaments had shown to the court, to ultramontane pretensions, and to increasing taxation a spirit of opposition which had not been always dignified or wise, especially in religious questions, as in the case of the bull *Unigenitus*. The government had accepted this bull as the law of the state, but the Jansenists rejected it; they were supported by the parliaments, animated at the time by a very Gallican spirit, and thus little favourable to the Roman Church in matters of discipline. The Archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont, forbade the priests of his diocese to administer the communion to such as were not provided with a *billet de confession*, bearing evidence that they had recognised the bull, and according to this order the sacrament was refused to a councillor and to the nuns of St. Agatha. Parliament was roused. It caused the bishop's orders to be burned by the common hangman and ordered the temporalities of the see of Paris to be sequestered. The aid of the law was called in to force priests to administer the communion to the sick (1752). The philosophers heard and applauded these strange disputes and this violence, which discredited the magistracy, the episcopate, and even religion itself.

The magistrates were exiled for a first time in 1753; on their return they showed the same boldness. In vain the king enjoined absolute silence on religious matters. Parliament suppressed a brief of Benedict XIV. which, while softening the bull and the

rigour of the French clergy, authorised both. The parliament of Paris next tried by union with the other parliaments to form a body sufficiently powerful to assume towards the royal authority the position of the States-General. The king ordered the magistrates to confine themselves to their ordinary functions ; a hundred and twenty-four resigned. There was extreme excitement in Paris. A madman, Francis Damiens, made an attempt on the king's life ; Louis was only slightly wounded and Damiens was quartered (1757). The quarrel was revived at the trial of the Jesuits in 1762 and reached its culminating point in 1770.

The parliament of Brittany had long struggled against the Duke of Aiguillon, governor of the province. The procurator-general, La Chalotais, openly accused the duke, who freed himself of his accuser by throwing him into prison. But Aiguillon was removed ; the parliament of Rennes instituted a process against him, and as the duke was a peer of France the case was taken to Paris, where the parliament would have condemned the accused had not the king by a *lit-de-justice* stopped the proceedings. The magistrates then declared that, "in their profound grief they had not spirit free enough to enable them to pronounce judgment concerning the goods, life, and honour of the king's subjects." The administration of justice was suspended. At this moment Choiseul was dismissed and succeeded by Aiguillon, a step which announced severe measures against the parliament. On the night of January 19-20, 1771, 169 magistrates were roused by the arrival of two musketeers who ordered them to sign yes or no to an order that they should resume their functions. Only thirty-eight signed yes and they retracted their assent on the following day. The next night an officer announced to them the abolition of their offices and musketeers brought them *lettres de cahier* relegating them to different places. By the end of the year 700 magistrates were in exile. Maupeou then formed a new parliament which was jestingly named after him and which was regarded with universal amusement. The adventure of one of its members, the notorious Goezman, who was convicted by Beaumarchais in his brilliant and popular memoirs of having been bribed, struck the new assembly a severe blow. "Sire, we may hope that your parliament will be a success ; it has begun to take," said the Count of Noailles to the king.

The gravest features of the situation were that public opinion was deeply stirred and that opposition was found even in the court, all the princes of the blood save one and thirteen peers protesting against the overthrow of the laws of the state. At

the same time the terrible name of the States-General was uttered in the parliaments of Toulouse, Besançon, Rouen, and even at Paris, where the court of aides, by the mouth of the virtuous Lamoignon de Malesherbes, pronounced the following words, "For the first time, sire, since the foundation of the monarchy we see the confiscation of goods and of offices decreed on a simple accusation and by a decision of your council. The people have in the past possessed the consolation of being able to present their complaints to the kings your predecessors, but for a century and a half the States have not been convoked. Until this moment the representations of the courts have supplied the lack of those of the States, though imperfectly, but now this last resource has also been taken away. The nobles who are nearest your Majesty are forced to keep silence, as access to the throne appears to be closed even to the princes of the blood. Ask then, sire, the nation itself, since it can no longer make you hear its voice." The nation was soon to realise itself, but it was also to reconstruct everything, to destroy and ruin all. Richelieu and Louis XIV. had humbled the nobles politically; Louis XV. had struck heavy blows at the magistracy, and there was nothing left to support the old edifice of state and to cover the monarchy.

Pacte de Famine: Lettres de Cachet: Bankruptcy.—Every day the shame of the monarchy increased. In 1773 Austria, Russia, and Prussia partitioned Poland, France being unable to do anything to prevent this execution of a people. In 1767 the association nicknamed the *Pacte de Famine* was allowed to renew its lease for the monopoly of grain and thus to create the artificial famines of 1768 and 1769. The *lettres de cachet* were enormously increased and the liberty of citizens was handed over to the rich or powerful who had a passion to satiate or vengeance to gratify. Abbé Terray was in control of the finances; he regarded the people as a sponge to be squeezed, and forgot that over-taxation is disastrous for the treasury, since it prevents the formation of capital or destroys that which has been formed. He changed the whole system of contribution, with the result that the taxes became more crushing. Misery increased and the revenue did not; Terray found no remedy but bankruptcy to meet the obligations of the state. To the complaints which were heard on all sides he answered coldly, "The king is master; necessity knows no law." Yet even so, he left an annual deficit of 41 millions, though since 1715 the taxes had been doubled, rising from 165 millions to 365 millions. Louis XV. saw clearly that a terrible day of reckoning was approaching; in his egoism

he consoled himself with the thought that the blow would fall on another's head. "It will last my time ; my successor must meet it as well as he can," he said, and Madame Pompadour repeated with him, "After us, the deluge."

CHAPTER LVII

STATE OF FRANCE AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV.

Spirit of Criticism.—But there is a view to be taken of this period other than that of the unhappy wars and shameful government of France—the intellectual movement which took place. There had never been so lively a curiosity in all things, so great a daring in adventuring upon unknown paths. For a long time men had consoled themselves for an abuse by an epigram and for an injustice by a song ; "They sing and then they pay," said Mazarin. But now they sang less ; the public mind had become more serious and more formidable. In face of a monarchy which seemed to degrade itself from love of degradation, of a nobility which could no longer supply generals, of a clergy which produced too few Bossuets and Fénelons, the question of rights came to be debated and the titles of these once venerated powers were examined.

The chief work of monarchy in modern society had been to create unity of territory and unity of command by destroying that feudalism which made each fief a state and gave a thousand chiefs to every country in Europe. The struggle began in France in the twelfth century and was completed by Richelieu and Louis XIV. in the seventeenth. But vanquished feudalism left the land strewn with its debris. In every direction, in regard both to persons and things, there was the utmost inequality, the strangest confusion.

I. Political Conditions: Ill-Defined Powers of the Government.—The constitution was not a written one ; everything rested on custom ; nothing had greater validity than that possessed by an opinion, and as opinion varied so everything else varied incessantly. In theory the monarchy was absolute ; in fact it was not ; for numerous interests and powers, traditions and precedents which had attained the strength of fundamental laws formed a series of obstacles to the crown. As a result no one had defined rights, and as political sense was no less lacking than political institutions, all attempted to encroach on the domain

of others and no one kept to his own place. The ministers on occasion interfered with justice, as the parliaments interfered with the law, both doing violence to the one and the other. A royal edict was not valid until it had been registered in the parliament, but the council of state issued *arrêts en commandement* which dispensed with this formality. The clergy and the nobles had tribunals of their own; the third estate held public offices which they had bought; for the greater number of offices the king had despoiled himself of one of his chief prerogatives, the right of calling the ablest and best men to the service of the state.

Faulty Administrative Organisation.—There were six ministers. The chancellor was at the head of justice, but had hardly any importance when he did not bear the seals. The controller-general of the finances and the four secretaries of state, for the royal household, war, marine, and foreign affairs, were the other ministers. They exercised a curious medley of functions and divided the kingdom geographically between them. Thus the governors and lieutenant-governors of provinces were not responsible to the minister of war, but the posts were, as well as Dauphiné and the lands conquered after 1552. The minister of marine was also minister of foreign commerce, and the consuls and the chamber of commerce of Marseilles were responsible to him. The minister of foreign affairs regulated pensions and administered the provinces of Guienne, Normandy, Champagne, Berry, and others. The minister of the royal household controlled ecclesiastical affairs and *lettres de cachet*, as well as Languedoc, Paris, Provence, Brittany, Navarre, and other provinces. The controller-general looked after bridges and roads, hospitals, prisons, epidemics, internal commerce, and agriculture. There were various types of administrative division. There were circumscriptions of the thirty-four intendancies of the twenty-five *généralités*; of the forty governments or provinces; of the 135 archbishops and bishops, or dioceses; of the seventeen parliaments and sovereign courts; of the twenty-two universities—and none of these corresponded with one another.

One of the most deplorable principles of the administration was the habit of raising money by the creation of useless places which burdened the public. "Pontchartrain," says St. Simon, "raised in eight years 150 millions with parchment and sealing wax." He created *jurés crieurs héréditaires d'enterrements*; *essayeurs de bière de Paris*, *contrôleurs des perruques*,¹ and a

¹ A hereditary jury in charge of interments; beer-tasters of Paris; controller of wigs, etc.

thousand like offices. This abuse had another and remarkable effect ; the number of officials so exceeded the needs of the services that they only officiated in turn. Thus at the *grenier à sel* at Paris, the office for dealing with the *gabelle*, the officials performed their functions for a year at a time ; the registrars only exercised theirs once every three years.

Judicial Organisation.—Thirteen parliaments and four provincial councils were sovereign courts for civil and criminal cases ; more than 300 bailiwicks or *sénéchaussées* judged in the first instance. There was a public prosecutor, an official unknown to the ancients, but there were no justices of the peace, an office created after the Revolution. The jurisdiction of the parliaments was very unequal. That of the parliament of Paris extended over two-fifths of France. There were also tribunals for the army, for commerce, for the nobles, and for the Church. The city courts had control of local police, though the senate of Strasburg could condemn to death. As for the spiritual judges, they could sentence to perpetual imprisonment and sometimes the chief seigniorial justiciar in order to prove his right condemned some one to be hanged who merited only banishment. The chamber of accounts, the court of *aides*, and the court of moneys dealt with all cases relating to taxes, money, and gold or silver. The great council, *the requêtes de l'Hôtel*, the tribunal of the University of Paris, the royal captains, and others had special jurisdictions. Certain persons could be tried only by certain courts.

Rigour of the Penal Code.—The civil law consecrated injustices, but the penal law ordered torture before judgment. It was prodigal, to a terrible extent, with sentences of mutilation, death, and the most horrible penalties, and while the accused was not allowed an advocate to defend him nor the cross-examination of his accusers, the judge had not even to give a reason for his decision. In 1776 a young man of nineteen, the Chevalier la Barre, was condemned without proof to be burned alive after having had his tongue and hand cut off, on account of a cross which had been destroyed on the bridge of Abbeville ; four others condemned to the same penalties only escaped by flight.

Procedure was slow, complicated, conducted in darkness and silence, and sought rather a conviction than the truth ; the accused was regarded as condemned and the innocent were often convicted. In 1770 Montbailly was broken on the wheel at St. Omer for a crime of which the superior court of Artois and the whole of France had three months earlier declared him

to be innocent. It was in vain that Voltaire made France and Europe resound with his eloquent protests against these deplorable judicial blunders; it was in vain that the work of Beccaria showed the true principles of criminal legislation and that the constantly increasing repeals of judgment warned the judges. Parliament opposed all reform and the President Dupaty needed all his perseverance and courage to save three men who had been unjustly condemned from being broken on the wheel. The magistracy, men of probity and enlightenment, were far better than the law, but the law was such that it exposed to error the most conscientious judge and made even the innocent tremble when accused. "If I were accused of stealing the towers of Notre-Dame, I should think myself lucky if I won acquittal," says a well-known man of the period. On the other hand, this society was so encumbered with relics of the Middle Ages that there was found existing in it a survival of the Merovingian period, the right of asylum existing in Paris in the enclosure of the Temple.

Exceptional Justice.—The nobles no longer conspired; there were no special commissions to hand over the accused to their proper judges. But the king often pronounced sentence of imprisonment or exile without trial, often without any term being fixed, and many cases were stopped by a *lit-de-justice* or by appeal to the grand council.

Expense of Justice.—Magistrates, registrars, officers of justice were either not paid at all or very ill paid; they compensated themselves by exacting payment from the suitors at a rate which they fixed. In so disorganised a society, when men were constantly coming into conflict with some privilege, some prohibition, or some obscure regulation, cases were innumerable, endless, and the suitors were handed over to the "brigandage of justice," as it was called by a contemporary lawyer. These exactions cost the suitors annually 40 million francs, or, according to a minister of Louis XV., nearly 60 million. The authority of the parliament of Paris extended in some directions for 150 leagues from the capital, another cause of ruin for the suitors who were compelled to seek expensive justice at a great distance.

Lack of Public Credit.—Credit is a power which develops in states in which the law is more powerful than the caprices of arbitrary authority. Therefore it did not exist in France and the government had less credit than private persons. "It was necessary to calculate the chances of the fulfilment of a contract by the government, as of an adventurous under-

taking," says Count Mollien. The most solemn promises having been broken a hundred times, the treasury could obtain advances only by giving some pledge, and even with this shameful condition it paid a usurious interest of 20 per cent. on advances secured on buildings and other property. At the same time the English government could borrow money at 4 per cent. ; the financial strength of England was five times that of France. And war needs much money as well as courage and talent.

Faulty Administration of the Public Funds.—The public accounts were so badly kept that they were only drawn up ten, twelve, or fifteen years after the expiration of the contracts and agreements with which they were concerned. Everything was so obscure that no one, not even the minister, knew what the state had to pay or to receive. In 1726 Fleury abandoned to the farmers some accounts which the treasury had neglected ; the farmers realised 60,400,000 livres. On the very eve of the Revolution, Calonne, Necker, and the notables were unable to discover the true amount of the deficit and of the public debt. Further, since Francis I. the public revenue was identified with the private revenue of the sovereign, with the result that the king delved deep into the common chest, taking money with no further formality than giving the treasurer a receipt for the money issued, *l'aquit de comptant*. Louis XV. took in a single year 180 millions mainly for his pleasures and his courtiers. In 1769, after six years of peace, the expenses exceeded the revenue by 100 millions, and certain revenues were mortgaged ten years in advance. There were future charges on the revenue to the year 1779.

Faulty Collection of the Public Revenue.—The taxes presented the strangest confusion and the government did not, as in the present day, collect them all. Indirect taxes were let out to companies of tax-farmers and to sixty farmers who called themselves "the columns of the state" and who destroyed rather than supported it. On the one hand they forced the treasury to pay usurious interest, on the other they increased their receipts by all possible means. Thus the product of the *don de joyeux avènement*, levied under Louis XIV., was abandoned to them for 23 millions and they collected more than 40 millions. Their scandalous fortunes are thus not surprising—one of them, Bouret, secured 42 millions—though they were forced to share with the courtiers to whom they paid their *croupes*, that is the pensions or shares proportionate to their

offices. Great nobles and great ladies received these shameful presents ; Louis XV. himself held out his hand ; he was a croupier.

The tax-gatherers had at their service a code so complex that the taxpayer could not know it, so rigorous that for the one crime of breaking the regulations of the *gabelle* alone there were constantly 1700 or 1800 persons in prison and more than 300 in the galleys. The treasury was not more lenient ; if a receiver of the *taille* did not produce the amount due, the four principal persons in the district liable to the *taille* were taken, though they owed nothing personally, and kept in prison until they had made good the deficit. This was a revival of the odious Roman method which made the *curiales* responsible.

Defects in Military Organisation.—The regular peace army was 170,000 men, 131,000 infantry, 31,000 cavalry, and 8000 for the royal household, but the actual effectives were not more than 140,000 men. This included twelve Swiss regiments, eight German regiments, three Irish, one Swedish, and 21,000 coast-guard artillerymen, who hardly served except in time of war, as well as 60,000 provincial militia. The number of officers was extravagantly large. There were not less than 60,000 on the active and retired lists, and according to a regulation of 1772 a regiment of cavalry of 482 men contained 146 officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, that is, one officer for every three soldiers. Commissions were bought and those who could pay were able to become general officers without going upon active service. The Duke of Bouillon was a colonel at the age of eleven, the Duke of Fronsac at the age of seven ; his major was twelve. Despite the reforms of Choiseul there were still many defects in the army and the system of enlistment produced unsatisfactory results. The regular army was recruited by voluntary methods, the militia by lot, 10,000 men being taken for service each year. But the drawing of lots was so badly conducted that it weighed especially heavily on the rural districts, was marked by the most scandalous abuses, and, if the volunteers made good soldiers, the recruiting officers often sent into the army the dregs of the large towns. There were annually some 4000 deserters.

Ecclesiastical Administration.—The clergy were divided into the *clergé de France* in the old provinces and the *clergé étranger* in the lands conquered since the time of Francis I. This distinction was important only from the point of view of taxation. But the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, suffragans of the

Archbishops of Treves or Mainz, and the five sees of Corsica, suffragans of Pisa or Genoa, did not share in the general assemblies of the clergy. The archbishopric of Besançon and that of Cambrai had on the other hand foreign suffragans. The sees were very unequal ; that of Rouen contained 1388 parishes ; those of Toulon and Orange twenty. The revenues were as unequal as the sees. The Bishop of Strasburg had an income of 500,000 livres, the Bishop of Gap 8000 ; and Fleury signed himself " by the divine indignation Bishop of Frejus." A great number of abbots possessed hardly 1000 livres of revenue ; the Abbot of Fécamp had 120,000 ; the Abbot of St. Germain nearly three times that sum. Some of the curés were very rich, but the majority of the vicars were dying of want. Louis XVI. deserved recognition from them for fixing their salaries at 350 livres. Some had too much, some too little. The king appointed to all the charges of importance in the Church ; the bishops, chapters, and nobles nominated to the other charges. Finally, 12,000 bishops, abbots, priors, and canons divided among them nearly a third of the revenue of the Church—some forty millions ; the remaining two-thirds had to support eight times as many priests and monks. No mention need be made of the *petits abbés*, who were neither of the world nor of the Church and who scandalised both.

II. Social Conditions: Diversity in the Civil Law.—In place of one law there were 384 different customs, with the result that what was just in one province was illegal in another. Each parliament had its own regulations, and the diversity of legislation was still further increased by the diversity of jurisprudence.

Diversity in the Status of Individuals.—The three orders in the state, clergy, nobles, and commons, were distinguished by the privileges or offices which made the French people three distinct nations, each having its own hierarchy and its distinct classes. There was a *grand* and *petit noblesse* ; the first lived at court on pensions, the latter in the country on slender revenues. There were the upper and lower clergy, the former very rich, the latter very poor. Among the commons, 50,000 families possessed the hereditary magistracies, forming a real aristocracy ; the bourgeois despised the artisan ; and the peasant at the bottom of the scale in misery and ignorance bore with anger all the weight of a society which crushed him. Even in the same family there was inequality, the right of primogeniture leaving to the younger sons of noble houses only the sword or the church, and to many daughters of those houses only the convent. Below the three

orders were the serfs, the Protestants, who had not even a civil status, and the Jews.

Diversity in the Condition of the Provinces.—Some provinces, the *pays d'États*, such as Languedoc, Burgundy, and Artois, had still a shadow of liberty in the management of their own affairs and were thus in a better situation. The other provinces, the *pays d'élection*, knew only the absolute orders of the king. The *pays d'élection* paid taxes; the *pays d'États* paid only a small proportion or did not pay at all. There were, as in Lorraine, the Three Bishoprics, Alsace, and the Pays-de-Labour, provinces which had no tariff against the foreigner; other provinces were surrounded by customs houses on all sides. In 1789 there were still in the south of France 1200 leagues of internal customs houses and the same measure of salt might be bought in one place for six and in another for sixty-two livres. The tax of the *vingtième* was less heavy in Lorraine, Alsace, and Franche-Comté than in the other provinces; Lorraine was not even subject to the capitation and as a result old France was more heavily taxed than the recently conquered provinces. Localities, corporations, and private individuals possessed privileges. At Paris even in 1783 the administration of the Invalides, of the military school, and of the Bastille, and various religious communities did not pay the *octroi* (city toll); from this a number of abuses arose, much merchandise being brought in nominally for the privileged, but really for other persons.

Inequality in Public Functions.—The nobles monopolised all offices. The nobles of the sword had the command of the army, of the highest dignities in the Church, and of the chief offices about the court and in the public service. The nobles of the robe had all judicial offices and the chief administrative posts. The commons could engage only in industry, commerce, and finance, though if they prospered in these they could buy letters of nobility and become marquises; they would then have to bear the sarcasm of those who had not yet bought rank and the deep contempt of those who had done so at an earlier date.

Inequality in Taxation.—The nation paid then almost as much as is paid at the present time. But three circumstances rendered the burden heavier then than it is now. There were more poor; the population was a third less numerous, and the incidence of taxation was most unequal. The clergy, who in addition to their vast property received a tithe from all land, noble and non-noble, paid nothing or next to nothing, making only gratuitous gifts, and when a minister talked of a tax on their revenues they

answered, "Do not place us in the position of having to disobey God or the king, for you know well what our choice will be." The nobles and the royal officials, save in some *généralités*, were not liable to the *taille* or land tax; they had to pay the other direct taxes, the capitation and the *vingtième* on revenues, though many found means to become wholly or partially exempt. The commons, who held only a third of the land of France, paid the *taille*, 91 millions; the *dime*, which was in some places a fortieth, in others a quarter, of their gross product, and which cost the agriculturists 133 millions; seigniorial rights, valued at 35 millions and the *corvée*¹ valued at 20 millions. For the great roads constructed under Louis XV. the state paid only the cost of mapping out the routes to be followed and of adorning them when made, while the materials and labour were furnished by means of the *corvée*, with a result that these public works, so profitable to the whole country, were executed at the expense of the people of the districts and amid their hatred.

Inequality in Justice.—A noble was executed, a commoner was hanged; though this was not important, being a mere difference in the form of death. But for the same fault committed together the Marchioness of Courcelles was sentenced to two years in an abbey convent, while Rostaing, who was only a commoner, was hanged and strangled (decree of 1669).

Servitude of Industry and Hindrances in the Way of Commerce.—Corporations, wardenships, and masterships checked the advance of industry by limiting the numbers of patrons (with the result that competition was destroyed) and by allowing only those who had paid for an apprenticeship to work at a trade, with the result that each was confined in his own craft as in a prison house. To become a master it was necessary to buy the privilege for three, four, or even five thousand livres, without including the cost of the specimen example of work, presents, and a banquet. And when all these charges had been paid it was still necessary to purchase the right to improve upon the given industry, an improvement being one of the prior rights of the corporation. The manufacturer of stuffs could not dye them; the dyer might not dye silks and wool as well as thread; the hatter might not sell hosiery. Hampered by minute regulations, the manufacturers were liable to see the police destroy their work owing to some oversight on their part or to some modification in the work which they had bought the right to produce. "Every week, for many years," said an inspector of manufac-

¹ Statute labour.

tures, "I have seen eighty or a hundred pieces of stuff burned at Rouen because some regulation as to texture or dyeing had not been observed, though the stuff was offered for sale as what it was." There was at this time only one coinage, that of the king, and since 1726 commerce had not been hindered by changes in specie or by sudden and official variations in the value of the silver mark.¹ But trade was still handicapped by diversities in weights and measures, which changed from town to town. The company of the Indies had up to 1770 by its commercial privileges impeded the efforts of private merchants. It had been lately abolished, but within the country business had still to contend with restrictions and injurious monopolies. Thus at Rouen one company was employed to provide grain for the city; another to transport corn, and a third to grind it, to the great detriment of the inhabitants who were forbidden to secure supplies elsewhere. Grain did not even circulate from one province to another, with the result that jobbers could in certain places create a scarcity or abundance at will, could sell cheaply or at a very enhanced price. Interior customs houses isolated the provinces, rendered commercial relations between them as difficult as such relations with foreign lands, and caused the tolls to exceed the value of the products by 96 millions. In order to carry goods down the Saône and Rhône from Gray to Arles it was necessary to stop and pay thirty times, so that on this route, which nature alone had constructed, the tolls amounted to 25 or 30 per cent. of the value of the goods. Catholic districts had fifty feast days which the Protestant districts had not, and as a result the latter worked more and could sell at a better profit. Yet so flourishing were the colonies and so backward was the industry of Europe that the commerce of France prospered.

Decay of Agriculture.—Almost a fifth of the land of France, tied up in the hands of the Church, produced little, since it was not subject to the influence of private interest; almost all the rest, cultivated by the farmers, did little better. The division of property had begun long before, but the lands in the possession of the peasants were heavily burdened with rents, a relic of ancient servitude. There was a small stock of cattle, and the land was consequently impoverished by lack of manure. Few of the great proprietors cultivated their own land; a contemporary writer calculated that only 300 nobles lived on their estates. France suffered from the same evil as has afflicted Ireland, absenteeism. Vauban, Bois-Guilbert, complained that the culti-

¹ The silver mark varied in value from 36 to 54 livres.

vator was despised. In 1720 a decree of the council of state was needed to allow the nobles to take, without loss of status, the lands of the princes of the blood to farm. In 1788 a writer declared that the position of a labourer was looked down upon in the central provinces, though less so in Brie, Beauce, and Picardy. This contempt resulted from the profound misery in which the peasants lived, ruined by taxes, *corvées*, restrictions placed on the grain trade, and above all by the seigniorial rights of keeping warrens, dovecots, and hunts, which were so many scourges for the fields of the poor. St. Simon relates that when it pleased a Lord of Thouars, he sent to the Lord of Oiron, his vassal, to say that he would hunt on such a day in his neighbourhood and that he should level so many yards of his park wall that there might be no obstacles in the way of the hunt if it chanced to run in that direction. The excellent roads constructed under Louis XV. were only between the great cities, and the majority of the present means of communication are of comparatively recent date. In most provinces, all roads except the main roads were impassable for eight months in the year. Montesquieu states that lands are productive, less owing to their natural state than to the liberty of their inhabitants.

Insecurity of Individual Liberty and Property.—*Lettres de cachet* placed individual liberty at the discretion of the ministers and their friends ; property was threatened with confiscation, a penalty attached to all the laws, by the arbitrary power of the crown to create new taxes, by justice which was not always impartial, and by those decrees of suspension which released the nobles from payment of their debts.

“ Pauvre, on l'aurait frappé d'un arrêt légitime ;
Il est puissant ; les rois ont ignoré son crime.”

Malesherbes, president of the court of *aides*, told the king, in his famous remonstrance : “ With the *lettres de cachet* in force, sire, every citizen is insecure from seeing his liberty sacrificed to vengeance, for no one is so great as to be securely sheltered from the hatred of a minister, and no one is so small as to be beneath the notice of a clerk of the farmers-general.”

Liberty of Conscience denied.—The most severe regulations were in force against the dissenters. In 1746, 200 Protestants were condemned by the parliament of Grenoble alone to the galleys or to confinement for their creed ; in 1762 the parliament of Toulouse hanged a pastor who had performed the functions of his office in Languedoc and executed three young

men of good family who had armed themselves for defence against a Catholic riot. The same magistrates caused the Protestant Calas to be broken on the wheel, accused of having slain his son, who was anxious according to report to become a Catholic, and who had as a matter of fact committed suicide. Sirven and his wife only escaped a like fate in 1762 by flight.

Severity and Weakness with Regard to the Press.—There was a censorship, and even more than one, there being a censorship of the king, one of the parliament, and one of the Sorbonne. But they were frequently in conflict with each other. A book permitted by one would be burned by another ; its price was raised and it circulated none the less, sometimes even under the protection of the ministers. The law inflicted the penalty of branding, the galleys, or death against the authors or sellers of books hostile to religion or the state ; some unwise persons allowed themselves to be taken, but in general the administration shut its eyes and this mixture of excessive severity and blind tolerance only served to arouse public curiosity. The decrees of prohibition were read in order that books might be selected to read. The age was certainly regarded with justice as the period in which, according to the definition of Abbé Galiani, eloquence consisted in the art of saying everything without being sent to the Bastille. Fréret was sent there for a dissertation on the Franks ; Leprévost de Beaumont, secretary of the clergy, was confined there for twenty-one years, until 1789, for having denounced in the parliament the *pacte de famine*.

General Misery.—All the evidence shows the terrible misery of the people. The peasants of Normandy lived largely on oats and dressed in skins. In Beauce, the granary of Paris, the farmers begged for part of the year. It was on occasion necessary to make bread of ferns. In a number of provinces the use of meat was unknown. According to one writer the consumption for three-quarters of the population of France in 1762 did not rise above a pound per head a month. Even the rich were poor, since the offices which they bought so dearly and which locked up such masses of capital were poorly paid by the state, hardly giving adequate interest on the money invested, while the vast estates, poorly cultivated, were unproductive. The doctor of Louis XV., Quesnay the *penseur*, as the king called him, estimated the total revenue from land, for the owners, at 76 millions only. The figure is doubtless too low, but it is certain that in the following century, while the population did not double, the produce of agriculture was quadrupled. In the same

period the amount of foodstuffs was increased three or four times and some old men remembered in the nineteenth century what wretched clothes the workmen, the men of the people, wore to protect them against the intemperate seasons.

“Certain wild animals,” says La Bruyère, “male and female, dark, pale, burned by the sun, might be seen spread over the countryside, bound to the soil which they dug and which they tilled with a strange obstinacy. They had an articulate voice and when they rose to their feet they displayed a human face ; in short, they were men. At night they retired into the hovels where they lived on black bread, water, and roots. They saved other men the trouble of sowing, working, and gathering for their food.” The moralist was here a faithful historian.

Insufficiency of Safeguards against Misery and Sickness.—Hospitals were not lacking, as they had been multiplied by Christian charity, but the national capital and the help which could be given were very limited ; bands of mendicants were constantly seen wandering over the countryside and alarming the towns. France had at that time some 800 civil hospitals, containing some 100,000 persons, but the mortality among them was frightful. At the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris it amounted to two in nine. Such was the insufficiency of supplies and the ignorance of the very simplest rules of hygiene that in this hospital, the richest in France, the sick of all kinds were herded together, even those who had infectious diseases, in the same rooms and even five or six in one bed, since there were only 1219 beds for 6000 individuals. At Bicêtre, said Necker in a report to the king, nine old men were found in one bed covered with rotten linen.

High Death-rate.—Having regard to all these circumstances, it is not surprising that the average duration of life was far less than it is at the present day.

Disaccord between Ideas and Institutions.—The Middle Ages, extinguished politically, survived in the social order. There was a profound disaccord between the constituent elements of society. As far as ideas and manners were concerned, the period was certainly the eighteenth century ; as far as customs and most institutions were concerned, France was still in the thirteenth century. From the time when this difference was felt, a revolution was near, since new ideas called necessarily for new institutions. But new institutions were not desired either by the court or by those who lived on abuses as if on an inheritance. If a minister spoke of reform he fell. The writers tried to pierce this darkness, which the government had formed round itself in

thick clouds ; a decree of the council absolutely forbade them to publish anything as to matters touching the public administration, and in 1768, twenty years before Mirabeau and the Constituent Assembly, some poor wretches were sent to the galleys for having sold some books, among them Voltaire's harmless production, *L'Homme aux Quarante Écus*.

Vauban: Bois-Guillebert: Fénelon: D'Argenson: Machault: Choiseul.—The government would have needed much glory and much strength to stamp out the torch which was illuminating public opinion. Louis XIV. had been successful while the torch still only threw out a few rare sparks ; Louis XV. failed to put out the growing flame. The ruinous abuses, the wounding inequalities, the vast disorder, and the prevalent misery provoked inquiry. Vauban and Bois-Guillebert had demanded economic reforms ; Fénelon demanded political reforms. Under the regency, the liberty and even the licence of thought corresponded to that of morals. The Duke of Bourbon in vain tried to check this impatient curiosity. Under his ministry the *Club de l'Entre-sol*, the first of its kind in France, was organised ; Fleury closed it. But at the same time, the Marquis d'Argenson, a future minister, in his *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de la France*, written before 1739, demanded decentralisation, the abandonment of all local administration to municipal and cantonal councils, freedom of external and internal commerce, and the application of election by ballot to royal officials. This marquis, this minister, was not afraid to write these words, " It may be said that the principles set forth in the present treatise would be favourable to democracy, would destroy the nobility. Let there be no mistake. I only demand that the most foolish prejudice should be cast away to obtain the two things most needed to support the well-being of the state, that all the citizens should be equal among themselves and that men should be the sons of their labours. The nobles are the drones of the hive." Here one of the articles of faith of the Revolution was already announced. Another minister, Machault, proposed to replace the *taille*, which was paid only by the commoners, by a land tax, to which the privileged, nobles as well as priests, should be subject. Choiseul also spoke of reforms ; to him, as to Colbert, the number of convents appeared to be excessive, and, like the States of Pontoise in 1561, he estimated that the suppression of the immunity of the Church from taxation in its vast domains would aid to a great degree in restoring the finances of the state, shattered as they were.

Increasing Mental Activity.—If such thought were formed in the minds of public men, it may be imagined what thought stirred those who undertook to examine social, political, and religious questions. Literature was not, as it had been in the previous century, confined within the domain of art; it had invaded all spheres and claimed to regulate all. The most virile minds in France appeared to be directed to the search for the public good. Men no longer laboured to produce good verses; they strove to produce good maxims. The caprices of society were no longer depicted for purposes of ridicule, but for purposes of reform. Literature became a weapon which all, the rash as well as the able, wished to use, and which striking out from all sides, without intermission, inflicted terrible and irremediable wounds. By a strange result, those who suffered most from this invasion of the political sphere by the writers were those who had most applauded. The society of the eighteenth century, frivolous, sensual, egoistical, had yet, in the midst of its vices, a taste for intellectual things. Talleyrand declared that those who had not lived in the years just before 1789 did not know the joy of life. Never were the salons so animated, politeness so exquisite, conversation so brilliant. Talent almost took the place of birth, and the nobles, with a smile on their lips and a chivalrous daring which recalled that of Fontenoy, fanned the flames of this stream of polemical literature which the sons of the bourgeoisie directed against them. Malesherbes says that there was then a noble enthusiasm which filled all minds.

Voltaire: Montesquieu: Rousseau.—Three men were the leaders of this movement, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau. Voltaire, whose true name was Arouet, was born in Paris in 1694, his father being a notary and a native of Poitou. He saw only the sad years of the great king, and was one of the most ardent adherents of that reaction which appeared against the pietist habits of the reign of Louis XIV. At the age of twenty-one he was placed in the Bastille for a satire on Louis XIV. which he had not written; so early did he pay for his reputation of wit and malice. Having begun his career with his tragedy of *Œdipe*, filled with threatening verses (1718), and *La Henriade*, an apology for religious toleration (1723), he soon secured a name and was sought everywhere. But he soon realised the inconveniences of the high aristocratic society in which he was placed from his youth, and for which he was fitted by his brilliant and nimble mind, his fine and delicate temperament. A Chevalier de Rohan-Chabot having spoken of him with impertinence,

was soon chastised by one of those bitter sarcasms which Voltaire was so capable of producing, and revenged himself in the noble manner by having the writer beaten by his lacqueys. Voltaire, having no lacqueys, demanded reparation. Rohan-Chabot, once more cowardly, secured from the minister the imprisonment in the Bastille of this impertinent commoner who dared to challenge a gentleman. Soon set free on condition that he went abroad, Voltaire visited England, "to learn how to think." He remained there three years and brought back with him a knowledge of Locke, Newton, and Shakespeare, an ardent love for liberty of mind and speech, and still more for political freedom. On his return, his plays *Brutus* and *La Morte de César* showed on the Frenchstage a reflection of the great English writer of tragedy, and his *Lettres anglaises* popularised the ideas of the wise philosopher and of the great astronomer. He did not escape persecution; his *Lettres anglaises* were burned by the common hangman.

Voltaire, who owed to Christian thought two of his great works, *Zaïre* and *Tancrède*, attacked the Church bitterly, and his first, his most sustained, efforts were directed against the spiritual rather than against the civil power. For his struggle he allied with sovereigns and was protected by them. He corresponded with Catherine the Great of Russia and with most of the German princes; he stayed at the court of Frederic II., a sceptical and literary prince, whose French verse he corrected. Finally he settled at the extremity of France, on the very frontier, that he might cross it at the first sign of danger, living at Ferney near Geneva. Thence there flew out on every wind light verse, letters, tragedies, romances, historical works, writings on science and philosophy which spread throughout Europe.

For good or ill, Voltaire represented his age. He was indifferent to the moral disorder, and if it was covered by a brilliant exterior he inclined to regard it as one elegance the more. As he grew old with the century, he adopted, like his time, more serious thoughts. Social evil became his personal enemy and the love of justice his most ardent passion. He succoured and defended the victims of judicial blunders; he was never weary of denouncing the numerous defects of legislation, jurisprudence, and public administration, and all the reforms which he desired in the civil order have been accomplished since his time. He was, in a measure, for fifty years the intellectual ruler of Europe, and justly merited the hatred of those who wished the world

to remain immobile, the admiration of such who conceived society as bound to work unceasingly for its material and moral amelioration.

The President Montesquieu (1689-1755), a man of calmer and graver mind, though he wrote the *Lettres persanes* (1721), apparently a light, but really a profound and terrible satire, spent twenty years in writing a single book, *L'Esprit des Lois*, but in it he raised an immortal monument to himself. "The human race has lost its title-deeds; M. de Montesquieu seeks to recover them," said Voltaire. Montesquieu sought out and explained the reason for civil and political laws; he explained the nature of governments; and if he condemned nothing, if the idea of change disturbed him, his preference was none the less clear for that English liberty which he offered for the admiration of France. When he visited Great Britain in 1729 he wrote, "In London there is liberty and equality." He was in error with regard to England, but sixty years before 1789 he produced the motto of the Revolution.

Rousseau, the son of a watchmaker of Geneva (1712-1778), only began to write in the middle of a long life, filled with errors, sorrow, and disappointment. At the age of thirty-eight he composed his first book, *Discours contre les Sciences et les Arts*; his second book, *L'Origine de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, was another attack on the whole social order. In *L'Émile* he sketched a chimerical plan of education; in *Le Contrat social* he proclaimed the principle of national sovereignty and of universal suffrage, placing beside these great truths errors no less great, always expressing himself with singular eloquence.

The eighteenth century, at once so young and so old, had conventional feelings; it only knew the human soul as it appeared in the pursuit of pleasure, nature as depicted in the boudoirs and gardens of Versailles. Rousseau gave this frivolous society a vigorous impulse which turned it back to natural feelings; in his *Nouvelle Héloïse* he opened its eyes to real nature and to true passions; he created poetry which has lived.

The political influence of these three men can be traced in the three great epochs of the Revolution. That of Voltaire appears in the universal enthusiasm of 1789; that of Montesquieu in the constitution-making of the National Assembly; that of Rousseau in the ideas, if not in the bloody acts, of the fierce dreamers of the Convention.

Near these great writers, in another and less disturbed atmosphere, but still in a lofty sphere, is to be found Buffon, a serene

and majestic mind, like that nature which he has painted so inimitably.

Of a lower rank were Diderot, a prolific and unequal writer ; d'Alembert, a great mathematician attempting to organise the army of philosophers. These two men founded the *Encyclopædia*, the first volume of which appeared in 1751, a vast review of all human knowledge, everything being set forth in a new light, often threatening for the social order and always hostile to religion. Some famous debaters went still further ; Helvetius in his work *L'Esprit* ; Baron Holbach in his *Système de la Nature* ; Lamettrie in his *Homme Machine* ; the Abbé Raynal in his *Histoire philosophique des deux Indes*.

The Chancellor d'Aguesseau occupies a place apart ; his great reforms composed the code of Louis XV. A place apart too must be given to the moralist Vauvernagues, who wrote the line, " Great thoughts come from the heart " ; to Abbé de Condillac, a powerful analyst ; to his brother, Abbé de Mably, a bold publicist ; and to the Marquis de Condorcet, who, afterwards condemned with the Girondins, composed as he awaited death his *Esquisse de Progrès de l'Esprit humain*.

The Economists.—The philosophers attacked everything ; the economists claimed only to deal with material things. In the seventeenth century it was held that a nation could only be rich if it bought little and sold much. Quesnay showed that the precious metals are a sign of wealth and not wealth itself, and found actual wealth in agriculture. Gournay held that wealth lay in industry. The theory of Adam Smith, who lived long in France, was more general ; to him wealth lay in labour, and labour could be applied in three ways, agriculture, industry, and commerce. His pupils recognised a fourth way, intellectual labour, in the arts, literature, and science.

Thus human thought, which had long been confined to purely metaphysical speculation, or limited to the abstract cult of the muses, now claimed to deal with the most difficult problems which confronted human society. All, economists and philosophers alike, found in liberty the solution for the problems of the world. The school of Quesnay had a famous maxim, *Laissez faire, laissez passer*, which was applied for a time in the edicts of 1754 and 1764, edicts which allowed free trade in grain, and were to be proclaimed again by Turgot at a later date. D'Argenson had said the same thing in other words, *Pas trop gouverner*.

Arts.—There were two sides to the literature of the period, one serious, one frivolous. The arts were only frivolous. Exclu-

sive attention being paid to the search for beauty led to forgetfulness of the beauty of lines and types. Charming works were produced ; the houses of the rich were decorated with spirit and coquettish elegance. But no great statue, no great painting resulted. As Versailles was deserted for the life of the boudoir, architects reduced their plans to the modest requirements of a society which had no longer the grand manner of the previous age.

Sciences.—The more austere sciences paved the way for their accession and empire by beginning, in regard to the physical world, that vast work of investigation which literature had undertaken in the political and moral sphere. But the great discoveries and the great men, except Buffon, do not belong to the reign of Louis XV. Reaumur, who invented the thermometer which bears his name ; Clairaut and d'Alembert, who developed mathematical analysis ; the botanists Adanson and Bernard de Jussieu ; La Caille, who went to the Cape of Good Hope in 1750 to make a map of the southern sky ; Bouguer and La Condamine, who travelled in 1736 in the tropics, while Clairaut and Maupertuis travelled in the arctic regions, to determine the measure of the degree and the shape of the earth, all belong to this period. The Piedmontese Lagrange, born of French parents, was retained at Berlin by the favours of Frederic II., and Lavoisier had not yet mastered the ideas which were to revolutionise chemistry.

Increasing Power and Demands of Public Opinion.—All this intellectual activity resulted in the creation in France of a new power, public opinion, and the government began to feel its influence. The nation, for some time the indifferent spectator of all these efforts, began to take an interest in them, began to think of reforms and to demand change. There was a desire that the administration should no longer be a fearful labyrinth in which the ablest were lost; that the public finances should no longer be plundered ; that all should be secure in their persons and property ; that the criminal code should be less bloodthirsty and the civil code more equitable. Religious toleration was demanded in place of dogma imposed by fear of death ; it was asked that law should be founded on the principles of natural right and reason, not on arbitrary will or the inequality and confusion of 384 provincial customs ; that there should be unity of weights and measures instead of the most extreme disorder ; that taxes should be paid by all instead of poverty being taxed while wealth was left free ; that labour should be delivered from servitude and that there should be freedom in

choice of occupation instead of the monopoly of corporations ; that public offices should be open to all instead of being confined to those privileged by wealth or birth ; and that there should be a lively interest in the welfare of the many, instead of indifference. In a word, the demand was that there should be equality before the law and that liberty should be regulated by right. These demands were so vigorous and so general that the need of reform was realised by all who were clear-sighted. No more tremendous movement has had more prophets to sound the alarm. Catinat, Vauban, St. Simon, and even Leibnitz were alarmed as to the future while Louis XIV. yet lived. As early as 1707, a magistrate, Bois-Guillebert, said, " A trial is approaching between those who pay and those who have only to receive." In 1710 Fénelon said, " The machinery of state is old and goes on with the impulse once given to it ; it will collapse at the first shock." The only woman who ever roused Louis XV. from his torpor, the Duchess of Chateauroux, foresaw a great upheaval if no remedies were applied. At home and abroad there was the same feeling ; Lord Chesterfield and the philosopher Kant were agreed. " All the signs that I have ever found in history as portending great revolutions are to be found in France to-day and become constantly more apparent," said Chesterfield. " Before the close of the century, half the power of the king and the priesthood will have been destroyed."

As the century advanced and as national shame increased, as Rosbach was followed by the *Parc-au-Cerfs* and the *Pacte de famine*, voices, at first satirical, later severe and terrible, were heard. The reign which began with the *Lettres persanes* ended with the *Contrat social*. Some hoped, others feared. Rousseau was consulted in 1761 by a councillor of the parliament of Paris on the choice of a refuge in Switzerland ; he said, " The letter did not greatly surprise me since with him and many others I foresee that the decline of the constitution in France threatens an approaching collapse of the social order." Two years later, the parliament of Rouen said to the king himself, " Evils are at their height and foretell a most terrible future." Voltaire wrote (April 2, 1764) to the Marquis de Chauvelin, " All that I see around me sows the seeds of a revolution which will infallibly arrive and which I shall not have the pleasure of beholding. The French advance slowly, but they will arrive in the end. Light is so spread from one to another that at the first opportunity it will blaze out and then there will be a fine noise. The young men are fortunate ; they will see these fine things."

The fine things were unfortunately mingled with terrible catastrophes which might have been prevented if the wishes of the people had been met sooner. In the second half of the century all enlightened governments, roused by French ideas, saw the need of effecting numerous reforms. Kings and ministers set to work: Pombal in Portugal; Ferdinand IV., Charles III., and Aranda in Spain; Tanucci in Naples; the Grand Duke Leopold in Tuscany; Joseph II. in Austria; Frederic II. in Prussia, reformed the laws, destroyed privileges and abuses, and exacted from the nobles and clergy important sacrifices, while increasing their own power. They dug canals, increased the number of roads, encouraged industry, commerce, and agriculture; they sought, and sometimes successfully, to increase the wealth of their subjects and the well-being of their states in order to augment their own wealth. Everywhere the talk was of justice, toleration, and philanthropy, though diplomacy was still able to have recourse to the most Machiavellian methods. In a word, governments effected reforms though without reforming themselves. The Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel wrote an excellent moral treatise, *Pensées divers sur les Princes*; he sent it to Voltaire and received from the prince of philosophers the most gracious praise, and at the same time sold to England 12,000 of his subjects. In France also, in the first part of the reign of Louis XVI., there were attempts at reform, and it was only after their failure that the Revolution broke out.

CHAPTER LVIII

REIGN OF LOUIS XVI. TO THE REVOLUTION (1775-1789)

Louis XVI.—The new king, grandson of Louis XV., was only twenty years old. He was a prince of pure mind and virtuous habits but of little spirit. He showed great timidity in character and speech; he was full of good intentions, but was unhappily too weak to be able to impose his will on those around him. While he was still the dauphin he said one day to a countess who reproached him for his serious manner in the midst of the frivolity of his grandfather's court, "I wish to be called Louis the Serious." And history, in looking for a surname for him, has found none more suitable than that which she also gave to the successor of Charlemagne.

Louis remitted the tax of the *joyeux avènement*; he reformed

the law which governed the *taille*; and to make his first act a popular one he recalled the parliament. If he showed his weakness in calling back to the ministry the old and futile Maurepas, he showed his love of equity by dismissing Maupeou and Terray, whom he replaced by Malesherbes and Turgot. He made another honest man, the Count of St. Germain, his minister of war; the latter wished to reorganise the finances and the administration, but attempting too many things at once, his good ideas were badly carried out and were only prejudicial to the general cause of reform.

Malesherbes and Turgot (1774-1776).—Lamoignon de Malesherbes, one of the greatest forces for good in the eighteenth century, had been since 1750 president of the court of *aides* and director of the library. At the court of *aides* he never lost an opportunity of reminding the government that the welfare of the country demanded economical administration. As director of the library he favoured the spirit of reform and innovation with which literature was then animated. This gained him an immense popularity among men of letters, but the king soon called him to the office of minister of the royal household, a post which carried with it the responsibility for the police of the kingdom. From the beginning of 1771 he had demanded the convocation of the States-General; many years later, in 1787, he secured for the Protestants the return to their rightful status in civil life.

Turgot, a man of superior mind, had both virtue and science. He was one of those who regarded liberty as a mirror of public morality and at the same time a source of wealth, being a mobile power for work. He was *Intendant* of Limoges from 1761; while there he suppressed the *corvées*, made roads, and popularised the use of the potato. By wise and generous measures, such as the institution of charitable bureaux, the free sale of grain, and the sacrifice of his private fortune, he kept this poor province from experiencing the scourge of famine. From his entry into the ministry (July 20, 1774) he dissented from the disastrous advice which unscrupulous men were giving the king; his advice to the king was, "No bankruptcy, no augmentation of taxes, no loans." Without having recourse to these usual methods, he found means in a year and a half to wipe off more than 100 millions of debt. To help and enlighten the government he wished to appoint from among the rural and urban proprietors municipalities charged with the assessment of taxes; the superintendence of public works; the care of the poor; and

the bringing before ministers of the ideas and wishes of the people on all local questions. Below these communal municipalities and drawn from them by election, he wished to form smaller public bodies ; later on, when the nation had become accustomed to administer its own affairs in a small way, he would have created municipalities of provinces, and finally a municipality of the whole kingdom.

These were great innovations and Turgot projected others even more revolutionary ; the abolition of the *corvées* which weighed heavily on the poor ; the establishment of a territorial tax for the nobility and clergy, with rebatement to those curés and vicars who had only small salaries, and suppression with regard to monasteries ; the equal distribution of the tax by the compilation of a register of lands ; liberty of conscience and the recall of the Protestants ; redemption of feudal rents ; one law, one system of weights and measures for the whole kingdom ; suppression of *jurandes* and *maitrises* (wardens and masters, government officials who hampered industry) ; free thought as well as free commerce and industry ; in fact—as Turgot occupied himself with moral as well as material needs—a vast plan of public instruction which was to shed new light over the whole nation.

Reforms of Turgot : Opposition of the Privileged Classes.—

These reforms were nothing less than a revolution. The interests they menaced made violent attacks on the minister ; he could only proceed slowly and gradually. He did first what was most necessary. At that time grain was not allowed to be sent out of the province in which it had been harvested, even in the interior of a province where commerce had many difficulties to contend with. Turgot did away with these disastrous monopolies by authorising the free circulation of grain and flour throughout the kingdom. His enemies hastened to say that even exportation would be permitted, some even said it was already taking place. The people were troubled by the idea of their grain being sent abroad ; they were made to fear famine, and that is the surest means of causing it. Risings took place in the country districts ; troops of brigands—who, it was suspected, were paid to make trouble, though it was not known by whom—dared to show themselves even at Versailles, and robbed the bakers' shops in Paris (May, 1775).

A more violent agitation against Turgot took place when he suggested to the king the substitution for the *corvées* of a tax to be paid by the proprietors. The measure came before the

magistrates ; private interests made them forget justice, and the parliament—which had often spoken of the welfare of the people—began a struggle, in defence of an obvious abuse, against Turgot, the minister who was first of all a reformer. The measure was only registered in a *lit-de-justice* and then only after it had been asserted that “ the people are liable to the *taille* and the *corvées* at pleasure ; that is a part of the constitution which the king is powerless to alter.” The nobles said, “ If the king were able to force us to contribute to the *corvées* he would also be able to enforce it in kind and make us work on the roads.”¹ And the king said, “ I know well that only M. Turgot and myself have the welfare of the people at heart.” (March, 1776.) The giving of liberty to industry, as Turgot had already wished to give it to commerce, added still more to the number of his enemies.

Weakness of the King.—Maurepas, the chief minister, secretly undermined Turgot's credit with the king ; the queen attacked the controller-general, who would talk of nothing but economy ; Louis XVI., in spite of excellent intentions, began to grow tired of the experiments to which Turgot gave himself ; Louis left these utopian dreams to think out vast designs of his own which were impossible to carry out. One day when Turgot came to consult him, Louis said, “ Look what I am working at.” He was composing a memorandum about the destruction of rabbits in the neighbouring countryside. At other times he would be interested in the trade of locksmiths ; in drawing maps ; or he would leave everything for a long day's hunting. Such were the occupations of the King of France—France on the brink of the Revolution ! When the Emperor Joseph II. went to France in 1777 to study closely, and not without secret envy, her industries and arts, he learned with surprise that his brother-in-law, far from having visited his towns and provinces, had never even seen the *Invalides* or the Military School. Henry IV. was the bravest soldier in his own army ; his son also was a good fighter. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. took their part in the battles of France. Their successor was unknown in the army. The monarchy had little by little retired from national life to grow weary in the solemn idleness of Versailles. The phenomenon which had already three times constituted the history of France, under the last of the Valois, under the *rois fainéants* who had allowed the crown of Clovis, of Charlemagne, and of St. Louis to fall from their heads, now appeared again. The royal race wore

¹ The *corvées* were originally exactions of statute labour.

itself out in the atmosphere of the court just as great trees, whose sap begins to run dry, fade away and die miserably.

Dismissal of Turgot (1776): Suppression of his Reforms.—Malesherbes, the upright friend and colleague of Turgot, was like him pursued by the anger of the privileged classes ; he fell first ; he was given his dismissal. Turgot, made of stronger stuff, waited for his ; he would never have forsaken the post in which he knew he could do good had he not been driven away from it. On the 12th of May, 1776, he was commanded to leave the ministry. He wrote to the king, " I wish only that you may always be able to think I have been wrong ; that what I have shown you were only chimerical dangers. I hope that my forebodings may not be justified and that your reign may be as happy, as peaceful as your people have reason to expect from your principles of justice and beneficence." Only those who had looked far ahead and who saw the revolution coming mourned the fall of Turgot. Voltaire addressed to him his *Épître à un Homme* and André Chénier praised him in his *Hymne à la France*.

Barely four months had passed before the king granted to the privileged classes the re-establishment of the *corvées* and the *maitrises*. Turgot and Malesherbes were succeeded by nonentities, Amelot, Clugny, Taboureau des Réaux. Maurepas, now a frivolous old man in his seventy-sixth year, who governed by epigrams, dreaded those who disturbed his peace of mind by showing him the ever-widening abyss in front of the nation. " At least no one can accuse me," he said, on calling Amelot to the ministry, " of choosing this man for his spirit."

Necker (1776-1781).—The American War was about to begin. An ordinance of June 10th, 1776, ordered the arming of twenty ships of the line. In order to meet the new expenses, with already a large deficit in the Budget, an able man was needed. Recourse was had to Necker, a banker of Geneva, who had a great reputation as a financier. His banking transactions had already been considerable under Louis XV. ; and he had more than once received from the controller-general letters conceived in the style of a debtor in his last extremity. " We implore you to help us. We remember your affection for the reputation of the treasury." Necker was called to the administration of the treasury, the deplorable state of which had been revealed to him. As he was a Protestant and a foreigner, he was only given the title of Director of Finance (October, 1776). He had neither the greatness nor the force of Turgot, though he also proposed the institution of provincial assemblies in the cause of financial

administration: he had not the great political conceptions of Turgot. In some ways Necker lacked initiative and settled opinions; he thought the evil which was destroying France might be fought by expedients and partial reforms. He was animated by the most generous feelings; he worked solely for the good of the people and hoped in that way to make a name for himself. For five years he supported with honour a position rendered difficult by the mean and jealous character of Maurepas, the indolence of the king, and the greed of the courtiers. He had to deal with the deficit which Turgot had neither the time nor the means to wipe out; to provide for the expenses of the American War and for the enormous expenses of a court encumbered with officials and servants of every imaginable description. He succeeded without adding to the taxes, without stringent economies in the court; but by a reduction in the cost of the collection of the taxes and by a thousand small reforms; by a loan of 490 millions which was raised for the most part by the sale of annuities. It was all very well to call it public credit, but borrowing entails a heavy burden, it was merely delaying the problem, not solving it; and under this honest administration of an able banker, who was not however a great minister, the danger which threatened France continued to grow. Necker, to complete the misfortune, counted on peace in the future—and who may foretell the future?

Necker fell two years before the Revolution. The occasion of his downfall was his famous *Compte rendu de l'état des finances*, published in 1781, a statement which created a great stir; it was incomplete, because he only showed the income and expenditure of normal times. It did not mention the loans nor the expenses of the war. The income appeared to be 10 million more than the expenditure. The public was delighted with what met its eyes; it did not know that it saw only the veil which hid the real state of the finances: Necker's publication was received with great applause. The capitalists demanded 236 millions from the minister. But the court was annoyed by this appeal to the public. If daylight was allowed to enter into the financial administration what would become of the innumerable pensions; of the habitual plunder and pillage that went on there? Maurepas gave the signal for the attack. The *Compte rendu* had appeared in a blue cover: "Have you read the blue fairy tale?" he asked every one; the saying took the public fancy and the hostility which had succeeded so well against Turgot recommenced against his successor. Parliament thought its political

rôle was threatened, and so it was, for Necker wished to confine it to judicial affairs : it fought against the edict for the establishment of provincial assemblies. The courtiers strove by evil-speaking to decry the minister who was ruining them by setting the financial affairs of the state in order, whose retrenchments reached even to their little perquisites and profits ; who suppressed the *coureurs de vin*, the *hâteurs de rô*t, the *galopins* of the royal household, and many other offices of this kind which the king gave to his gentlemen, who then sold them for a good price because the buyer saw a way to make a large profit out of them. Louis XVI. gave way to the clamours of his court, and when Necker, his patience exhausted, offered his resignation, the king accepted it (May 21, 1781). It was a real calamity for the people ; nothing was spoken of but Necker's retreat ; the theatres were full of allusions to his downfall ; the great nobles went to see him in his house at St. Ouen ; Joseph II. and the Empress of Russia wrote to him. Besides his financial reforms several great ideas had marked his administration ; he had enfranchised the serfs of the royal domains ; destroyed the *droit de suite*, which gave to the overlord all property acquired by his fugitive serf in a foreign country ; he abolished the *question préparatoire*. Some of the nobles who still possessed serfs followed the king's example and enfranchised them : the chapter of St. Cloud exacted an indemnity of 25,000 écus (an écu was generally six francs) for enfranchising the serfs belonging to it.

The American War (1778-1783) : La Fayette.—The Seven Years' War, so favourable politically to England, had none the less ruined her finances and given her a national debt of $2\frac{1}{2}$ milliards,¹ which represented an annual interest of 88 million francs. The mother-country thought she would spread part of this heavy burden over the colonies. She put a tax on stamps, on glass, on paper, and on tea. Public feeling forced her to abandon these taxes : she only kept the last. But the people of Boston, invoking the great principle of the English constitution that no tax must be levied unless it has been voted by the representatives of the people, threw overboard a cargo of tea which had come from London rather than pay the duty. War broke out (1775). Insurrection spread over all the provinces : the following year their deputies reunited in a general congress at Philadelphia, published the Declaration of Independence which embodied the following principles ; they seem almost to emanate from the soul and the philosophy of France : " All men are created equal : they

¹ A milliard is a thousand millions. The word is now rarely used.

are given certain unalterable rights by the Creator : to assure themselves of the enjoyment of these rights men have established governments, whose authority emanates from those governed : whenever any form of agreement whatsoever becomes destructive of the aims for which it was established the people have the right to change or abolish it."

France hailed with enthusiasm a revolution in which she recognised her own influence. During their stay in Paris the three American deputies, Arthur Lee, Silas Deane, and above all the aged Franklin, so celebrated already as a doctor, received perpetual ovations. The young nobility, uplifted by their philosophical ideas and anxious to wipe out the shame of the Seven Years' War by fighting their hated rival, demanded that they should be allowed to set out in force for America. The Marquis de la Fayette, already nearly eighty years old, left his young wife and chartered a ship which he armed and in which he would have set sail for America, but the government feared a break with England. Turgot had insisted that France should remain neutral, foreseeing that England would gain more by recognising the independence of her colonies than by holding them beneath the yoke. De Vergennes contented himself with sending help indirectly in the form of arms, money, and munitions, which Beaumarchais undertook to convey. Louis XVI. had no taste for war ; above all he did not wish to be the aggressor and perhaps he made to himself in his heart the same arguments as those which an English pamphlet addressed to him. "You arm, imprudent king! You arm to uphold the independence of America and the rulings of Congress. But there is a power which is rising in our day, below the laws : it is that of ambition and reason : it is now conducting a revolution in America ; perhaps it is preparing one in France. The legislators of America declare themselves disciples of the philosophy of France : they carry out what France has dreamed of. Do the French philosophers not aspire to be legislators in their own country ? . . . Would it not be a great danger to put the flower of your officers in touch with these enthusiasts of liberty ? You will be uneasy—too late—when you hear in your court the vague and plausible axioms which were thought out and formulated in the backwoods of America. After shedding their blood for a cause which they call that of liberty, how will your subjects respect your dictatorial commands ? Where do you hope to find security when the statue of the King of England is broken to pieces in America, when the people devote themselves to insult-

ing his name ? England will terribly revenge your hostile designs, your government will be examined, judged, and condemned after the principles proposed at Philadelphia, principles which are applauded in your capital ! ” These were prophetic words. But Louis XVI. allowed himself to be misled, and on the 6th of February he signed a treaty of commerce corroborating an offensive and defensive alliance with America if England declared war on France. The English ambassador was at once recalled.

D’Orvilliers, d’Estaing, and Guichen.—It was fortunate for France that Choiseul had reorganised her navy. A fleet of twelve ships of the line and four frigates left Toulon for America (1778) under Count d’Estaing. Another fleet was assembled at Brest to fight in European waters ; and an army prepared to make an attack on England. The fight of the frigate *La Belle-Poule*, which dismasted an English frigate, made a glorious opening to the hostilities ; and the Count d’Orvilliers, who sailed from Brest with thirty-two ships, decided the supremacy of the two fleets in the Battle of Ouessant, fought against Admiral Keppel (July 27). Not to have obtained the victory was for England to have been beaten. Count d’Estaing was able to carry the day in a brilliant success against Admiral Howe who was in inferior force ; but his fleet was scattered by a storm and he intentionally ran aground in an attempt on St. Lucia, of which the English had taken possession, while Bouille took Domingo.

The fruits of Choiseul’s policy were reaped in this way. He had renewed the alliance between France and Spain ; Spain had offered its mediation, which England had refused. Urged by the Count of Vergennes, who suggested the reconquering of Gibraltar, Minorca, and the Floridas, Spain declared war on England and allied her fleet to that of France (1779). Count d’Orvilliers with sixty-six ships of the line laid his course for Plymouth : a storm scattered his fleet and saved England from disaster. France consoled herself for having lost the fruit of this great effort by the capture of Grenada by d’Estaing, who was the first to seize on the enemy entrenchments. This event made a considerable stir in Paris. Admiral Rodney found himself detained on account of debts which he could not meet. One day when he dined with the Marshal de Biron, he treated the success of the French navy with disdain, saying that if he were at liberty he would justify his opinions. The marshal shortly afterwards paid Rodney’s debts : “ Go, sir,” he said, “ go and try to make good your promises : the French will not take advantage of obstacles which prevent your fulfilling them.”

This chivalrous generosity cost France dear. Rodney vanquished five Spanish men-of-war off Cape St. Vincent, relieved Gibraltar, where he revictualled his ships, and engaged in three battles with the French fleet under Count de Guichen off the Antilles. But Guichen held the victory to be indecisive and took in his turn an English convoy of sixty vessels, with spoil valued at 50 millions.

Armed Neutrality.—A check received by Count d'Estaing before Savannah compromised the American cause for a short time. But a vast coalition was formed against the maritime despotism of England. To prevent France and Spain from receiving the necessary naval munitions from the north, the English stopped and searched all neutral vessels. That gave rise to vexations and abuses, and interfered with the commerce of neutral countries. Catherine II. proclaimed (August, 1780) the "privilege of the flags," on the condition that they did not shelter contraband of war, powder, bullets, cannon, and such like ; to uphold this principle she proposed an armed neutrality which was accepted successively by Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, and Holland. England, highly incensed, declared war on Holland, the weakest and most vulnerable of the neutral powers. Rodney descended on St. Eustatius, one of the Dutch colonies of the Antilles, where he took booty to the value of 16 millions : the brave Lamothe-Piquet, however, captured it from him when he was already within sight of the English coast.

Success of the Count de Grasse and the Bailiff of Suffren.—The year 1781 was the most successful for France in this war. The Count de Grasse had a series of brilliant victories. "He stands six foot high," one of his marines said, "and six foot one inch on the day of battle." His victories contributed to those which Washington, Rochambeau, and La Fayette won in America. On the 11th of October, 1781, they forced General Cornwallis to capitulate in Yorktown with 7000 men, 6 men-of-war, and 50 merchant vessels. This feat of arms was decisive for American independence. The English, who still occupied New York, Savannah, and Charleston, could do nothing but defend themselves. At the same time the Marquis de Bouille retook St. Eustatius ; the Duke de Crillon took Minorca, and Suffren, one of the greatest naval heroes of France, won four great victories (February to September, 1782). He and Haider-Ali, the Sultan of Mysore, had great plans for the destruction of the English domination in that continent ; but peace put an end to their designs.

Battle of Saintes.—In the Antilles the English kept no important island except Jamaica ; and De Grasse tried to take it from them in 1782. Attacked by superior forces under Rodney, he was defeated and taken prisoner ; on board his ship there were only three men left unwounded. The Battle of Saintes had great influence on public opinion. It seemed to be forgotten that this was the first battle France had lost in this war.

Siege of Gibraltar.—The able defence of Gibraltar against the combined forces of France and Spain was another check. This siege had given rise to universal hope in France. The Count of Artois, brother of Louis XVI., had obtained the king's permission to fight. Twenty thousand men and forty ships blockaded the place, 200 cannon on land and 10 batteries afloat opened a tremendous fire against the rock on the 12th of September. It was defended by its impregnable position and the courage of Eliot, the English governor. Attacked with a ferocity never before equalled, Gibraltar soon found itself in a desperate situation. It had launched in vain 600 red-hot cannon balls against the floating batteries, till at last one of them struck the *Tailla Pedra*, and burned its way through the ship to the powder magazine, which exploded with terrific force. The fire spread to the two neighbouring batteries, and the Spaniards, in order that the English might not gain possession of the others, set them also on fire. Twelve thousand men perished in this siege and Gibraltar remained with the English.

Treaty of Versailles (1783).—But England had lost the fame of invincibility at sea, suffered heavily in her commerce, and added 2½ milliards of francs to the national debt. Lord North, the head of the war party, left the ministry and was replaced by Whigs (1782) who sent peace proposals to Versailles. France, on her side, had spent 1400 millions ; but she had obtained a great and noble result : the Independence of the United States. Peace was signed on the 3rd of September, 1783. It was an honourable peace for France, it annulled the infamous article of the Treaty of Utrecht regarding Dunkirk ; it gave Minorca to Spain, and obtained for France the restitution of Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahé, and Surat in India ; Tobago and St. Lucia in the Antilles ; the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon with the right of fishing at Terra Novo ; Gorée and Senegal in Africa. This was the last triumph of the old monarchy. "What an empire!" cried Joseph II. on seeing a French fleet set sail from Brest, "What an empire! The earth and the sea!"

Within two years the Treaty of Versailles announced a com-

mercial treaty between France and England. It was signed in 1786 and substituted for the existing prohibition a duty proportional to the value of the goods common to the merchandise of both countries. This treaty was the first step taken by England towards a new commercial policy, a policy which put liberty in the place of prohibition. Another treaty with Russia in 1787 opened to France a country which had hitherto been exploited by the Dutch and English alone.

France at this time held out a helping hand to a small people to help them to rise to the rank of a nation. Her subsidies to Sweden, her intention, openly declared, of supporting Gustave III., had acted as a curb to the shameless ambition of Prussia and Russia. France had also helped to deliver Bavaria, the country where the two German powers met to fight, from the attacks of Austria, by compelling Austria and Prussia to accept the mediation of France and Russia (Treaty of Teschen, 1779). The diplomacy of France was thus as successful as her arms.

Progress of Science.—The forward movement which had prevailed in this century continued its course and swept the arts along with it. Greuze, by the simple and gracious *naïveté* of his art, and Vien, the master of David, reigned supreme in painting; Grétry and Rameau in music. There were remarkable public works: canals between the Seine and the Saône and between the Saône and the Loire; the great dyke at Cherbourg, one of the greatest works ever accomplished by man—all these enterprises were commenced. The great minds of the age were full of serious enthusiasm. Sciences were created and became more generally studied. Lavoisier succeeded in decomposing water and by this one act transformed chemistry and with it modern industry. (*Théorie de la Calcination des Métaux*, 1775.) The Abbé of Épée founded his institution for deaf-mutes in 1778; Valentin Haüy his for the blind in 1784; Pinet affirmed that those mentally deranged were not necessarily dangerous, that they did not always need to be locked up, but might in some cases be cured. Turgot established a chair of hydrodynamics to foster the knowledge required for the great hydraulic enterprises he meditated. In 1778 a chair of mineralogy was founded; Abbé Haüy founded the Royal Society of Medicine; the Veterinary College of Alfont was begun in 1780; the School of Mines in 1788; the Academy of Sciences was enriched in 1787 by the foundation of special sections dealing with natural history, agriculture, mineralogy, and physical science, which thus brought the sciences for the first time within the reach of the

public. Seven years earlier an Englishman, Edward Jenner, had discovered a vaccine against smallpox, a scourge which ravaged humanity ; agriculture saw two great advances, the introduction of maize into France and the beginning of the silk-worm industry ; Parmentier added to the foodstuffs of the country by popularising the use of the potato¹ (1779). Daubenton introduced into France that Spanish breed of sheep known as merinos. Two years later the Marquis de Jeffroy made the first attempt at steam navigation, an attempt which had unfortunately no results. But Galvani of Bologna proved in 1791 the curious electrical phenomena called by his name, galvanism ; Volta of Como invented the electric pile, which opened up new paths to chemistry. Finally, in the same year which saw the reunion of the States-General, Laurent de Jussieu determined for purposes of botanical classification the *subordination of characters* which as afterwards worked out by Cuvier gave new life to the natural sciences.

At the same time bold and learned navigators, the English Wallis and Cook, the French Bougainville and La Pérouse, completed the work of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama by achieving the survey of the whole globe, and in the face of many dangers and at the hazard of their own lives discovering and making known the great trade routes. Thus were the natural sciences applied to useful ends, while the moral sciences tended to political reform. This involuntary accord announced the approach of a new era.

Death of Voltaire and Rousseau.—The press became more active and more daring. One of Turgot's friends wrote a work on the *inconveniences of feudal law* which the parliament ordered to be burned : the first number of the *Journal de Paris*—a daily paper to satisfy the restless curiosity of the public—appeared on January 1, 1777. The greatest homage was paid to those great men who led the thought of the time. Voltaire, who was at that time eighty-four years old, came to Paris and lived in the house of the Marquis de Villette at the corner of the Rue de Beaune and the Quai des Théatins, now called the Quai Voltaire. His salons were thronged with an immense crowd which even extended to the space beneath his windows. Franklin took his

¹ The potato, which was brought from Peru in the sixteenth century, was thought to infect those who ate it with fevers and even with leprosy. Parmentier had it analysed in 1778 and obtained leave to sow thirty-four acres of the plain of Sablons, up till then a barren waste. People thought him mad, but the plant grew, the flowers appeared ; he made a bouquet of them which he presented to Louis XVI., who put one of the flowers in his buttonhole. The cause of the potato was won.

little grandson to receive Voltaire's blessing ; the patriarchal De Ferney¹ put his hand on the child's head : " God and liberty," he said, " that is the only suitable benediction for a grandchild of Franklin." He went to the Académie française who assembled to receive him, an honour which was not accorded even to kings. He went to the Comédie française where—as a contemporary writer puts it—" France took him in her arms." When he appeared in the box the whole house rose and broke into applause. Voltaire, leaning forward, cried : " Fellow-countrymen, you will make me die of pleasure." A crown was put on his head ; he at once sent it to Madame Villette, but the Prince of Beauveau replaced it on the head of Voltaire. The play was about to begin : it was the first night of *Irène*. When it was over the curtain rose again ; the bust of Voltaire was seen in the centre of the stage, surrounded by the actors. The bust was covered with flowers and remained on the stage during the next piece, which was also by Voltaire, *Nanine*, one of his best comedies. He only survived these triumphs by two months : he died on the 30th May, 1778 : his body was laid in the Abbey of Sellières, but was afterwards removed in 1791 to the Pantheon.

Rousseau, his rival in fame and influence, soon followed him (July 3). He died alone, as he had lived, in the quiet retreat which the Marquis de Girardin had begged him to accept at Ermenonville. His modest tomb rests on a little island surrounded by poplars, which has become a place of pilgrimage for the admirers of his genius. Montesquieu had died in 1755. Of the four great writers of the century Buffon alone survived ; he did not pass away till 1788 at the age of eighty-one years ; he was still to give the world a fine work in his *Époques de la Nature* (1778), a book which was very popular at that time. Far below Voltaire and Rousseau, but inheriting something of their spirit, were Beaumarchais, the writer of the *Mariage de Figaro* (1784), a work which carried on the fight against inborn prejudices ; and Bernardin de St. Pierre, who in his *Études* in 1784 and above all in his *Paul et Virginie* tried to revive love of nature, of simplicity, and true sentiment.

Discovery of Air-Balloons (1783).—The ardent pursuit of knowledge, the constant opening up of new paths was so great that it seemed as if there were no limits to the horizon of science. Franklin " tore the thunder from the clouds " ; Pilatre de Rozier and the Marquis d'Arlandes at the castle of La Muette

¹ The château of Ferney was for a time the home of Voltaire, who was therefore sometimes called by this name.

made the first ascent in a balloon invented by Montgolfier. Man, already master of land and sea, proceeded also to take possession of the air, that air which Lavoisier had recently decomposed by the oxydation of mercury into distinct gases. The brothers Charles and Robert Montgolfier repeated their aërostatic performance at the Tuileries in a gas-balloon before a vast crowd of spectators: two years later Blanchard crossed in a balloon from Dover to Calais, but Pilatre de Rozier and Romain, who set out to make the same journey on a new plan, were dashed to pieces on the rocks of the coast.

Magnetism.—Cagliostro and Mesmer, who practised the mysterious illusions of magnetism, appeared at the same time as the aërostats. Cagliostro was an Italian adventurer who liked to be thought a count. He lived in luxury and pretended to hold the real secret of chemistry, such as had been discovered by the priests of Egypt and India. Mesmer—also an adventurer—was a German, who, having been ejected from Vienna, came to Paris to give his famous *séances* (1779). In a gorgeous room filled with heavy perfumes, dimly lighted, and pervaded by soft dreamy music, calculated to work on the imagination and the senses, invalids and those interested in such matters assembled round the *baquet magnétique*; some of the audience soon fell into convulsions and the complaint spread to others in the crowd. Magnetism was regarded as the remedy for all evils. "There is only one nature," said Mesmer, "one illness, one cure." A committee of the Academy of Sciences was appointed by the government; it consisted of Lavoisier, Franklin, and Bailly, who were entrusted with the examination of magnetic experiences; the commission reported that those who dealt in magnetism did obtain curious results, not by means of a fluid as they asserted, but by the over-excitation of the imagination. Éprémèsnil, a famous magistrate, took up the defence of Cagliostro and Mesmer.

Freemasons.—The freemasons worked in obscurity and silence below the politicians and scientists. They belonged to an old and vast association of men of every rank and country, who, in spite of rites that were both ridiculous and useless, nurtured and propagated liberal ideas.

The Queen Marie-Antoinette.—In the midst of all these marvels which spoke for the force of the nation, if sometimes also for its eccentricity, opinion came to be the dominating power in the world, and numbered the most respected powers on its side. In former times the court had set the tone and constituted the

rule of French society ; but Louis XVI. was not able to live up to the traditions of Louis XIV., and the beautiful and gracious Marie-Antoinette had made many enemies in the court by her favouritism and in public by her disregard and even disdain for the rules of royal etiquette. She left Versailles for Trianon, that the Queen of France might live for herself alone. That was the custom in the house of Austria, but not in the house of Bourbon. One evening, her carriage having broken down, she drove in a cab to a ball at the Opera ; the next day Paris rang with the story of this "imprudence." And then the slander began which later changed into anger and broke out in such a dreadful fashion against her who was now no longer called anything but "the Austrian." An unfortunate occurrence in 1784 showed the public feeling towards her. The Cardinal de Rohan was at that time the scandal of the Church. While ambassador at Vienna he had compromised his character as a priest and as the representative of France by light conduct and frightful extravagances. He said it was impossible for a gentleman to live on an income of 1,200,000 livres. His relative the Prince of Rohan-Guéméné was a bankrupt for 30 millions ; his downfall had ruined many people ; the cardinal was proud of it. "Only a king or a Rohan," he said, "could go bankrupt for such a sum." Despised by the king, condemned by the queen, he was in utter disgrace. The intriguing Countess of Lamotte led him to believe that she was the confidante of Marie-Antoinette and that the latter was disposed to honour him by her favour ; she supported these insinuations by letters purporting to come from the queen and forged in her handwriting. She went as far as to promise him an interview with the queen one evening in the gardens at Versailles. A young lady who resembled the queen played the rôle which the countess assigned to her, and the cardinal believed that nothing would now be refused to his ambition. Some time before this, two jewellers had offered to Marie-Antoinette a necklace worth 1,600,000 livres. She had refused to buy it, adding that, with the king, she thought two warships would be of more use to France than this bauble. The countess made the cardinal believe that the queen had a great desire for the necklace, and even that she charged him to buy it for her. He went to the jewellers, showed them the letters, was given the necklace, out of which the countess made a handsome profit for herself. Some time later, the jewellers became suspicious, never having been paid, and wrote to the queen. Everything was discovered. The cardinal was arrested at Versailles in his

pontifical robes, and sent to the Bastille. Parliament took up the affair, released the cardinal as a simple dupe, and condemned the countess to be branded and kept in close confinement. This affair made a great stir, and the queen, being a foreigner, her reputation suffered for having been mixed up in the scandal.

Louis XVI. had up till now treated her with coldness. Later on she came to have great ascendancy over him. It was after the resignation of Necker that she began to identify herself with the government. But not having the administrative genius of her mother, Maria Theresa, although she wanted influence, she did not want to be troubled with business, and as she only gave it spasmodic and distracted attention she could not exert her influence in any definite direction. But she was responsible for calling Calonne, in 1783, to the office of controller-general.

Calonne (1783-1787).—Calonne had knowledge of administration and great faculty for work, but he was a spendthrift. He was scarcely appointed when he went to the king, "Sire," he said, "I have 200,000 livres of debts; another man might have hidden this from you and taken the money from the funds of the ministry; I prefer to tell you." The king, astonished, went to his secretary and gave Calonne the sum in the form of shares of some company. Calonne kept the shares, his debts were paid otherwise. His financial principles were as follows: "A man who wishes to borrow must appear to be rich; to appear rich it is necessary to dazzle by lavish expenditure. Economy is doubly fatal; it warns the capitalists from lending to a treasury over the ears in debt; it causes arts to languish, which prodigality revives." It was an agreeable theory for those who had easy access to the treasury. The courtiers and the ladies were enchanted with this delightful minister, who did not, like Turgot and Necker, carry the serious and anxious expression of the conscientious exercise of great power, and who would meet a request from the queen with the obliging words, "If it is possible, Madame, it is done; if it is impossible, it shall be done." The king in his indolence was pleased with a minister who was never at a loss whatever might happen. But this pleasing exterior concealed 500 millions of loans in three years, and that in time of peace.

The moment was at hand when everything should be disclosed to the king. Then the spendthrift turned reformer. Calonne thought out a policy, composed of the ideas of his predecessors, namely, to submit the privileged classes to taxation and a territorial subvention; to establish provincial assemblies; to diminish

the *taille* ; to allow free trade for all grainstuffs, and so on. " But that is Necker's idea you offer me," cried the king, " the whole idea is Necker's from beginning to end ! " " Sire," replied Necker's enemy, " in the whole realm of things there is nothing better to offer you."

The Notables (1787).—The fatal words " privileges," " abuses," were heard everywhere. Government, finding no support in parliament, was obliged to have recourse to the nation for these reforms. But the government was afraid of the States-General : it did not dare to go further than to an assembly of notables. Many were even afraid of that ; " The king will dismiss him," said the Vicomte de Ségur ; and the old Marshal de Richelieu asked what penalty Louis XIV. had imposed on the minister who had proposed a similar course. The notables met on February 12, 1787. They numbered 144 members, of whom twenty-seven represented the third estate, though in reality there were only six or seven commoners. Calonne had worked out his plans which were on the whole well received. But the notables viewed the territorial subvention with disfavour. They demanded a statement of the income and expenditure of the nation. Calonne presented the accounts in such a way that it was impossible to verify his figures. Some declared there was a deficit of 200, others of only 100 millions. But they were less interested in obtaining a clear insight into the finance of the country than in evading the territorial subvention. The debate was heated and soon became violent. Calonne was angry ; so was the king ; he ordered the notables to deliberate on the *form* of the tax only, not on its existence. The situation was described in an allegorical pamphlet : a cook talking to his chickens, asked them, " What sauce would you like to be eaten with ? " " But we do not wish to be eaten at all ! " " You are begging the question : I ask you with what sauce would you like to be eaten ? " Calonne's enemies achieved his downfall ; a few days after Louis XVI. had declared loudly, " I wish all the world to know that I am well satisfied with my controller-general," he exiled Calonne to Lorraine.

Ministry of Brienne (1787-1788).—One of Calonne's most active enemies was Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, a brilliant and ambitious prelate, without manners and probably without beliefs, whom the pious Louis XVI. had long since driven from the ministry. He recalled him at length and Brienne won favour with the notables by his schemes for economy. That assembly did not wait to be dissolved ; the nobles had had enough of it ;

the Count of Artois was bored ; the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Conti went off to their hunting in the middle of its sittings. And so the notables had done nothing ; in their hearts they had pronounced the words *States-General* or *National Assembly*. "A national assembly is a necessity," said La Fayette. "You mean the States-General," replied the Count of Artois. "Yes, my lord, and even something better if possible."

Brienne, freed from the notables, found himself face to face with parliament, which was even more difficult to approach. The edict concerning provincial assemblies was passed without difficulty, but a violent dispute arose over the proposed tax on timber and the territorial subvention. The king held a *lit-de-justice* and caused both measures to be passed. Parliament protested ; its leaders were Duport, Robert de St. Vincent, Fréteau de St. Just, above all Éprémèsnil, whose impassioned eloquence dominated the assembly, and whom the crowd on leaving the building carried in triumph to his carriage. The king exiled the parliament to Troyes. There were few men more unpopular than Brienne ; but he was in good repute with the queen, to whom he owed not only his position but his reinstatement in the good graces of the king. The queen was already hotly attacked in certain pamphlets ; she was called *Madame Deficit*. She was insulted in the park of St. Cloud, and at the request of the police the king engaged not to show himself in Paris. Brienne had not even the support of his own brethren. The Assembly of Clergy refused him a miserable subsidy of 1,800,000 livres. Everybody tried to put a spoke in his wheel, and when in three years the chariot broke down there was a universal demand for violence. He was no better liked abroad. In Holland he allowed the intrigues of England and the arms of Prussia to threaten the republican government of that country which stretched out its hand to France, saying the while that from the midst of internal disquiet it was dangerous to support external liberty. Brienne worked against the sentiment of the age.

But a reconciliation was effected between the government and the parliament. This partnership came at a time of general excitement : the effigy of Calonne was burned on the Place Dauphiné, and the audacity of the mob grew to such an extent that there was even talk of burning the effigy of a more august personage. Why was parliament so popular, the parliament which had defended the cause of the privileged classes? It was because it upheld the principle against the court that the States-General alone had the right to change the basis of taxation.

Brienne, who knew this, had won the majority of the members to his side. He carried a decree for a loan of 420 millions realisable in five years. He wished with one transaction to provide himself for a long time ahead, and not to have recourse to small loans. He promised in exchange the convocation of the States-General before the end of the five years ; firmly resolved beforehand not to redeem his promise. There were energetic protests. " If a noble did such things," said Robert de St. Vincent, speaking of the usurious rates of the loan, " no tribunal would hesitate to annul them." Louis XVI. had a decree of authority passed : Sabatier and Fréteau, who had been violent in their protests, were arrested. The Duke of Orleans, who ventured to pronounce the word *illegal*, was exiled to Villers-Cotterets. " It is legal," said the king. " It is legal, because I wish it." Parliament was concerned at this attempt on its power ; in the case of two members, an attempt on individual liberty. Éprémèsnil composed, in the name of the parliament, an act which summed up the fundamental laws of the monarchy : a young councillor, Goislard de Montsabert, proposed putting an obstacle in the way of the collection of the *vingtième* : both these men were arrested by order of the king. Parliament was in session when the Marquis of Agout, major of the *Gardes françaises*, appeared and demanded that Éprémèsnil and Montsabert should be handed over to him. The members rose in a body : " We are Éprémèsnil and Montsabert," they cried. But the latter gave themselves up under protest and were sent, the one to Pierre-Encise, the other to the island of St. Margaret.

The government gained by this stroke ; parliament was commanded to attend at Versailles on the 8th of May, and was forced to agree to decrees which took from it the power of passing laws. That power was transferred to a *cour plénière*, a sort of council of state, at the command of the king, which prescribed the institution of forty-seven large bailiwicks to judge civil lawsuits of less value than 20,000 livres. Thus Brienne engaged anew in the struggle—as Maupeou had done—with the power of the parliaments. Resistance was organised and movements took place in Brittany, in Béarn, and other provinces, as well as an insurrection at Grenoble. " I foresaw it all," said Brienne with an air of profound wisdom, " even civil war." He had only forgotten that the treasury was empty. To procure funds he took possession of the savings of invalids and the proceeds of charitable organisations. By these shameful means he was able to hold on for several days ; but on the 16th of August, 1781,

he was obliged to declare by decree that state payments would be made partly in silver, partly in treasury notes. Consternation prevailed; the country feared that the advent of paper money was a forerunner of bankruptcy. It was the last straw for Brienne; he implored Necker for help; Necker replied, "Last year I was ready to take over part of his work: I do not want now to shoulder his discredit." But Brienne was forced to make way for that able minister, who was at the moment the most popular man in France.

Second Ministry of Necker (1787-1789).—Necker's return provoked acclamations of joy; the departure of Brienne was the signal for scenes of disorder, even of bloodshed; the mob burned his effigy and persisted with such obstinacy in the riot that soldiers were ordered to fire on the crowd. This first blood spilt in France made a great impression; parliament opened proceedings. But confidence returned, thanks to Necker. In one day government securities went up 30 per cent. But Necker had found only 500,000 livres in the treasury; the need was urgent and considerable. It was too late to save the country by small measures. Things could go on no longer without an appeal to the nation. Brienne in a moment of exasperation had thrown out the promise to convoke the States-General in 1789; Necker redeemed the promise.

Convocation of States-General.—The reunion of the states was the one thought of France. In what form should they be united? Should the third order have the same rank as in 1614, when it had been so deeply humiliated, or should it, on the contrary, be made the dominating power? During the last two centuries it had made great progress. It had come to exercise considerable power by its wealth, its knowledge, its activity, and the high functions which its leaders discharged in the government and administration of the country. Respect for the nobility had strangely diminished, and every one, even the nobles themselves, had applauded in the theatre the bold epigrams of *Figaro*, the play of Beaumarchais: "Because you are a great lord you think yourself a great genius! You have given the trouble of being born, nothing else!" That the third order might occupy the place it deserved, it was necessary to double the number of its representatives and to establish the individual instead of the communal vote. This policy was supported by Necker and by all liberal-minded men. But the nobility resisted; the nobles of Brittany especially were so obstinate that there were several bloody encounters at Rennes between the young *bourgeoisie*

and the nobles. Necker attempted to settle the dispute by an assembly of notables, but they resisted any change in the ancient order of things. He then decided to solve part of the difficulty himself and pronounced a decree which established the doubling of the representation, without mentioning the question of the individual vote. The decree also trysted the States-General to meet on the 1st of May, 1789.

FIFTEENTH PERIOD—CONSTITUTIONAL FRANCE

(FROM 1789)

CHAPTER LIX

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE (1789-1791)

The Necessity of a Constitution.—The ancient axiom of public law in France was that the commons paid in goods, the nobles in blood, the clergy in prayer. But the clergy of the court and of the *salons* were now little given to prayer, the nobles no longer formed the whole of the royal army, the commons alone remained faithful to their function in the state. They paid always and every year more. Seeing that the purse of the commons now formed the largest revenue of the treasury, it was inevitable that, as the monarchy became more and more extravagant, the more it put itself in the power of the commons ; the time arrived when, left to meet the charges, the commons demanded to see the bill. The day of reckoning was the Revolution of 1789.

The Abbe Siéyès, in a famous brochure which examined the questions everywhere being asked, said, "What is the third order?—The nation. What is the nation?—Nothing. What must it become?—Everything." Thus to the saying of Louis XIV., "L'Etat c'est moi," Siéyès replied, "L'Etat c'est nous." He estimated the entire strength of the nobility of all ages and both sexes at less than 110,000: the clergy were certainly not more numerous.

The court, and especially the queen, the Count of Artois, the Princes of Condé and Conti, and the Polignacs, wished that the States-General should occupy themselves solely with matters of finance, and that after they had made up the deficit and paid the debts the deputies should return to their homes. But political reform was the best precaution against deficits. The nation understood that and wished it.

France suffered from two evils of which the one led to the other—a financial evil and a political evil ; deficits and abuses. In order to cure the first, three things were necessary ; stringent economy,

a less costly method of collecting the taxes, and a more equal distribution of taxation. To cure the second a new organisation of power was needed. The monarchy—which had so often been transformed since the time of the Roman emperors, in passing through the barbarous monarchy of Clovis, the feudal monarchy of Philip Augustus—the monarchy must again submit to transformation ; for in its last form, that of absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings, it had given all that the country could expect from it, unity of territory and unity of laws. It had made France, but with the immense development of industry, commerce, science, and public spirit and with the mobility of wealth the interests of France were now too complex, her needs too numerous, to allow her to put herself under the omnipotent rule of one man, without some guarantee against possible misfortunes of royal birth or the imprudence of incapable ministers. The nation was now mature, she could take charge of her own affairs, she must tear away the already half-broken yoke which hampered her movements. Unfortunately a people can only shake itself free from its past through pain and suffering.

The Elections: Mirabeau.—At the news of the convocation of the States-General the agitation which reigned already in France redoubled. Reunions or, as they were called after the English word, *clubs* were everywhere organised ; among others the *Club Breton* was founded, which sheltered within its walls the sinister society of the *Jacobins*. These clubs were not all amicable among themselves, they revealed the divisions which existed even among the upper classes. The clergy had their democracy in their country *curés* ; the nobility had theirs in the country gentlemen ; these were as a rule against the Revolution, and on seeing some of these great nobles, La Fayette, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, the Counts of Montmorency and Lally-Telendal, the Vicomte de Noailles and others in favour of it, they said proudly, “ They are still trafficking with our privileges.” In Brittany the nobility and the bishops preferred rather to send no deputies than to admit the double representation of the third order ; but the *curés* of Brittany protested and so divisions began among the clergy.

In Provence the nobles protested against the decision of the king’s counsel. The Count de Mirabeau, an illustrious fugitive, attacked this protest hotly. Ejected by the nobles, who refused to allow him to sit amongst them, he called out these menacing words : “ In every country, in every age, the aristocrats have relentlessly persecuted the friends of the people ; and if, by

some strange chance, one of their own number has arisen to befriend the downtrodden it is he most of all whom they persecute, eager to inspire terror by the choice of such a victim. The last of the Gracchi perished in this way at the hands of the patricians ; struck down by a mortal wound, he invoked Heaven from the dust for the vengeance of the gods ; it was from this dust that Marius arose, Marius less famous for exterminating the Cimbri than for overthrowing the aristocracy of the Roman nobility." Mirabeau travelled all over Provence, dazzling the people by this eloquence which deserved a larger public. By his ascendancy over them he quelled disorders which had broken out from Aix to Marseilles, where he was received by salute of cannon and ringing of bells. His youth had been spent in "riotous living," but he had suffered much from the unjust severity of his father and the strictures of the government, which had issued seventeen *lettres de cachet* against him. He was imprisoned on the island of Ré, then at Château d'If, at the fort of Joux, at Vincennes, and finally condemned to death for seduction. When only twenty years old he had already written his *Essai sur le despotism*, bearing the following epigraph from Tacitus : *Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum*. Later he had to descend to writing pot-boilers. His name may have been besmirched—but his was a noble spirit. It was his voice that was to become the voice of the Revolution.

Demands for Reform.—The following were the demands of the people, which, as they were practically universal, were not contested:—

1. *Politics.*—Authority emanated from the people and was not to be exercised except by the agreement of the national representative assembly with the hereditary chief of the state. Other points were the urgent need of a constitution for France ; the exclusive right of the States-General to make laws, which before being promulgated must have obtained the royal sanction, to control public expenditure and to impose taxes ; the abolition of the financial immunity and personal privileges enjoyed by the clergy and nobility ; the suppression of the last vestiges of serfdom ; the admissibility of all citizens to public employment ; the responsibility of the agents of executive power.

2. *The Moral Order.*—Liberty of religion and of the press ; state education for poor and abandoned children.

3. *Judicial.*—Unity of legislation and jurisprudence ; suppression of exceptional jurisdiction ; publicity of debates ; mitigation of the penal laws ; reform of the rules of procedure.

4. *Administration*.—Creation of provincial assemblies to control the conduct of all the deputies of royal authority ; equality of weights and measures ; redivision of the kingdom according to the population and the revenue.

5. *Economics*.—Freedom of industry ; suppression of internal customs houses ; substitution for various taxes of a territorial and adjustable tax, which would deal with income but would never affect capital.

These reforms comprised all the demands of the Revolution, and they showed that a nation which was capable of asking for such things deserved to receive them. They became known as the principles of '89. Napoleon found a better name for them, "The truths of the Revolution."

Opening of the States-General (May 5, 1789).—On the 2nd of May all the deputies who had assembled at Versailles were presented to the king. On the fourth they went in solemn procession to the Church of St. Louis. All Paris was at Versailles. The procession appeared in the midst of a vast crowd, the third order in front, according to the custom of processions that the less important personages lead the way. Etiquette, arranged beforehand, had assigned to the deputies of the third order a modest black robe : they were greeted with a storm of applause. The embroidered cloaks of the nobles passed along in the midst of an ominous silence, save for some popular men among them who were cheered. The same silence greeted the clergy who followed. Enthusiasm did not break out again except for the king, who came last.

On the 5th of May the states were opened in the *Salle des Menus*, which was now to be called the *Salle des Trois Ordres*. The king was on his throne surrounded by princes of the blood ; the court came next according to rank. The body of the hall was filled by the three orders. The clergy sat on the right of the throne and numbered about 291, there were forty-eight bishops or archbishops, thirty-five abbés or canons, 204 curés, and three monks. On the left sat the nobles to the number of 270 ; this number was composed of one prince of the blood, the Duke of Orleans, 240 nobles, twenty-eight magistrates of superior courts. And lastly, at the back on humble chairs sat the third order, composed of 584 members, twelve nobles, two priests, eighteen mayors or consuls of large towns, 162 magistrates of bailiwicks or country-towns, 212 advocates, sixteen doctors, and 162 merchants, proprietors, or farmers.

The king expressed in a few noble words his wishes for the

welfare of his people, he invited the states to begin their deliberations, recommending to their especial consideration the financial situation, and engaging them to find remedies for existing evils without being led away by desire for exaggerated innovations "which have taken possession of some minds."

Barentin, the Lord Privy Seal, followed the speech from the throne, trying to reduce the power of the states to the vote of taxes, to the discussion of a law against the press, and the reform of civil and criminal legislation. Then it was Necker's turn, director-general of finance; his speech was tedious and long-winded. But two passages in it excited close attention: that in which he announced an *actual* yearly deficit of 56 millions and a deficit of 266 millions in anticipation, and that in which he declared that the king asked the help of the states to found the prosperity of the kingdom on solid foundations. "Look for them," he said, "show them to the king, and you will find on his part the most generous assistance." Thus there was anarchy in council. The Lord Privy Seal, the mouthpiece of the court, considered the crisis more as a financier than as a politician or social reformer; the director of finance seemed to give every latitude to the States-General.

The Deputies of the Third Order declare Themselves a National Constituent Assembly (June 17 to July 9, 1789).—To establish the political and social unity of the nation by equality before the law and to guarantee it by freedom, that, in a few words, was the spirit of 1789. There were three classes; it was necessary that there should be only one. In the first problem to be solved—the determination of the powers of the deputies—the third order wished the proceedings to be in public; the clergy and nobility wished each order to determine in private the powers of its deputies. On the way in which this question was dealt with depended the mode of deliberation to be adopted for all other questions, also whether the vote should be by order or by individuals. Now these questions comprised the whole Revolution. Because if voting was by order, the majority was assured in advance to the clergy and nobility; if it was by the individual, the majority was already acquired by the deputies of the third order, more numerous than those of the other orders by 584 to 561.

For five weeks the deputies of the third order employed every means to induce the first two orders to unite with them; they begged the clergy to do so "in the name of the God of peace and in the public interest." The clergy were in an unfortunate

position ; their doctrines drew them to one side, their interests to the other : as a privileged body they were hostile to the Revolution, as interpreters of the Gospel they were in favour of it. Those of the clergy who profited least by the privileges of their cloth commenced the defection. On June 13, three *curés* of Poitou came to sit among the third order ; on succeeding days many others followed their example. At last, on June 17, on the motion of the Abbé Siéyès, the third order set up a *National Assembly*, because " this assembly is already composed of representatives sent directly by at least 96 per cent. of the nation and in order that such a large deputation may not be allowed to rest inactive on account of the absence of the deputies of certain bailiwicks or of certain classes of citizens " (June 17). Three weeks later, in order to make its mandate unmistakable, the word *Constituent* was added to the title.

The Oath of the Tennis Court (June 20).—This declaration, which opened the Revolution, threw the court and the first two orders into a panic. Nevertheless the clergy, in spite of the brilliant efforts of the Abbé Maury, decided for reunion with the majority of votes formed by the *curés* (June 19). The court was only the more annoyed by this, and forced the king to extreme measures. He was entreated to pronounce the dissolution of the states. He refused, but announced a royal session for June 22. In the meantime the hall where the sittings were held was guarded by soldiers under pretext of necessary preparations for the royal session, but in reality to prevent the clergy from carrying out their reunion. On June 20, Bailly, the president of the third order, found the doors closed. The deputies assembled in groups ; some wished to hold their meeting in the open air in the parade ground, after the fashion of the ancient *champs de mai* ; others discussed the situation under the very windows of the king. At last Bailly went into a hall laid out as a tennis court and there convoked a meeting. Between bare and sombre walls, in a hall devoid of furniture or seats, the deputies took a solemn oath that they would not separate till they had given France a constitution (June 20). The next day this hall, in its turn, was closed ; the Count of Artois required it to play tennis with his courtiers. But as the majority of the clergy were now united to the third order, they opened the church of St. Louis, and the assembly, already in part victorious on the question of the union of the orders, commenced its deliberations. From that time things moved quickly.

Fusion of the Orders (June 27).—The royal session was thus

held after a double check to the government. It began the rupture with the king. Louis XVI., who had the hall surrounded by soldiers, spoke menacing words ; he excepted from the affairs to be dealt with in public those which concerned the ancient rights and constitutions of the three orders : " If you abandon me," he added, " I will myself attend to the welfare of my people, alone I will consider myself their true representative." He withdrew, having commanded the three orders to return to their respective assembly rooms. The first two orders obeyed, with the exception of certain of the clergy ; the third order remained. The Marquis of Brézé, grand-master of ceremonies, re-entered and said, " Gentlemen, you have heard the command of the king." Mirabeau rose and replied, " We have heard, my lord, the intentions which have been suggested to the king : but you, who do not understand how to be his agent to the National Assembly, you, who have here neither place, nor voice, nor right to speak, it is not for you to repeat his words to us. . . . Go, tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we are not to be ejected save by the bayonet!" To which Siéyès, addressing himself to the deputies, added these simple but powerful words, " Gentlemen, you are to-day just what you were yesterday ; therefore proceed with your deliberations!" The assembly obeyed him. Its first act was to proclaim the inviolability of its members (June 23). The next day the majority of the clergy, the day after, forty-seven members of the nobility, headed by the Duke of Orleans, joined the third order.

On leaving the royal session, Louis XVI. had returned to his castle through the crowd, for the first time in silence. He walked up and down his room without speaking till Brézé came to tell him of the refusal of the third order to leave the hall. " Well, well," he broke out, as if annoyed, " if they do not wish to go, leave them alone!" The king had given in ; Necker, who had been away, was recalled in alarm. He advised the king to ask the first two orders to unite with the third. They obeyed on June 27 and were received with fine courtesy, as if their coming was the lasting pledge of fraternal union. " We had need of brothers," said Bailly, " the family is now complete ;" and the assembly was organised in thirty sections, to give the necessary activity to the great work of the constitution ; the deputies of the third order chose all the presidents of sections from the ranks of the clergy and the nobles.

Fall of the Bastille (July 14).—But the court dreamt of violence afoot. Troops were recalled from all parts and concentrated

round Paris and Versailles, "to protect the assembly," it was said, "to maintain order." They numbered more than 30,000 men; the aged Marshal de Broglie, who had been given the command, put them on a war footing. Judging from the warlike preparations, the troops might have been in an enemy country. There were also foreign troops in the army, Swiss and German; they were greatly in favour because their fidelity was not doubted. The French regiments, on the contrary, were under the influence of prevailing ideas which circulated as freely in the army as elsewhere, for the army also groaned under the weight of numerous abuses. It must not be forgotten that the army was bought like any other property; that the superior ranks were reserved to the nobles of four quarterings; that in the budget the pay of officers figured as 46 millions, that of the soldiers only as 44 millions, not to mention the many charges kept off the soldiers' pay. It must be remembered that Marceau was a common private; that Hoche, sergeant of the guards, was reduced to embroidering officers' waistcoats which he sold in the cafés in order to buy books.

The presence of foreign troops was an all too evident menace. Paris was disturbed by this military display. All that went forward at Versailles was known in Paris immediately. The chief scene of agitation was the garden of the Palais Royal. A table served as a tribune.

All the doings of the assembly and the court were commented on. The soldiers of the French Guard, able from their long sojourn in the capital to enter into the feelings of the people, associated themselves with the general rejoicings at the success of the assembly. Their colonel imprisoned eleven of them; the people went to the Abbaye and set them free. The National Assembly, informed of this violation of discipline and law, obtained the king's pardon for the soldiers on condition that they returned immediately to their prison. The assembly demanded the disbanding of the troops whose presence irritated the people. "Do they not see," said Mirabeau, speaking of the imprudent counsellors of the king, "by what a fatal chain of circumstances the wisest men of the day are exasperated beyond the bounds of moderation, and by what terrible forces an infatuated people are precipitated towards excesses, the first idea of which would made them shudder?"

Louis XVI. ventured on this fatal path: instead of dismissing the troops news came of the recall and then the exile of Necker (July 11th). The next day Paris caught fire like a volcano; the

Palais Royal was full of red-hot rage ; a young man, boiling over with indignation and eloquence, Camille Desmoulins, sprang on a table, a pistol in his hand, " Citizens," he cried, " the exile of Necker is the tocsin of a St. Bartholomew of patriots ! This very evening the Swiss and German battalions will be marched to the Champ de Mars to cut our throats ! There is only one resource for us, that is to fly to arms ! " The leaves of the chestnut trees were taken as a cockade ; the crowd besieged the studio of Curtius, the sculptor, and taking busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, carried them about the streets in triumphal procession. They encountered a military outpost in the Place Vendôme, who stopped the mob and killed one of the French Guard. At the same time the Prince of Lambesc, colonel of the German troops, made a charge on the gardens of the Tuileries to disperse the crowd who were attacking the soldiers by throwing stones at them. An old man fell under the hoofs of the horses. At this moment screams were heard from the town, where citizens were being murdered. The regiment of the French Guard came from its barracks fully armed and fired on a detachment of Germans ; they then took their stand on the *Place Louis XV*. Baron de Bezenval, who commanded the forces on the *Champs Elysées*, could have overpowered them, but he had no orders ; he did not dare to act, and so fell back towards Versailles. During this tumult the assembly attempted to secure the return of Necker, but Louis XVI. refused absolutely. The Comte de Virieu demanded that in this time of grave peril the deputies should renew the oath of June 20 ; some of the nobles hesitated. " The assent is unanimous," cried Mathieu de Montmorency. " The constitution must come," said the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre, " or else we cease to exist." An address was sent to the king asking that the troops should be withdrawn. This calm firmness did credit to the assembly. In Paris things moved more quickly and went further. There was already practically a new municipality, formed by the electors, which replaced the old in the confidence of the people. The electors were the citizens full of resolution. The election of the deputies for Paris being over they had continued to meet to have their official statements and accounts corroborated, and had obtained a room for their meetings in the Hôtel de Ville. There without official orders, without a title, but with an authority obeyed and respected by the whole town, they constituted themselves on July 13 an administrative body. The people loudly demanded arms in order to defend themselves against the probable attacks of the military. The electors decreed

that they should form themselves into a *Garde Bourgeoisie*: they numbered at first 200, soon 400 men, for each of the sixty districts. But weapons were necessary. The 14th July was spent in demanding them from Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, who in order to gain time twice promised them without redeeming his promises, and thus gave rise to furious anger against him. Fifty thousand pikes were made in thirty-six hours; 30,000 muskets, sabres, and cannon were taken to the *Invalides*. From the 12th July the troops which occupied the *Champs Élysées*, menaced by an attack, had fallen back and the Parisians were masters of the town, dominated by the sombre and many times accursed fortress. *To the Bastille!* was the general cry. Crowds came running from every quarter. The old soldiers, Élie and Hullin, directed the people: only a small number had arms and could take part in the action. The governor, De Launay, had only 200 soldiers, either Swiss or unfit men, as a garrison: but the fortress was so strong, especially against an attack of this kind, that the assailants had to face a murderous fight of several hours before they took possession of it. They entered at last, having lost nearly a third of their number—171 killed and wounded.

The men who had fought so bravely would have scorned to kill their prisoners. But behind them—the *victors of the Bastille* as they were called—came bands of robbers, who during the preceding days had pillaged the town and who on this day set themselves to murder and bloodshed. Élie and Hullin wore themselves out in vain efforts to save the prisoners. De Launay was killed. The provost of the merchants, Flesselles, Major de Salbray, and many soldiers met the same fate. Their heads stuck on pikes were carried through the town: the populace began to taste blood.

The National Guard: The Tricolour Cockade.—When the Duke of Liancourt told the king of the fall of the Bastille, he said, “But is it then a revolt?” “No, sire,” was the answer, “it is a revolution.” The evening before his army had been powerless; to-day his fortress had fallen. The hour had struck. The grandson of Louis XIV. proceeded to the assembly where strife had already broken out. Mirabeau, addressing himself to the deputies who were about to be sent to the king, had cried: “Tell him plainly, tell him that the hordes of foreigners by whom the country is infested were visited yesterday by princes, by princesses, and by courtiers; that they were flattered; that they received exhortations and presents; tell him that all night long those foreign satellites, loaded with gold and filled with wine, predicted in

their impious songs the subjection of France, that their coarse vows invoked the destruction of the National Assembly: tell him that even in his own palace the dances of his courtiers were mingled with the strains of this barbarous music; tell him that such scenes as these preceded St. Bartholomew!" When the arrival of the king was announced, "The silence of the people is the lesson of kings," said the Bishop of Chartres; and he demanded that the king should be received by the assembly with coldness and in silence. But when Louis XVI. appeared without guards and declared that he would do nothing without the nation, that he relied upon the National Assembly, that he consented to the sending back of the German troops, that he would recall Necker to the ministry—the applause broke out in transports and an immense crowd followed him on his way back to Paris. He came into an innumerable multitude, armed with muskets, pikes, hatchets, and pieces of artillery; to disguise the menace while showing their power, the people had hidden their cannon under flowers and branches. Bailly, who had newly been made Mayor of Paris, received the king at the gates and gave him the keys of the town. "They are the same," he said, "which were presented to Henry IV. He reconquered his people, sire; to-day it is the people who have reconquered their king." Louis could have won all hearts on that day, but he was not the kind of man for such scenes. The Revolution continued in his presence. La Fayette, who had been made general of the bourgeois militia, hastened to organise it. He gave it a name which Siéyès had proposed, that of the *National Guard*, and for cockade he took the two ancient colours of Paris, blue and red, and between them he placed the white, the colour of the monarchy and of France. "Take this," he said in presenting it; "here is a cockade which will encircle the globe."

Abolition of Privileges (August 4).—The agitation which had begun in Paris soon spread over the whole country; violence was resorted to. In many places the peasants set fire to convents and châteaux in order to destroy the ancient titles and feudal charters. From the first months of 1789 insurrection had broken out in Provence. The Dauphiné, Beaujolais, Macon, and Burgundy were overrun by armed bands, and the disorder spread to other provinces. It became of the first importance to prevent revolt among the peasantry. This was attempted by important reforms. The nobles gave the example: the Duke d'Aiguillon, the Vicomte de Noailles, Mathieu de Montmorency offered to give up their rights; others followed their example: all privileges

were abolished. Seigniorial rights, legal rights, ecclesiastical tithes, personal privileges, privileges of provinces, of towns, and so on. The stipulation was certainly made that these rights were ceded to all except those who abused personal liberty. The day was none the less memorable, it saw the birth of equality. The assembly decreed that a solemn *Te Deum* should be celebrated in all churches as a thanksgiving for the abolition of the reign of feudalism, and the king having accepted the sacrifice of the privileged classes was given the title of *Restorer of the Liberty of France*.

Opposition of the Court: The 5th and 6th of October, 1789.—One of the first cares of the assembly was to vote, after the example of the American Congress, a declaration of the rights of the man and the citizen. This was done in order to show the fundamental principles on which the constitution was established; by September 21 the chief dispositions were already voted. There were those who wished to divide the legislative power into two chambers, as in England, and to give the king the ultimate right of veto; they were defeated. Mounier, Clermont-Tonnerre, Lally-Tolendal retired from the committee. It was the abdication of the most moderate members of the assembly. On both sides influence had passed to men who were determined to go to the utmost limits in attack, as in resistance. Around the king, and in spite of him, the idea of resorting to force was again mooted. The Flanders regiment was recalled to Versailles. Breteuil had himself proposed, towards the end of August, that the court should take refuge in Metz, beside the army of Bouillé. Louis XVI. refused to take this step, which would have led to civil war. Imprudent spirits hastened the catastrophe after another fashion.

The great theatre of the castle at Versailles was taken by the bodyguard for a banquet they wished to give to the officers of the Flanders regiments, and at which other regiments were also to be represented, even the foreign regiments and the National Guard. In the middle of the festivities, the king appeared, followed by the queen carrying the dauphin in her arms. The band played the air, *O Richard o mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne!* then some foreign airs, the March of the Uhlans; wine circulated, heads grew heavy, the ladies distributed white cockades, and the tricolour, it was said, was trampled under foot (October 1).

And Paris was dying of hunger. A hailstorm of unequalled severity had on the 13th July of the preceding year destroyed

a large part of the harvest, from the banks of the Charente to the banks of the Scheldt. A winter of great severity followed; there was hard frost without intermission from November 25 till January 13, 1789. There was distress in many provinces; agitation and unrest changed it to famine. For all these months Paris had lived from day to day, receiving at night the flour for the next day's bread. When the news of this orgy at Versailles came to these starving people, the inconsiderate nature of the provocation caused insurrection to break out. An army of women banded themselves together and crying *Bread! Bread!* they marched to Versailles, imagining vainly that if only the king could be brought to Paris they would have abundance.

This procession was followed by men also, clamouring for bread; La Fayette, who had vainly opposed their going, was himself carried along by this army of Parisians. It arrived before the castle; a conflict which began with the bodyguard lasted till evening, and began again the following morning. The queen, against whom the infuriated people shouted threats of death, was only saved by the devotion of her guards, who were killed in defending her door. La Fayette, overcome with fatigue after thirty-six hours of anguish and anxiety, had left the castle. In his absence it was forced; seven of the guards perished; five men belonging to the crowd and the National Guard were killed. La Fayette arrived hurriedly in time to save seventeen of the guards, who were about to be shot by the people. He succeeded in having the inner rooms cleared of the mob. But it was necessary that the king should appear and agree to go to Paris. The queen wished to follow him. The journey was not without danger for her. La Fayette took her on to a balcony, and not being able to make himself heard, he respectfully kissed his hand to her, as a sign of reconciliation between the monarchy and the Revolution. The crowd applauded: cries of *Vive la reine* were heard. Some minutes later the royal party left in the midst of this rough crowd, which conducted them like prisoners to their own capital (5th and 6th October). The assembly committed the unpardonable mistake of following the king to Paris and installing him in the chapel of the archbishop, and afterwards in the riding-school near the Tuileries. From that moment the assembly found itself, like the king, in the power of the populace, to whom the success of the expedition to Versailles had made the fatal revelation that discussion could be replaced by force, that both assembly and government could be subjugated by a day's rioting.

Excesses of the People: Emigration.—Culpable excesses had already taken place. Men of blood and destruction had appeared such as are always to be found in popular risings and who make wise men shudder at the thought of revolution, even when necessary and legitimate. Since the winter, bands of such men had terrorised the country districts and even the towns. In Paris the municipality had been forced to provide a sort of detention-barracks for 20,000 men. It was an army ready for any popular rising. It had to be guarded by cannon charged with grape-shot. But these unfortunate men could not be entirely prevented from finding their way, one by one, into the town. They would be found among the crowd in the Place de Grève, near the Palais Royal. Such men would lightly commit murder and carry the heads of their victims in procession through the streets. On April 28, even before the meeting of the States-General, the factory of Réveillon was broken into and plundered as well as the Faubourg St. Antoine; De Launay and Flesselles were murdered after the fall of the Bastille, murders followed by those of Foulon the minister, Berthier the intendant, and some members of the Royal Guard. In the provinces the peasants, not always content with destroying the feudal titles, would knock down the towers, destroy the drawbridges, and sometimes even kill the owners. Such violence is for ever to be deplored for the immense harm it did to the cause of public liberty. Terror reigned in the court and in the châteaux. The most imprudent of the king's counsellors, his brother the Count of Artois, the Princes of Condé and Conti, the Dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, the Polignacs, and others, were the first to take refuge in flight the morning after the fall of the Bastille. Others were quick to follow their example. They left the king alone in the midst of a people whose anger they had provoked, in directing the arms of foreigners against the flesh and blood of their native land.

But if there were deeds to be deplored, there was also heroism to be proud of. Larivière, one of the electors, in order to protect Berthier the intendant, who had been arrested, went with him in the carriage that took him to Paris. Berthier was fired at, attacked by swords and sabres; Larivière leant across him and protected him with his own body. In Paris the fury of the mob was at its height, but for some time the intendant was not recognised. At length a voice cried that it was Berthier who lifted his hat; at once twenty muskets were aimed at the carriage; Larivière at the same moment lifted *his* hat also.

Another day one of the French Guard saved his colonel, the Duke de Chatelet, whom the people wished to put to death. "What is your name?" asked the duke afterwards. "My name," the man replied, "is that of all my comrades." And among those gentlemen who left France in obedience to a false conception of loyalty, how many there were who, like Chateaubriant, felt the bitterness of eating the bread of strangers, who carried with them cherished memories of their native land, love and pride of country. A French officer followed the Emperor Francis II. to a review of Austrian troops. The emperor, proud of their splendid bearing, turned and said, "There are men who could beat the *sans-culottes*." "That remains to be seen," replied the emigrant.

The Dual Movement which hastened the Revolution.—From the 6th October, 1789, to 30th September, 1791, the day on which the National Assembly dispersed, France was drawn in two different directions. On one side the Revolution—begun by practically the whole people, though directed for a time by disciples of Montesquieu, who demanded only for France a constitution based on that of England—the Revolution tended to pass into the hands of democratic leaders and became every day more democratic. On the other side, the court hid its chagrin under a mask of docility, and by the suspicions and fears which actuated its conduct precipitated the inexorable approach of the Revolution.

The Work of the Assembly: Political and Civil Reforms.—Between these opposing tendencies, the National Assembly pursued the course of its important work, putting down with one hand, building up with the other, with an energy sometimes rash but more often well-inspired. By the enumeration of its principal decrees it will be seen how far France has preserved its reform in civil affairs.

After having deprived the monarchy of the right of making laws, imposing taxes, deciding between peace and war, the king was relegated to the position of first functionary of the state, with a yearly grant of 25 million livres.

The dissenters, the press, industry, and commerce were free from all restraint. Birthrights and entails were suppressed. The equal division of property among all the children was made obligatory; confiscation was abolished in virtue of the principle that expiation must be personal, like the fault. Protestants and Jews were admitted to all civic and civil rights, and the Protestants were given back such of their property as had been

incorporated in the domains of the state ; the mulattoes of the colonies were given civil rights.

The assembly also abolished titles, annihilating the nobility and clergy as orders, reducing the nobles to the status of citizens, the priests to that of public functionaries. It established equality of punishment and diminished the number of cases in which the death penalty might be inflicted ; it declared all French citizens—as far as religion and birth were concerned—to be admissible to every form of public employment, to every military rank ; all were taxable in proportion to their means ; finally, the old arbitrary lines of provincial demarcation were replaced by the division of the country into departments. “ The territory of France,” as the law of September 28, 1791, declared, “ is free to its uttermost extent, as are the people who inhabit it.”

Creation of Departments (January 15, 1790).—There had been departments since 1783, nearly equal in size, of which the boundaries and denominations were not borrowed from ancient usages, but were determined by the configuration of the land, the rivers, and the mountains. Each department was divided into districts, each district into cantons, each canton into communes or municipalities to the number of 44,828. This territorial division to which all the new administrative organisation had to conform led the assembly at this critical moment to trench to the quick on the privileges of the clergy and nobility, which had up till that time only been abolished in words. That caused resistance, disturbance, and finally civil war.

National Wealth: Assignats.—The crying needs of the treasury had not yet been met. Mirabeau, in holding before the public the threat of *hideous bankruptcy*, had secured by a proposition of Necker's that every citizen should make the patriotic sacrifice of a quarter of his income. This was received with enthusiastic acclamation. It was a temporary expedient. Something better and more lasting was needed. On the memorable night of August 4 the Bishop of Uzès had said : “ Would that I had property ! What a joy it would be to me to divide it among the working men ! But we are only trustees.” For the assembly, regarding the property of the clergy as a trust, had decided that such property should be given back to the nation which had in former times given it to the clergy in trust. But the clergy claimed ownership, as a right of long and uninterrupted possession, they claimed it in the interests of their calling, of hospitals, of the poor. “ What is to become,” cried the Bishop of Aix, “ of the promises we have made, that our properties shall be preserved inviolate

and sacred ? ” But the clergy, ceasing to be a corporate body, lost its proprietary rank. The state then took the properties by right of disinheritance. That was decided on December 2, 1789, in spite of the efforts of Maury and Cazalès ; the domains of the Church were put at the disposition of the nation, and the government was authorised to sell them to the amount of 400 millions, on the condition that the state should be responsible for the proper upkeep of public worship, for the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor. The lands of the crown, the property of emigrants (of which the confiscation was afterwards ordered, July 27, 1792), were also declared national property and became, in the apt expression of the time, the dowry of the constitution.

To sell all these lands, to divide them and distribute them to the nation, was a powerful way of attaching the country people to the Revolution. “ To create an army of revolutionary interests,” as Mirabeau said, it was decided that the state should issue a paper currency of short duration, which would be received in preference for the purchase of national property. These *assignats* were destroyed as soon as they returned again to the hands of the state. And so, as the actual acres of ground could not be put in circulation, the sign which stood for them was used. That was the origin of the *assignats*, which only fell into bad repute when their rightful uses were abused. The clergy, despoiled of their property, were indemnified by salaries granted to all their members, and by pensions given to those members of religious orders whose convents were suppressed. Seventy-seven millions were inscribed in the budget for expenses connected with the Church.

Judicial Reforms.—The assembly had destroyed the parliaments by a simple decree which put them in indefinite vacation. But it imposed a fertile principle in the separation of administrative and judicial powers, and it instituted for the whole kingdom a *court of cassation*, which, judging appeals in the last resort, had the mission of maintaining the unity of legislation and jurisprudence. The assembly also instituted the following smaller courts : in the departments a *criminal court* which was assisted by a jury ; in the districts a *civil court* ; in the cantons a *justice of the peace* and a *bureau of conciliation* ; in the chief towns a *consular court* ; and finally, to have some check on the conduct of high public functionaries, and for crimes against the defence of the realm, a *high court of justice* (May, 1791). Wishing that justice should always proceed from the reason and

conscience of the magistrates, the assembly decreed that judgments must allege their motives, and to put an end to the chaos of the 400 different customs of France, it inscribed in the constitution that a code of civil laws had been made "common to the whole kingdom." The magistrates were no longer elected for life, but for ten years only ; that was an unfortunate measure, which put the judges in a position of dependence upon those judged.

Financial Reforms.—The assembly had abolished some of the taxes which had been so numerous and so vexatious in the old regime, such as the *taille*, *vingtième*, *capitation*, *dimes*, *aides*, *gabelle*, and others. But it declared that every citizen must contribute to the public revenue in proportion to his means, and it decreed a tax on patents, to tap the wealth of industry and commerce ; a sliding scale to reach fluctuating incomes ; a land-tax to secure a share of the profits of the land. The assembly retained in a simplified form the rights of registering, of stamping, of mortgage ; taxes easy to collect and founded on acknowledged rights. It abolished internal customs houses, but retained those on the frontier. Finally, to encourage industry as well as to protect it, primary materials and substances were allowed to come into the kingdom duty free. To facilitate trade a uniform system of weights and measures was agreed upon, which the members of the *Académie française* determined in correspondence with the Royal Society of London.

The Federation (July 14, 1790).—Thus were the vows for the political and social renovation of France realised. But the fears of some, the impatience of others, the misdeeds of a few, caused the aim to be exceeded, and the noble edifice, erected by the labours of a century, crumbled to pieces, only to be raised again after horrible and mutilating experiences.

In the middle of the year 1790, the horizon was dark with clouds, some of them menacing and bloody, but the political success of the great work was still believed in. There was a moment of universal confidence and boundless hope at the festival of the federation, given by the Parisians in the *Champ de Mars* for this very reason to the deputies of the army and the departments. Since November of the preceding year, all the nation—townspeople, country people, and soldiers—had fraternised with each other, all uniting for the common defence, in the joy of their native land, which had been given back to them. The local federations united, the one with the other, and ended by forming a grand federation of France, which

sent 100,000 representatives to Paris on July 14, 1790. An altar dedicated to France (*l'autel de la patrie*) was erected in the *Champ de Mars*; an immense crowd filled that vast plain; La Fayette, the commander of the National Guards of the whole kingdom, was the first to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution, which millions of voices repeated. The king took his oath in a loud voice, "I, King of the French, swear and declare that I will use all my power, delegated to me by the constitutional law of the state, to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Assembly accepted by me; to cause its laws to be carried out." The queen was in a balcony of the *École Militaire*; carried away by the general enthusiasm, she took the dauphin in her arms and presented him to the people as if to associate him with the oath taken by his father. At this moment the rain, which had fallen heavily all day, stopped suddenly, and by a happy chance—which our forefathers would have regarded as a sign of the intervention of the gods—the sun pierced the clouds and flooded with its brilliant rays the altar at which the *Te Deum* was being sung. An outburst of joy and enthusiasm rent the skies. This was the great day of the Revolution; the spirit of concord and fraternal devotion filled all hearts, the prevailing exhilaration found expression that evening in dancing before the Bastille. But to this brilliant festival there was no morrow.

The Clubs: Jacobins, Cordeliers, and Others.—The Revolution had made such extraordinary progress that new ideas, societies, and clubs sprang up on all sides, each one endeavouring to drive public opinion in its particular direction. Some began to show violence against the clergy, against the court, even against the assembly itself. The most active of all these societies was the *Breton* club, which had left Versailles at the same time as the government and had chosen as its headquarters the convent of the *Jacobins*, from which it took its name. It was still under the influence of men who, although eager and enthusiastic, were yet moderate in their views, the two Lameths, Duport, Barnave, and it was afterwards to be ruled by Robespierre. The club of '89 served as a meeting-place for two men prominent in the early days of the Revolution, Siéyès and La Fayette. But already that terrible club had been opened which Danton directed at the convent of the *Cordeliers*. The press excited sedition: Camille Desmoulins in his paper *Les Révolutions de Brabant et de Flandres*; the odious Marat in his *Ami du Peuple*, in which he demanded still the sacrifice of 800 heads. The provinces were as agitated

as Paris, there had been disturbances everywhere; they were especially volcanic in the Midi, but occurred also at Marseilles, Valence, Nîmes, Montauban, and Toulouse. The insurrectionists gathered an army; M. de Bouillé engaged in a bloody struggle in order to quell the rebellious soldiers of Nancy, who had revolted against their officers (August, 1790). Necker, seeing his powerlessness, tendered his resignation (September, 1790).

Death of Mirabeau (April 2, 1791).—Seeing that the maintenance of public order was relegated by the constitution to the executive power, the National Assembly felt itself morally obliged to interpose its authority—more respected than that of the king—in putting a stop to the prevailing anarchy. Mirabeau, who gained greater ascendancy every day, began with an audacity and candour which made his popularity supreme to insist on the repression of factions. “I would not have striven only for destruction,” he wrote to the Comte de la Marche. He even approached the court and treated with the king and queen, not to annihilate but to arrest and consolidate the Revolution. He thought himself strong enough, had he been called to the ministry, to control two torrents at once, that of the passions of the people and that of the passions of the aristocracy: a proof that death saved his reputation. Worn out before his time by all manner of excesses, he did not cease to speak, to write, to agitate, till all at once his powers deserted him. When it became known that a serious malady threatened his life, the Chaussée d’Antin, where he lived, was thronged with an anxious crowd which seemed to be labouring under a national calamity. The bulletins which the doctor issued from time to time were eagerly awaited; they had to be printed to satisfy the crowd, that all might read them. The king sent daily to hear the latest news. The night before his death the invalid heard a cannon shot: “Have the funeral ceremonies of Achilles begun already?” he asked. After a night of grave anxiety and before the day broke, “My friend,” he said to Cabanis, “I will die to-day. At such a time there is only one thing to do, that is to surround oneself with sweet perfumes, to cover oneself with flowers, to listen to soft music, in fact to enter sweetly into that sleep from which there is no awakening.” Then he had his bed drawn close up to the window and watched with rapture the brilliant glory of the spring sun, the reawakening beauty of his garden. He died on April 2, 1791, scarcely forty-two years old. One of his last sayings was: “My heart is heavy with regrets for the monarchy, the ruins of which will be the spoil of factions.” All the members of the National

Assembly, all Paris, escorted his coffin to the Pantheon, where he was buried and which was afterwards dedicated "to the great men" of France by "a grateful country."

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy.—With the death of Mirabeau, the king ceased to hear moderate counsels or advice in favour of a constitutional regime, which was indeed against all his own inclinations, and which was abhorred by the queen. Louis was wounded, not only in his authority as king, but also in his feelings as a man, by the threatening orders against emigrants, and in his conscience as a Christian by the measures the assembly had taken concerning the clergy.

The clergy had already ceased to be proprietors and to form a separate order in the state; the number of convents had been limited to one in each municipality; the taking of monastic vows had been suspended and legal sanction refused to those which had been taken before this measure, so that the bonds of religion were now only bonds of conscience and of faith. The assembly went even further; it reduced the number of archbishops in France from 135 to 83, one to each department, and as it had put everything on a basis of election, it resolved to do the same with the Church, where election had flourished originally, where it had existed to a certain degree before the *concordat* of 1516. The assembly decreed that those who elected the administrators of the departments and the deputies to the National Assembly should also elect the bishops and the curés (July 12, 1791). This *civil constitution of the clergy*, to which all priests were ordered to take the oath, was a cause of grievous vexation to the established hierarchy of the Church. It made the bishops practically independent of the pope because it substituted the canonical institution given by the metropolitan for the canonical institution given by the Holy Father. The ecclesiastical committee which proposed this reform, while desiring fervently that France should remain Catholic, yet encroached on the rights which the whole Catholic world recognised as those of the sovereign pontiff. From a religious point of view there was a contradiction in this measure, seeing that France was more truly Catholic even than Rome herself, perhaps not in dogma, but certainly in discipline, ceremonial institution, and spiritual jurisdiction. The measure committed also from a political point of view a grave imprudence, because it gave permission to the adversaries of the new social order "to set the enthusiasm of religion over against the enthusiasm of liberty."

Some of the provinces even turned against the Revolution after

the pope had prohibited the oath (March 10 and April 13, 1791). The great majority of the bishops refused to take it ; those who did take it formed that body of clergy recognised by the state under the title of *Priests bound by oath* or *Constituted Priests*. The exercise of their priestly functions was forbidden to the others. There were thus two bodies : the one a public body which laboured in churches deserted by the faithful, the other clandestine, a body which met in lonely out-of-the-way places, in the depths of forests, where crowds would flock together ; this was spiritually the more powerful body. Schism had entered into the Church ; persecutions and war followed in its train. It was in vain that an eloquent preacher of Poitou appealed to the spirit of the Gospel that if the first Apostle was put under authority, if every one was put under authority, why should the Church be excepted ? His sage counsels were not listened to. The Revolution had the nobility already against it ; the priests would now enter into the conflict : a terrible civil war filled France with terror, with crime, with bloodshed.

Opposition of the King.—When the pope decreed resistance, the king had opposed his veto ; he did not raise his opposition for five months (December 26, 1791). In his own heart, and in the minds of the court and all Europe, the king was no longer free ; all power was wanting. The representative of a past which every day received some new blow, what sure support could he find in the midst of these crumbling ruins ? And he had not sincerely looked for support in the new order of things. The court still counted on the good faith of the army, and on the kings of others countries, who looked with alarm on the spectacle of this tremendous revolution at whose burning words and dreadful deeds the whole world stood aghast. The idea of flight was mooted ; of an appeal to the kings. From December, 1790, the king sent many secret messages to foreign powers.

Flight of the King (June 20, 1791).—The Count of Artois and the Prince of Condé, who arranged for the extensive emigration that was going on, were occupied in thinking out means for the safety of Louis XVI.: the Count of Artois entered, with the consent of the king, into a secret convention with the Emperor Leopold. The Kings of Austria, Prussia, Piedmont, and Spain, as well as the Swiss, engaged to send to the frontiers of France, ready to enter it at a given signal, bodies of troops amounting in all to 100,000 men. (Conference of Mantua, May, 1791.)

It was thus that Louis XVI. authorised the blockade and the invasion of France : but he wished first to be free. His project

of escape leaked out among the people, who, already irritated by the departure of his aunts for Italy, would not allow the king to leave Paris for an instant, not even to go to St. Cloud. He left the Tuileries on the night of June 20 with the queen, the dauphin, his daughter, his sister Elizabeth, and Madame Tourzel, the governess of his children. A huge coach met them at Bondy and conveyed the whole party towards Montmédy, Bouillé having been ordered to guard the road with soldiers. But at St. Ménehould the king was recognised by Drouet, the Post-master-General : at Varennes he was arrested by the procurator of the commune, and taken away in charge of commissioners sent from Paris, where his flight had been discovered some hours after his departure. Barnave was one of his guards : from that day he tried to assume the mantle of Mirabeau ; to save the king by vindicating the constitution to the court, the court to the assembly.

Louis XVI. re-entered his capital in the midst of an immense, silent crowd. A notice had been generally posted up : " Those who cheer the king will be beaten : those who insult the king will be hung." While the king was on his way from Varennes, the assembly, not in the least agitated, had declared that the government was not interrupted, that executive power rested in the hands of the ministers under the direction of the assembly, that relations with foreign powers were being carried on : finally that 300,000 men of the National Guard were being raised by the whole of France to defend her territory against enemy forces. These decrees issued in the space of a few hours, the assembly stoically took up the order of the day, a discussion on the penal code.

Affair of the Champ de Mars (July 17, 1791).—The king was suspended from his powers and put under the supervision of a guard ; but when the assembly discussed his being put on trial, or his loss of rights, the constitutionals—who were still in the majority and who had separated from the Jacobins to form a club of more moderate views, the *Feuillants*—insisted on a declaration stating only that if the king should retract his oath of fidelity to the constitution, if he put himself at the head of an army to make war against the nation, he should be held to have abdicated. That was not enough for those who, on hearing of the flight of the king, had said : " Now we are rid of our chief embarrassment " ; or " If the king has gone, the nation remains." From that day republican ideas dared to make themselves publicly heard. A petition, framed in violent terms by the

Cordeliers and *Jacobins*, which ordered the assembly to pronounce the king's forfeiture of his rights, was taken to the altar of France in the *Champ de Mars* to receive signatures. On Sunday, July 17, a great crowd gathered in Paris and the surrounding districts. The clubs were agitated: Santerre stirred up the people of the suburbs. The assembly, disquieted by this movement which was disturbing the people, issued a general order to the National Guard and to the Mayor of Paris to provide for the safety of the populace and to disperse the crowds. Troops under La Fayette entered the *Champ de Mars* and ranged themselves in front of the *École Militaire*; Bailly brought his men in from the direction of Chaillot: they were received by a fusillade of stones. One man fired on La Fayette, another on Bailly. The mayor had the red flag hoisted and proclaimed martial law. The soldiers were ordered to fire a volley without shot: that had no result: they then loaded their muskets and fired: many of the crowd fell dead and wounded. The excited people were brought to their senses by this first blood spilt in the maintenance of public order, but Bailly paid with his life for his act of legitimate and necessary firmness.

The King re-establishes his Office (September 14).—The assembly, worn out by its prolonged labours, longed for respite. But it was eager to achieve the constitution. On the 14th September the king, who had up till then been a prisoner in the Tuileries, accepted the constitution and swore by a solemn oath that he would observe it. The assembly reinstated him in his powers, but could it give him that moral authority which he had lost? Could he himself impose on his court his desire to maintain loyally the new laws?

Constitution of 1791.—The constitution gave the legislative power to a permanent assembly which the king had not the power to dissolve, and which was to be re-constituted every two years by a general election. It alone had the initiative of making laws, but it left to the king, with executive powers, the option of suspending national measures for four years, except in the case of questions of finance (right of veto). The electorate was divided in *Primary Assemblies*, which in the headquarters of each canton compiled the electoral roll; and *Electoral Assemblies*, which elected the deputies to the National Assembly, the administrators of departments, of the district, and the judges of the law courts. The *Primary Assemblies* comprised the *active* citizens, that is, those of twenty-five years of age or over who were inscribed on the roll of the National Guard, who had resided

for at least one year in the canton, and who paid direct contribution to the state equal in local value to three days' work. The *Electoral Assemblies* were formed of citizen-proprietors, or tenants of property bringing an income equal in local value to from 200 to 500 days' work. All the *active* citizens were eligible. Domestic servants were excluded from the *Primary Assemblies*.

The constitution of 1791, which retained more than two million electors, was odious to the court and to Europe as being too revolutionary; it was hated no less by the people, and especially after July 17, as being too aristocratic. It was reproached on the one side for having demolished all the favourite abuses; on the other for having set a lower limit than had ever been set before to the exercise of political rights.

Closure of the Constitution (September 30, 1791).—The constitution finished with dignified words of liberty and concord. It proclaimed a general amnesty, suppressed the difficulties put in its way, and annulled—in order to recall the emigrants to their native land—all the laws of exclusion. But the emigrants did not return. Time had not been taken into consideration in the constitution, and time is one of the supreme rulers in the destiny of man. But in spite of its faults the constitution deserves the gratitude of France, for if its political reforms have practically all perished, its civil reforms survived and were confirmed by the Code of Napoleon, the authors of which followed the great principles the constitution had set forth.

From among its members a few names stand out in bold relief: Siéyès, Mounier, Malouet, Cazalès, Maury, Barnave, the two Lameths, Lully, Dupont, and above all Mirabeau, who, had he lived, might even have reconciled the monarchy and the Revolution. Mirabeau was the author of the noble phrase explaining the new era which seemed about to open: "Law is the sovereign of the world."

The constitution forbade the re-election of its members, a mistaken step of a too-generous disinterest, which deprived the assembly of the insight and experience so dearly gained by the veterans of the Revolution.

CHAPTER LX

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (1791-1792)

The Legislative Assembly (October 1, 1791, to September 21, 1792).—The Legislative Assembly, so insignificant between its great and terrible sisters, the Constituent and the Convention, began its sittings on October 1, 1791; they ended on September 21, 1792. It was a transition between the limited monarchy of the Constitutionals and the dictatorship of the *Montagnards*.¹ Its leaders, the *Girondins*,² Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaud, Gaudet, Gensonné, Ducos, Isnard, and Valazé, worked solely for the overthrow of the monarchy, but in leaving the extreme parties to deal with the affairs of the republic, which they did with an energy and ruthlessness leading even to bloodshed, they lost the chance of moderating such excessive zeal.

Stringent Measures against the Unconstitutional Priests and the Emigrants.—The spirit of the new assembly revealed itself from the first in a discussion which arose as to whether the king was still to receive the titles of *Sire* and *Majesty*. But more serious matters soon claimed its attention. Three great dangers threatened the Revolution: the unconstitutional priests by their refusal to take the civil oath were causing trouble in the provinces; the emigrants had formed centres of intrigue against their native land in Brussels, Worms, and Coblenz; and the foreign powers, obsessed by the idea of reinstating Louis XVI. in his rights, publicly declared their intentions by the *Declaration of Pilnitz*, signed by the King of Prussia and the Emperor Leopold (August 27, 1791). The Constituent Assembly knowing how impossible it was for the spirit of sacrifice—which had shone so brightly on the night of August 4—to become a rule of conduct for all those whom the Revolution had harmed, refused to enter into extraordinary legislation. It threatened but did not act. The legislature acted. All unconstitutional priests were deprived of their salaries; emigrants who did not return by a certain date

¹ The leaders of the Republicans were called *Montagnards*, mountaineers, because in the meetings of the assembly they occupied seats high up on the left of the hall.

² The *Girondins* were so called because they numbered in their ranks the deputies of Gironde, Vergniaud, Gaudet, and Gensonné, men who were famous for their brilliant eloquence, and so gave the name of their province to the party they adorned.

were declared to be conspirators and the income of their property was added to the national revenue, but without prejudicing the rights of their wives, their children, or their *bona-fide* creditors.

Declaration to Foreign Powers.—As to the foreign powers, the assembly authorised the king to reply to them in these terms: "Say to them that where preparations against France are suffered to proceed France sees only enemies to herself; say that we will stand firmly by our oath to make no further conquest; that we offer the security of good neighbours, the inviolable friendship of a free and powerful country; that we will respect their laws, their customs, their constitutions, but that we wish ours also to be respected. Say to them finally that if the German princes persist in their preparations against France, France will raise against them not only blood and iron but the principle of liberty. It is for them to calculate what may be the results of this reawakening of nations" (November 29, 1791). The king transmitted requests to the foreign powers that they should withdraw their troops from the frontiers of France; but they declared through M. de Kaunitz "the legitimacy of the league of sovereigns, united to ensure the safety and honour of crowns." It could therefore be no longer doubted that the foreign powers had formed a coalition against France and were about to begin that terrible war which lasted for twenty-three years; which was for them one long tale of disaster, which deflected the Revolution from its peaceful courses, which covered France with glory indeed, but also with blood.

The Girondin Ministry (March, 1792).—At the approach of war Louis XVI. was obliged to call the *Girondin* party to the ministry; Servan went to the War Office; Dumouriez to the Foreign Office. The latter, an extremely able man, full of resource, had unfortunately lived for fifty years among the intrigues of courts and was devoid of principle, but for the time being he was a *Girondin*. The portfolio of the Interior was given to Roland, an honest man, whose wife deserved her place among the great names of the Revolution. When Roland came to court for the first time he came in a round hat and with ribbons on his shoes. The master of ceremonies could not believe his eyes. He did not want to allow Roland to proceed, but could not prevent a minister from passing. He turned to Dumouriez, "O sir! no buckles on his shoes!" cried the guardian of etiquette in despair. "Ah, monsieur," replied Dumouriez gravely, "then all is indeed lost!"

First Reverse: June 29, 1792.—On April 20, 1792, Louis XVI.

solemnly declared war on the emperor. Dumouriez wished to take the offensive. He counted on carrying the Low Countries with him, as they had recently been in revolt against the house of Austria. But the start was unfortunate. As there was no confidence between the soldiers and their officers, the first always feared the treason of the second. Two army corps took to flight, one of them put Dillon, the general in command, to death. Paris was terrified. The assembly announced that the country was in danger and voted the formation of a camp of 20,000 men in the capital; it also pronounced the penalty of deportation against unconstitutional priests. The king refused to sanction this last measure and dismissed his Girondist ministry. Vergniaud attacked him in the chamber, giving it to be understood that the king favoured the progress of the Austrians. With the assent of eighty-three departments the assembly sent the king a severe letter from Roland, showing clearly that all the difficulties of the situation arose from the reciprocal defiance between the king and the assembly. At this moment Louis could still have saved his crown by putting himself at the head of the Revolution. Far from that, he sent a secret agent, Mallet du Pan, to the foreign coalition. This mission was ignored. But no one doubted that the "Austrian Committee" formed round the queen corresponded with the enemies. Pétion was Mayor of Paris. He was a republican and allowed the most violent movements against the monarchy to emanate from the Hôtel de Ville. These movements, exaggerated by the clubs, were made known among the people by the powerful agency of the press, especially by Marat's paper, which began its sanguinary dictatorship and disorganised everything by sowing suspicion broadcast. The people did not long resist this appeal, which appeared to be justified by the menaces of the emigrants and the insufficient measures taken for the defence of the country.

On June 20 the people, armed with pikes, assembled under pretext of celebrating the anniversary of the Oath of the Tennis Court, and, led by Santerre the brewer, advanced towards the assembly, which made the mistake of opening its doors and letting the crowd pass in front of it singing the famous *Ça ira*¹ to the cries of *Vive la nation!* The crowd then marched to the Tuileries, forced an entrance, and summoned Louis XVI. to sanction certain decrees. The king, hemmed in to a narrow

¹ The chorus of a republican song, famous in France in those revolutionary days.

space in front of a window, was nearly stifled. He got up on a table and allowed the red cap adopted by the Jacobins to be put on his head. The people were satisfied ; they went away without even having obtained the sanction of their decrees. Louis showed noble courage on that fatal day which inaugurated the reign of force. La Fayette, who commanded one of the armies on the frontier, in vain demanded retribution for this violation of the royal residence. Two months later he was an outlaw. He was forced to leave his army, to leave France. He was the last hope of the constitutionalists : his flight announced the triumph of the republicans.

Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick: August 10, 1792.—The whole of France was stirred up. The deputies from the departments hastened to Paris to form the camp ; the most important, those from Marseilles, stayed in the capital, to which they brought the famous song since called after them. The leaders of the *Cordeliers* and *Jacobins*, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, took advantage of their presence to deliver a final blow to the monarchy. The first imprudence of the allies gave them their opportunity. On July 26, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, general of the Prussian army, published a manifesto, announcing that he was about to give back to Louis XVI., in the name of the other sovereigns, his former powers. He threatened to treat those towns which dared to defend themselves as rebels, to shoot those of the inhabitants who took up arms, and, should the Tuileries be insulted, to deliver Paris over to military execution. The challenge was accepted. A petition signed by the sections (August 9) demanded that the king should finally give up his rights before the close of the day or his castle would be attacked. In a moment the tocsin sounded ; a warning shot was fired ; the people of St. Marceau and St. Antoine assembled, and in the morning, well provided with cannon, muskets, and cartridges, and accompanied by many companies of the National Guard, they surrounded the Tuileries. Louis XVI., guarded by Swiss soldiers, nobles, and some of the National Guard, was able to offer defence. But the National Guard went over to the people, the assassination of Mandat, the energetic commander, disorganised the resistance, and the king decided to leave before the attack commenced (7 a.m.). He took refuge in the National Assembly with all his family, not without danger ; and as the assembly could not legally continue its deliberations in the presence of the king, he was given a place of refuge in the stenographers' room, where he stayed for two days. Contradictory

orders paralysed the ardour of the Swiss and the nobles left in the castle, which after a short and sanguinary fight was taken and sacked. Its defenders were put to death where they stood, in the rooms, in the garden, in the neighbouring streets ; 2000 persons perished. The victors went in procession to the assembly and dictated to it two orders: that the king should forfeit all his rights and that a national convention should be convoked. The assembly obeyed the second order ; it left the heavy responsibility of the first to its successors and contented itself with suspending executive power. The insurrection was thus a fresh victory for the people, who were becoming used to substitute blows for the regular procedure of institutions, a habit which cost France twenty revolutions in eighty years. England proceeded differently. Since 1688 in place of bloody insurrections she had only frequent changes in the ministry : every one, high or low, respected the law, everything depended on debate, nothing on force. Louis XVI. left the assembly to be conducted to the prison of the Temple. The commune, an unscrupulous body, became the ruling power ; Danton, Minister of Justice, the Mirabeau of the people, was at its head. Danton changed his energy into fury.

Capture of Longwy and Verdun: The Massacres of September (1792).—The Prussians hoped to take Longwy ; it was rumoured that they were already in Verdun, that they had crossed the Meuse, that they were sweeping over Champagne. The assembly proposed that the French should retire beyond the Loire. Danton expostulated that to give up Paris was to give up France. Just as he spoke the report of cannon was heard. "That shot is not a warning," he cried, "it is the sound of a charge against the enemies of France. What do we require in order to vanquish them? Audacity ; more audacity ; always audacity !" But Danton pushed audacity to the point of crime. He thought that before setting out to vanquish external enemies it was necessary to exterminate those within, at least to frighten the royalists. It was for that reason that he gave orders, or at least allowed orders to be given by the committee in charge—of which Marat was a member—for the frightful massacres of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th September, massacres which filled all the prisons of Paris with blood. A body of four or five hundred assassins in the pay of the commune seized the prisons. Some of these murderers constituted themselves as tribunals, others served as executioners. The prisoners were called in the order registered in the jailers' books ; after a few questions they were either set

free with a cry of *Vive la nation*, or they were conducted to the prison yard and there despatched by blows from sabres, pikes, hatchets, or clubs. There was no mercy shown to unconstitutional priests, to the Swiss, the bodyguard, or to any avowed royalists. The Princess de Lamballe, a friend of the queen, was torn to pieces ; her head was carried through the streets, even below the windows of the Temple prison where the king and queen were confined. After having killed the political prisoners, the assassins proceeded to put the others to death also ; the women of the Salpêtrière ; the paupers, the lunatics, and the children of the Bicêtre. The number killed came to 966. There were victims also at Reims, at Meaux, at Lyons, at Orleans ; forty-six were put to death at Versailles. The assembly, terrified and powerless, had no means of stopping these massacres. The revolution, begun in the name of justice and fraternity, had allowed itself to be stamped by the ineffaceable stains of blood.

Victory of Valmy (September 30, 1792).—But the courage of the French soldiers helps us to turn from these abominable outrages to one of the greatest victories in all the long wars of France. Only a few days after the massacre, Dumouriez, at the head of a new French army, gained the victory of Valmy. One hundred and sixty thousand Prussian and imperial troops had left Coblenz on July 20, divided into several army corps. To oppose them, France had only 96,000 undisciplined men, without confidence in themselves or their leaders, and who, it must be allowed—for good and seasoned armies cannot be improvised—could never have prevented the enemy from penetrating even as far as Paris had the enemy been astute, his progress rapid. On August 22, the enemy was only at Longwy, which it seized ; Verdun was the next to fall. The commander, Beaurepaire, wished to defend the town. The municipal council opposed him. “ I have sworn,” cried Beaurepaire, “ to save the town or to die. I will keep my oath ! ” He drew his pistol and shot himself through the brain in the council chamber (September 2). One of the soldiers also refused to capitulate. At the approach of the Prussians he fired his musket at them. Seized at once he was soon set free within bounds, when it became known that he was about to settle his own fate. He was a handsome young man, of determined air, calm and proud expression. Near his quarters there was a bridge over the Meuse ; he climbed up on the parapet, stood motionless for an instant, and then plunged into the depths. So he died. To such heights did the spirit of that age attain.

This heroic act might well have caused Brunswick to reflect. He had found France very different from what the emigrants had led him to expect, and as he had no strong position between his army and Paris, he hesitated to thrust himself among that infuriated people. He deployed his forces slowly behind the Meuse. During this time Dumouriez had hurried forward his troops and, pointing to the passes of the Argonne, said to his lieutenants, "There are the Thermopylaes of France." They occupied the passes and formed two camps in the rear, entrenched before Reims and Châlons, another at Meaux, in which the soldiers who hastened in from all quarters were drilled and organised. Two thousand voluntary soldiers arrived from Paris alone every day.

But one of the passes was forced ; the way to Châlons was clear. Instead of taking refuge in that town, Dumouriez stayed persistently in the Argonne, a country easy of defence, to establish himself at need on the rear of the Prussians. The latter halted to give battle. Kellerman had rejoined the French. The principal effort was made round the rising ground of Valmy where Kellerman had taken up his position with his conscripts, described by the emigrants as "tailors and shoemakers." But it soon appeared that the smell of powder appealed to these shop assistants just as to seasoned soldiers. They stood fire with a coolness on which the enemy had not counted. The action was nothing more than a cannonade of a few hours. Bombs having set fire to some ammunition waggons among the French batteries, the resulting explosion killed and wounded a number of men and there was a moment of disorder. Brunswick made use of it to send forward his infantry in close order to the attack. Kellerman allowed them to come on to within a few yards without firing a shot, and then, putting himself at the head of his men with the shout of *Vive la nation !* re-echoed by the whole line, he rushed them forward on the enemy in a bayonet charge. This tremendous battle cry, which lasted for several minutes, coupled with the proud and determined bearing of the French, arrested the Prussians ; Dumouriez's cannon battered the flank of their column ; they fell back quickly and Brunswick withdrew from action.

On the morrow of Valmy the convention met and proclaimed the republic. Its reply to the negotiations proposed by Brunswick was worthy of the ancient senate of Rome : "The French republic cannot enter into any negotiations until the Prussian troops have completely evacuated the territory of

France." The Prussians, whose ranks were cruelly thinned by want and disease, began on the 1st of October to withdraw from France.

Defence of Lille: Victory of Jemappes.—While Dumouriez held up the invading army at Valmy and even forced it to gradual retreat, Custine had taken the offensive on the Rhine; he took Speyer, Worms, and even the great town of Mainz. In the Alps, Montesquieu conquered Savoy and Anselm, the Count of Nice. In the Low Countries the Austrians attacked Lille with savage barbarism: for six days they threw bombs and red-hot cannon balls into the town; 450 houses were burned to the ground, 700 or 800 were damaged; but still the Austrians could not vanquish the constancy of the patriotic city (September 20 to October 7). Some one on the ramparts told an artillery man that his house was in flames. "My place is here," he replied, "shot for shot!" and he continued to serve his piece. Dumouriez arrived with the victorious army of Valmy to avenge this useless cruelty. He won the battle of Jemappes (November 6) which gave the Low Countries to France. On November 13 he entered Brussels. One of his lieutenants at Valmy and at Jemappes was the son of the Duke of Orleans: he afterwards became Louis Philippe.

And so in her first campaign the new France, formed under the fire of her young soldiers, repulsed the attacks of kings and laid her hand on territory already half French, which even Louis XIV. had been unable to take.

Goethe, the great German poet, had been in the Prussian army at Valmy, not as a soldier, but as a spectator. For the coalition had not expected a great battle, it was rather a march on Paris they contemplated, a rapid journey, finishing in a triumphal entry. Their presumptuous confidence was shaken, the cannon of Valmy dissipated such ideas. One evening in the camp the poet was asked to dispel with his usual verve the sinister presentiments which were already making themselves felt. But he restrained himself; he remained silent for a long time. When at last he did speak his voice was grave and solemn: he said only these words: "A new era in the history of the world begins from this time."

CHAPTER LXI

THE CONVENTION

National Convention.—The monarchy succumbed on August 10. The convention had only to write down in laws that which already existed in deeds ; its first act was to proclaim the republic. But the conquerors were divided among themselves ; two great parties disputed the direction of the assembly : the *Girondins*, who were formerly the strongest party in the legislature, and the *Montagnards*, who were to be the dominating power in the convention. The first were apt to be carried away by their eloquence and knowledge ; the second were bolder and more passionate. Brought up on the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau they dreamt for the France of the eighteenth century of the rude virtues of the golden age of Rome and Sparta ; even though society should perish under their attempts, they were determined to apply their theories to it. Between the *Girondins* and the *Montagnards* (the latter represented particularly the interests and passions of the *bourgeoisie* and the people) was the *Plaine*, composed of moderate but feeble men who formed the ineffectual part of the majority. That is unfortunately the lot of timid moderation in all public controversies.

Death of Louis XVI. (January 21, 1793).—From the 10th of August the royal family were confined in the Temple, a gloomy fortress of which the big tower served as their prison. The king occupied one story, the queen, Madame Elizabeth, the young dauphin, and his sister another. They met during the day. Breakfast was served at nine o'clock in the king's apartments. At ten the king began work with his son, the queen with her daughter. At one o'clock, if the day was fine, the family went into the grounds. The walk finished at two. Then dinner was served. The king took a short rest. After his sleep one of the party would read aloud. Then it was time for supper, after which the family separated. That was always a sad parting, because the farewells of any night might be the last. All communication with the outside world was strictly forbidden. Only one servant, Cléry, attended to their wants, without ever going outside the grounds ; the prisoners had no means of hearing about what would indeed only have pained them—the deaths of their most faithful friends, the victories of the republic

which dispelled any hopes as to their own fate. Such, during five months, was the life of the royal family at the Temple. Louis XVI., who was better fitted for private life than for the throne, showed a calmness and courage during this captivity which often touched even the most severe of his gaolers.

The constitution declared the king inviolable and authorised no further proceedings against him than the forfeiture of his rights. The forfeiture was already pronounced; the law had therefore been carried out. But the country was in a position of extreme danger. England threatened, Austria was about to make greater efforts, a coalition of the whole of Europe was imminent. There seemed to be an outbreak of danger on every side, those who were not restrained by an inflexible morality became excited, lost their heads, and ruined themselves at the thought of impending disaster. Danton uttered these sinister words in the assembly, speaking of the coalition: "Throw them the head of the king in defiance." And the convention, making itself both accuser and judge, cited the king to appear before it (December 3). The venerable Malesherbes, crowning a noble life by a noble deed, demanded and obtained the honour of defending his former master. Desèze, a young advocate, was the spokesman: "I look for judges among you," he cried. "I find only accusers!" St. Just and Robespierre accepted the situation put in this way. They did not trouble to find out whether the accusations against the king were false or true: they demanded his death as a measure of public safety. The Girondins made only timid efforts to save him.

Four questions had been successively put to the vote. (1) Is the king culpable of conspiracy against public liberty, of attempts against public safety? Yes, was the unanimous answer. (2) Did he make an appeal to the people? 276 out of 745 voted in the affirmative. (3) What penalty should be inflicted? 387 voted for unconditional death, 338 for detention or death on certain conditions, 28 were absent or abstained from voting. (4) Should there be any delay in carrying out the sentence? 310 voted for delay, 380 against it. The convention ordered that the execution should take place in twenty-four hours. On January 21st, 1793, Louis XVI., with courage and Christian resignation admired by posterity, mounted the scaffold. He wished to address a few words to the crowd: a roll of drums drowned his voice. And thus a prince who had wished sincerely the good of the people died by the hand of the people, the victim of a hatred even more implacable than that hatred considered itself

righteous. It had been thought that this royal head in its fall would have deepened the impassable abyss between the old France and the new ; it was less the monarch than the monarchy that had been decapitated. Carnot had wept in signing the arrest of the king. The fatal doctrine of the public safety counted in history one crime the more : for it had been once more forgotten that the true safety of a people lies not in executions but in noble hearts. The scaffold erected for Louis was not long removed. Many of his judges were to mount it ; a long trail of blood was still to flow behind the hearse which had carried the body of the king. It was a terrorist who said : " Only the dead return not." He deceived himself ; the best way to call them back is to place the martyr's crown on their heads.

First Coalition (1793-1797).—The death of Louis XVI. caused those states which had still hesitated to arm against France. All the crowned heads felt themselves attacked by this blow, for all were threatened by the revolutionary doctrine and propaganda now practised by the convention. On the proposition of Danton the convention had decreed that France should offer help and the hand of brotherhood to all peoples who wished to regain their liberty (November 19, 1792). The English had already shown themselves sympathetic to a Revolution which seemed similar to their own, though as a matter of fact it was entirely different. But Pitt drew England into the coalition and she offered fleets and subsidies to the enemies of France. Threatened on all frontiers, France did not recoil. On February 1, 1793, she sent England a declaration of war ; on March 9 she challenged Holland and Spain ; and on March 23 she received a declaration of war from the empire. Denmark and Sweden alone remained neutral. It was like a crusade of all the monarchies and aristocracies of Europe, not indeed to avenge Louis XVI., but to stifle the principles of the new social order given to the world by the Revolution.

Grave Dangers: Revolutionary Measures: The Terror.—In the western provinces the influence of those two orders whose privileges the Revolution had destroyed still reigned supreme. Unrest had commenced early. It spread little by little to Maine, Anjou, and Brittany, where the insurgents were known by the name of *Chouans*.¹ From October, 1791, it had been necessary to send troops against them. But the Vendean peasants did not

¹ So called from their first chief, Jean Cottureau, nicknamed the *Chouan* or *Chat-huant*. He was an old smuggler who had adopted for the rallying-call of his confederates the cry of the screech-owl or *Chat-huant*.

begin civil war in the name of the throne and the altar till after the death of the king and after the convention had decreed a levy of 300,000 men in March, 1793. Simultaneously with these internal dangers reverses took place abroad. The English had thrown themselves on the French colonies, and had seized Tobago and Pondicherry. Dumouriez, beaten at Neerwinden after an unsuccessful invasion of Holland, evacuated Belgium and declared himself opposed to the convention. His men refused to follow him: he was obliged to seek refuge in the Austrian camp (April 3). The republic had lost its best general. He was the second who had abandoned his troops. By this time nearly all the officers belonging to the nobility had emigrated. The soldiers took up their former defiant attitude against their leaders: the army had disorganised itself yet again and the northern frontier was in danger.

The convention ruled everything. A *Committee of General Security* was formed to militate against the enemy within the gates, to seek out not only the guilty but the suspects; a revolutionary tribunal was established to punish them. A *Committee of Public Safety*, a dictatorship of nine members, regulated public authority after a despotic manner in order to give to national defence the most energetic activity (April 6). From fear that the inviolability of members of assembly would hamper this new power, the convention renounced that privilege. Since the defection of Dumouriez suspicion was rife everywhere: Robespierre firmly believed that the *Girondins* wished to divide France and open it up to foreigners; the *Girondins* believed that Marat, Robespierre, and Danton wished to make the Duke of Orleans king, then to assassinate him, and form a triumvirate, from which Danton would achieve the overthrow of his colleagues in order to reign supreme. Every one believed in the absurd plans of his adversaries. And beyond all this there was defiance; fear, that terrible counsellor; the hatchet suspended and falling on all heads. This period had a name, the Reign of Terror: terror among the executioners—for that reason the more pitiless—as well as among the victims.

Proscription of the Girondins (June 2, 1793): Rising in the Provinces.—The decree which annulled the inviolability of the deputies was soon put into practice. Since the case of the king, the *Girondins* and the *Montagnards* waged violent warfare against each other in the convention; one side wished to put a stop to the revolution, the other, having chosen that course, wished the revolution to travel only by blood-stained paths. The most

ferocious of those bloodthirsty men was the frightful Marat, who reasoned thus: "Public safety is the supreme law; well, there are 270,000 nobles and priests with their partisans, who are a danger to the state: therefore those 270,000 heads must fall." Every morning he would make this demand. Carrying the cynicism of his thought even into his dress, he would come to the meetings of the convention in *sabots*, the red cap of the Jacobins on his head, and wearing the *carmagnole*.¹ The *Girondins*, whom he accused of moderation, attacked him. They succeeded in securing an accusation against him and he was sent before the revolutionary tribunal. This tribunal, which judged without appeal, which inflicted the death sentence for one word, for a regret, sometimes even for the very name of the accused, absolved Marat and released him. The populace escorted him back in triumph to the convention.

This attack was a double imprudence, for it was the first blow at the inviolability of the deputies and it showed the weakness of the *Girondins*. Danton could have saved them, and wished to do so, but he had the blood of the 2nd of September on his hands; they refused his help, and he in his turn attacked them on May 31 and again more violently on June 2. La Montaigne, who had been made head of the sections of Paris by the commune, armed them against the convention. Surrounded, terrified, the convention voted, under pressure of the insurrection, for the arrest of thirty-one *Girondins*. Some of them like Vergniaud and Gensonné awaited their sentences; others, Pétion and Barbaroux, fled from their persecutors and endeavoured to raise insurrection in the departments. Caen, Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, and most of the southern towns declared against the convention; the peasants of the Cevennes hoisted the white flag, like the peasants of La Vendée; Toulon was given up to the English with the whole Mediterranean fleet (August 27). Paoli wished also to give them Corsica. Condé and Valenciennes were taken by the Austrians (July); in the south, the Spaniards invaded Roussillon. At the same time another enemy in the shape of widespread famine assisted in the general internal disorganisation.

Energetic Measures of Defence.—The cause of the revolution seemed lost; the convention saved it by its extraordinary energy. Against the famine she decreed the *maximum*, that is

¹ The *Carmagnole* was a dance and song popular in France in the republican year 1793. A peculiar shape of jacket worn by the people at that time came to be so-called.

to say, a tariff for provisions (September). Severe measures were taken against monopolists and agitators ; the merchants were obliged to provision their shops and to sell their goods, whether it entailed profit or loss. On August 1, 1793, the importation of English goods was prohibited. Thus commercial liberty was at an end ; since the proclamation of the republic there had been neither political nor individual liberty. The whole country was put in a state of siege, submitting to the dictatorship of the Committee of Public Safety. Merlin revised the law of suspects which threw more than 300,000 people into prison, and Barrère said in the name of the Committee of Public Safety : " The republic is nothing but one great besieged town ; France is one vast camp. Men of every age are called by the country to the defence of liberty : the young men will fight ; the married men will forge arms : the women will make clothes and tents for the soldiers : the children will tear up old linen for bandages : and the old people will have themselves carried to the public squares where they will stir up and inflame the courage of the nation." One million two hundred thousand men were raised. In a few months Carnot organised fourteen armies. Powder and steel were wanting ; the chemists supplied them. There were no cannon ; Fourcroy melted down the church bells and found the necessary copper. Bordeaux and Lyons returned to the path of duty, Lyons after thirty days' resistance. Bonaparte, then a captain of artillery, retook Toulon (December 19) ; the Vendéans were driven from the gates of Nantes (June 29) ; and Jourdan, at the head of the principal army, held the coalition.

Permanence of the Guillotine.—But terrible scenes were going forward in the interior. Nobles and priests, condemned as suspects, perished in multitudes on the scaffolds erected in all the towns ; a revolutionary army, dragging a guillotine behind it, visited all the departments. The most dreadful and bloody deeds that history has ever recorded were surpassed by Carrier, the execrable inventor of the *Noyades*¹ of Nantes ; by Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, and Fouché who bombarded Lyons with grape-shot ; by Barras and Fréron at Toulon ; by Lebon at Arras. A heroic young woman, Charlotte Corday, thought that in killing Marat she would end the terror (July 14). But this murder only made it the more ruthless. The queen, Marie Antoinette, her sister the pious Madame Elizabeth, Bailly himself—all were executed in the *Champ de Mars* with the

¹ *Noyades*, drownings at Nantes during the Revolution. Vessels were scuttled in order to drown those on board.

utmost refinement of cruelty ; the *Girondins* (October 31) and the Duke of Orleans ; the Generals Custine, Biron, Houchard ; Madame Roland, the famous chemist Lavoisier, Malesherbes, and thousands of other illustrious heads fell. Cartloads of victims, without distinction of age or condition, succeeded each other day by day at the foot of the scaffolds erected in the *Place de la Concorde*, at the gate of *St. Antoine*, and in the circular space of the *barrière du Trone*.

Execution of the Herbertists and Dantonists (March and April, 1794).—The *Montagnards* had come to disagree among themselves. The most violent, the *Herbertists*, all powerful in the commune, had an official paper called the *Le Père Duchêne*. They aspired to make the Terror the regular government of France ; they professed atheism and had a bust of the goddess Reason placed on the altar of Notre-Dame. The Dantonists were as yet known only as the *indulgents*. Their leaders, Danton and Camille Desmoulins, editor of the *Vieux Cordelier*, attacked at the same time the anarchists of the *Herbertist* party and the *Committee of Public Safety*, whose tyranny they reproached with real eloquence. Robespierre, who with Couthon and St. Just had the ruling power in the committee, denounced the *Herbertists*, whom he accused of corrupting the nation by propagating atheism and of conspiring with foreigners. They were executed (March 24, 1794) ; twelve days later Danton, Desmoulins, and those who were called the *moderates* suffered the same fate, under accusation of favouring the elevation of the Duke of Orleans to the throne (April, 1794).

The 9th Thermidor.¹—Robespierre, in his turn, dreamt of arresting the revolution, in order to reconstruct on the bloody ruins of the past a society after his own mind. He caused Carrier to be recalled, threatened those who were most deeply implicated in sanguinary excesses, and took under his protection the representatives of the law as well as certain nobles and priests. The committees received these signs of an approaching dictatorship with dismay. Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varennes united with Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Barras, and Fouché, and engaged indirectly in a struggle on the subject of the Festival of the Supreme Being, celebrated by Robespierre with a theatrical effect and a pomp which brought him blatantly into prominence. Robespierre then made Couthon propose, in the revolutionary tribunal, a law to facilitate judicial murders, which placed pro-

¹ The Thermidor was part of July and August, the eleventh month of the republican year. See end of this chapter.

cedure entirely in the background and held the knife over the convention. He thought by that means to tie the hands of his adversaries. This dreadful law, proposed on the 2nd Prairial,¹ was adopted, but with such modifications that the designs of its author miscarried. The force of Robespierre was enormous, his honesty could not be doubted, and no one dared to utter the word tyrant. It was hoped to attain his downfall by ridicule. The Committee of Public Safety went about its business in the face of a set of fanatics who revered in Robespierre a sort of Messiah. Then he isolated himself from the government and returned to the Jacobin Club, waiting for an opportunity to strike a decisive blow. But the effects of the Prairial law made themselves felt; the Terror redoubled. In forty-seven days, from June 10th to July 27th, 1400 persons perished, among them all the parliament of Toulouse, the Marshals de Noailles and de Mouchy, the poets André Chénier and Roucher, General Beauharnais, many women, and one child of sixteen.

Such a terrible state of things could not go on. A cry of public compassion arose against the authors of these abominations, above all against Robespierre, who still controlled everything although he no longer appeared at the Committee of Public Safety. His enemies exploited this movement of public opinion; they accused him of aspiring to the dictatorship, of meditating a new 31st of May against the assembly, and they circulated immense lists of proscriptions, drawn up, it was said, by him. On the 8th Thermidor the struggle broke out in the convention. Robespierre tired the assembly with an interminable apology and irritated it by threats. He demanded that the whole government should be reconstructed and the traitors punished. He designated as traitors most of the members of committees, even Carnot and Cambon who had saved the republic by organising the finances and the war. The debate became heated and was for some time indecisive. The defection of Barrère, "the man who always comes to the help of the strongest side," implied that of the *Plaine*; the assembly refused to vote on its impression of Robespierre's speech. He went straight to the Jacobins who swore to defend him and the commune prepared an insurrection for the following day. On the 9th the struggle recommenced in the convention. Robespierre was ultimately accused along with Couthon and St. Just. His brother and Lebas wished to be associated with them. They were all arrested and taken to

¹ The Prairial was the third spring month of the republican year and extended from May 20 till June 19. See end of this chapter.

various prisons. But the commune had the tocsin sounded in the *faubourgs*, the crowd gathered and rescued the prisoners, whom they took in triumph to the Hôtel de Ville.

Open war broke out between those two rival powers, the representatives of Paris and the representatives of France. The convention acted with vigour and resolution. It outlawed Robespierre and all his followers; it called sections of the National Guard to defend it and marched with imposing forces to the Hôtel de Ville to recapture the condemned men. Lebas blew out his brains. Robespierre the younger threw himself out of a window, but was not killed. His brother had his jaw broken by a shot fired by a gendarme. All were conducted to the scaffold through the affronts and outrages of a crowd who saw in their execution the end of a terrible administration (9th and 10th Thermidor: July 27th and 28th, 1794). Henriot, Coffinhal, and twenty representatives were sent that day or the next, without discussion, without judgment, to the scaffold. It was a fitting conclusion to the Reign of Terror. In the 420 days it had lasted, 2669 condemnations had been pronounced and executed by the revolutionary tribunal. But the victims of Couthon, of Collet d'Herbois at Lyons, of Lebon at Arras, of Carrier at Nantes, of Fréron at Toulon and Marseilles, of Tallien at Bordeaux—the victims of these men can never be counted.

Abolition of Revolutionary Laws.—Some of those who had accomplished the downfall of Robespierre were the very men who had pushed the Terror to extremes. But such was the force of public opinion that they were constrained to appear as if they had striven only for moderation. "The whole nation cried that the day of tyranny was over, and this belief put an end to it." The fate of Robespierre became the signal for reaction, which in spite of its excesses allowed France to breathe again. The guillotine ceased to be the chief means of government, and even although it was not proscribed for long afterwards, at least the people were not called upon to view every day the hideous spectacle of thirty or forty heads falling under the knife.

The whole jurisdiction of the government relaxed. The importance of the Committees of Public Safety and General Security was considerably lessened; the Prairial law was repealed; the prisons were opened, in Paris alone 10,000 captives being released. The convention took over the powers of the commune which had for so long neutralised or dominated the assembly. The Jacobin Club, the last refuge of the conquered party, was closed, to the applause of the whole country. Carrier and the rest of those re-

sponsible for the massacres were sent to execution. Lebon and Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser, were not put to death till the following year. Collet d'Herbois, Barrère, Billaud-Varennes, and Vadier were deported to Cayenne, after a last effort on the part of the Jacobins (May 20, 1795). On that day, the public having invaded the hall of the commune, Féraud, the deputy, was killed. Boissy d'Anglas presided. He was presented with Féraud's head stuck on a pike. He lifted his hat, bowed, and by his coolness and dignity quelled the passions of the mob. After that incident the *faubourg* of St. Antoine was disarmed.

Glorious Campaign of 1793.—The glory of her arms had consoled France in her mourning. Carnot, of the Committee of Public Safety, organised the victory, sending to the armies the plans which the soldiers carried out. The strategists of the coalition had been able to think of no other course than that of surrounding France by numerous armies, broken up into a multitude of smaller bodies. If they took one step forward on the territory of France, it was after making very sure that nothing threatened them in the rear. For these slow and methodical operations, for this war of sieges and positions, Carnot substituted a war of large forces. Instead of these big and studied manœuvres which the improvised French generals understood little better than the conscripts—who did not understand them at all—he ordered rapid blows, rapid advances with the bayonet, without considering the forces of the enemy ; that the fight and the victory should be carried out at the rate of a charge. These tactics, admirably suited to the inexperience and the enthusiasm of the young armies of France, were also the best for breaking through the long but slender cordon which the coalition had drawn round France : they were successful. At the end of August, 1793, France was invaded on all fronts and might well have given way to despair ; at the end of December she was everywhere victorious.

Loss of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mainz (May–August).—After the defection of Dumouriez the coalition—instead of marching altogether on Paris to stifle the revolution, which they declared to be their sole aim—thought of nothing but their individual interests. The English sought to lay hands on Dunkirk, a town of which they had long been covetous ; the Austrians wished to unite the fortresses of the Scheldt to their Belgian provinces. Dampierre, who had taken refuge in Famar's camp at Valenciennes, was killed on May 9th in trying to raise the blockade of Condé ; on the 23rd the Austrians forced Famar's camp and the army

retired under Bouchain to the camp of César. Condé and Valenciennes were invested. From the month of April Custine, retreating till he came under the guns of Wissembourg—as rashly as he had before advanced as far as Frankfort—had allowed the Prussians to surround Mainz. Twenty thousand picked French soldiers were there ; with them Kleber and two men of indomitable courage, Rewbel and Merlin of Thionville. Beauharnais, the successor of Custine, could do nothing more to save Mainz. The coalition spent three months, May, June, and July, in these three sieges. The towns finally surrendered through famine. But during these three months the whole of France was in arms ; her energetic means of defence were in proportion to her peril.

The coalition lost another month in preparing for further operations. On the Rhine they proceeded from Mainz towards the Lauter and the Saar, which cover Alsace and Lorraine. In the north they separated ; the English marched on Dunkirk and the Austrians undertook a new siege, that of Quesnoy. Houchard, with orders to operate against the English, had received a splendid plan of action from Carnot. While Souham and Hoche were energetically defending Dunkirk, Houchard was to advance in force against the besieging army and its covering army, to crush them, one after the other. He defeated the English at Handschoote (September 8). But it was only a partial victory, because he carried out only half the order he had received from the committee. He had conducted his advance and his attack in such a way that he had driven the covering army back on the besieging army instead of separating them. Five days later he beat the Dutch and drove them from Menin ; but a panic breaking out in his own army sent it in disorder to Lille. Houchard was deposed and sent, like Custine, to the scaffold. The coalition had stranded themselves on their extreme right, towards Dunkirk ; they had succeeded on their left, where they had taken Quesnoy. Masters of the Scheldt, through the capture of Condé and Valenciennes, and of the space between the Scheldt and the Sambre by the capture of Quesnoy and Mons, they wished now to take Maubeuge in order to command the higher reaches of the Sambre. It was practically the same position as that of Prince Eugène in 1712. France seemed in some danger ; it was happily dispelled. Instead of attacking on the left, like Villars, Carnot ordered action on the right, along the Sambre. Jourdan, who had only been in command of a battalion at the beginning of the campaign, had been promised the command of the northern army ; he vanquished the Prince

of Coburg at Watignies before Maubeuge and raised the siege of that town (October 15 and 16). France made no further advances on that side, but three important towns were saved.

In the Vosges the armies of the Rhine and the Moselle lost the Battle of Pirmasens (September 14), also the lines of Wissembourg which Wurmser forced on October 13; Landau was bombarded. But Hoche, fresh from his successes in the defence of Dunkirk, had been given command of the army on the Moselle; Pichegru was at the head of the army on the Rhine, and the representatives St. Just and Lebas came to animate by their energy both the troops and the populace. Carnot had decreed that the army of the Moselle should try to regain the chain of the Vosges, to command the passes on both sides, and be able to unite with the army of the Rhine. Brunswick helped in the success of this plan by retreating, after a vain attempt on Bitche, as far as Kaiserslautern in the latitude of Mannheim; while Wurmser, on the other side of the Vosges, stopped almost in sight of Strasburg. Hoche was held up at Kaiserslautern against the Prussians (November 17), but suddenly drew off his troops to cross the Vosges on the right flank of the Austrians, while Pichegru attacked their front. Hoche recaptured the lines of Wissembourg (December 27) and forced the Austrians across the Rhine, while the Prussians, uncovered on their left, retreated within reach of the cannon of Mainz. Hoche spent the winter in an enemy country, the Palatinate.

In Italy the French and the Piedmontese disputed the chain of the Alps. The French were at Nice, their opponents at Saorgio, and the French had been beaten in trying to take that position. Towards the Pyrenees the Spaniards under Ricardos also kept the offensive; the republican army, after many and, for the most part, successful engagements, retired on Perpignan (December).

Success and Defeat of the Vendéans (1793).—But at this juncture civil war broke out. The republicans had recaptured Lyons (October 9) and Toulon (December 19); the one half ruined, the other pillaged by the English, who set fire to the arsenal, the dockyards, and those ships which they could not take away. Vendée resisted longer. In Brittany and Maine the *chouans* only offered a war of partisans and ambushes: the peasants of lower Poitou made war on a large scale. The movement began at St. Florent, a little town of Loire on the left bank of the river of that name, below Angers. On March 10, 1793,

the young men of the canton were called up in obedience to a law which demanded a levy of 300,000 men. They went, but determined not to obey orders ; they mutinied, drove away the police, and sacked the Hôtel de Ville. That accomplished, they peacefully returned home. But a carrier named Cathelineau represented to them that the convention would be sure to take vengeance on them. They decided to follow him ; they ran from village to village, sounded the tocsin, collected the men who were willing to come, and carrying away with them posts, arms, and cannon, they took first the little town of Chemillé. Stofflet, one of the gamekeepers of the Count of Maulevrier, who, like his master, sympathised with the rebellion, joined him with those men who had followed him, and together they took possession of Chollet. It was no longer a peasant rising : it was an army, the country gentlemen at its head. Led by Lescure, Bonchamps, d'Elbée, La Rochejacquelein, and Charette, who did not disdain to associate with the plebeian leaders, the Vendéans took Saumur (June 29), and in order to make an opening at two points towards the sea—that is to say, towards emigration and towards the English—they attacked Les Sables and Nantes. Boulard saved the first, Canclaux the second, and Cathelineau was killed in the last attack (June 9), but the Vendéans still remained masters of their own department and drove out the republicans in two victories : in the south, that of Châtillon (July 3), where they carried the day against Westermann, who, coming from Parthenay, ventured rashly right into the midst of the insurrectionists ; and in the north, that of Vihiers (July 18), a victory over the army that had come from Angers.

The force in the west was now the only menace : 40,000 Vendéans marched on Luçon, where General Tuncq had only 6000 men. But the Vendéans, accepting battle in the plain, were utterly defeated (August 14). On September 5 they took their revenge at Chantonnay, in spite of Marceau's courage. Then the *Mayençais*, who for a year had been held up at Mainz unable to serve against the coalition, arrived in Vendée, with them Kleber, who was himself worth an army. The republican forces were divided into four bodies and it was decided to set out on the same day from Saumur, Nantes, Les Sables, and Niort, in order to come between the Vendéans and the sea, where an English fleet was now in sight, and to throw the Vendéans back from Marais on the Bocage. But the fact that both Canclaux and Rossignol had equality of command prevented unity of purpose ; counter-orders imprudently given stopped the march

of three divisions and left that of Canclaux exposed by itself to the onslaughts of the enemy. Twenty thousand Vendéans attacked his advance-guard at Torfou. It consisted of 2000 *Mayençais* and Kleber: they gave way under superiority of numbers and retreated. Kleber, to stop the enemy from crossing a bridge, left an officer and some men there saying, "My friends, you will be killed here," and his prophecy was fulfilled. On the same day the force of Angers lost the Ponts-de-Cé; that veteran soldier, Santerre, with the force of Saumur, was defeated at Coron. Another reverse at the same time at Montaigu obliged Canclaux to fall back on Nantes.

But the convention ordered its generals to finish the war by the 20th of October. In eleven days the Vendéans experienced four defeats; at St. Symphorien on October 6 by the *Mayençais*: at Châtillon on the 15th by Marceau and Kleber. Kleber finally crushed them before Chollet (October 17); d'Elbée and Bonchamp were killed; the latter before expiring obtained mercy for 4000 republican prisoners whom his men intended to shoot. Driven to the last extremity on the Loire by this great disaster, 80,000 Vendéans, men, women, children, and old people, crossed the river at Varades, to stir up risings in Anjou, Maine, and Brittany: they defeated the *bleus* (republicans) near Laval (October 27) and penetrated as far as Granville, where they expected to meet the English. But Granville repulsed them: they returned to Angers (December 3) to re-enter the Vendean Bocage. By this time the Loire was strongly guarded; they were thrown back on Mans, overwhelmed in that town (December 13), and utterly defeated at Savenay (December 25). Such was the end of this great war. The *colonnes infernales* were only isolated battles fought in La Vendée, where Charette, La Rochejacquelein, and Stofflet still held out.

Summer Campaign of 1794: Fleurus.—The honour of the success gained in Alsace at the end of 1793 had been attributed to Hoche; Pichegru claimed it for himself and having persuaded St. Just to his way of thinking, the latter had Hoche imprisoned and gave to Pichegru the command of the northern army. That general lost two months in sanguinary but unsuccessful efforts on the Scheldt and the Sambre, and had himself no credit for the victories of Moucraen on April 29 and that of Turcoing on May 18—victories gained by the impetuous dash of the young French conscripts rather than by the ability of their chief. Happily Carnot relinquished in time the idea of a frontal attack on the enemy, who had taken Landrecies. Carnot thought to

threaten the enemy's lines of communication and retreat by recalling Jourdan with 45,000 men from the Moselle to the Sambre. The representatives St. Just and Lebas crossed the Sambre four times at the head of the republican army: four times they were repulsed. It was necessary at all costs to take Charleroi. Jourdan was persuaded to attempt the passage for the fifth time. He succeeded: Charleroi capitulated and the Prince of Coburg, who came too late to its assistance, lost the Battle of Fleurus (June 28), which reopened the Low Countries to France. Pichegru pushed the English towards Holland, Jourdan forced the Austrians to retreat behind the Meuse. Dugommier, a man as capable as he was brave, forced the formidable camp of Boulou in the Pyrenees on to the Tech near Céret, where he took 140 guns (May 1); and Dumerbion, directed by Bonaparte, who commanded the artillery of the Alps, accomplished the defeat of the Piedmontese camp at Saorigio by taking the Col di Tenda (April 28). The gates of Italy and Spain were open, like those of the Low Countries.

Winter Campaign of 1794-1795: Conquest of the Low Countries: Invasion of Spain.—Winter arrested neither the operations nor the success of the French army. Jourdan defeated the Austrians on the Ourthe, on the Roër, and forced them over the Rhine, while the Prussians, who were operating in the Palatinate, were rendered open to attack and forced to follow the Austrian retreat. And so the four French armies of the North, of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Moselle and Rhine, were together on the borders of that river. The winter had come with terrible severity. The temperature was seventeen degrees below zero. The soldiers, clothed in rags, without pay, but sustained through all their sufferings by unconquerable moral energy, instead of establishing themselves in camps, marched forward, pushing before them the English and the Dutch. On January 20, they entered Amsterdam. "This town, famous for its prosperity, witnessed with admiration ten battalions of French soldiers—without shoes, without stockings, wanting even the most indispensable garments, and forced to cover their nakedness with trusses of straw—enter triumphantly within its walls, to the sound of warlike music; they stacked their arms and bivouacked for some hours in the public square in the midst of ice and snow, waiting resignedly without murmuring till their needs could be attended to, till barracks could be found." Squadrons of hussars hurried to Texel to take the ice-bound Dutch fleet. Pichegru constituted Holland the Batavian republic. Thence he could command the

Prussian defences on the Rhine ; northern Germany was open to the soldiers of France and to her ideas.

Dugommier in the Eastern Pyrenees took Bellegarde, on the extremity of the French frontier, and forced the mountain pass which defended a line of seventy-seven redoubts (Battle of La Mouga, November 18). He himself perished in the hour of victory. Following on this success, Figuières, one of the strongholds of Europe, opened its gates. Moncey at the other end of the Pyrenees made simultaneously the capture of Guipuzcoa ; Spain was invaded on two sides. The Italian army was stationary.

Peace with Prussia and Spain, 1795: Quiberon.—Two powers were alarmed by these defeats : the Prussians who saw the French already on the banks of the Ems ; and the Spanish, who feared soon to see them on the banks of the Ebro. And Prussia was at the moment deeply engaged in the final division of Poland which gave her Warsaw (October 24) ; Spain was in such a state of timidity that the sound of arms terrified her. Both powers asked for peace (Treaty of Basle, April 5 and July 28) : Prussia ceded the provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, Spain the Spanish possessions in St. Domingo. This peace was the recognition of the republic by two of the great powers of Europe. The Grand Duke of Tuscany had entered into a treaty in the month of February.

England, Austria, Sardinia, and the empire held together. England, in order to relieve the royalist forces in the western provinces of France and weaken the rivalry of Charette and Stofflet, disembarked two divisions of emigrants on the peninsula of Quiberon in Brittany. Hoche, who to appease the Vendéans had been recalled to the army of the Rhine, destroyed them (July 21, 1795).

Reverses at Sea: The "Vengeur."—The Revolution had improved both generals and armies. But if the genius of land fighting may be drawn from inspiration, sea-warfare demands science and the preparation of years. The brilliant naval staff-officers who had defeated England in the American War had emigrated ; from the year 1790 a third of the officers had left France, with the result that the fine fleet built during the last twenty-five years of the monarchy was without commanders. That was the reason of the inferiority of France in the battles of squadrons. On June 1, 1794, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, till lately a simple captain, attacked with twenty-five vessels manned by peasants an English fleet of thirty-eight ships. The French fleet was escorting a large convoy of wheat. The wheat was landed in

safety and some of the French departments thereby saved from famine, but the fleet was beaten and six ships lost. One of them, the *Vengeur*, rather than lower its flag sank to the singing of the *Marseillaise* by its crew. Martinique, Guadeloupe, even Corsica, were taken by the English. But France was avenged by her *corsairs*. By the end of 1793 they had taken 410 ships from the English and her own mercantile marine had lost only 316.

Constitution of the Year III.¹ (1795).—The constitution, emerging victorious from the tumults that followed the 8th Thermidor, abolished the democratic constitution of 1793, which had not yet been put into practice, and gave legislative power to two councils, that of the *Five Hundred* and that of the *Ancients*, who examined and accepted the decrees of the inferior court. The executive power was given to a directory of five members, renewed every year by a fifth named by the legislative power. The convention had striven for union—now all was to be divided. The legislative power was to have two heads, the executive power five. It was hoped in this way to escape a dictatorship and arrive at a moderate republic: the constitution of the year III. was nothing but a feeble and anarchical republic.

The 3rd Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795).—Since the 9th Thermidor the Revolution had so quickly risen from the depths to which it had fallen that the royalists hoped for a speedy restoration. They had many partisans in sections of the National Guard in Paris and they were to gain Pichegru by the promise of a million down and a yearly payment of 200,000 livres. They expected the next elections to give them a majority and that they would then be able legally to introduce a counter-revolution. But the convention decided that two-thirds of the new legislative body was to be taken from the conventionals so that the royalists could only form a powerless minority. They therefore raised sections of the National Guard to the number of 40,000 men and marched on the Tuileries where the convention was sitting. Barras, charged with its defence, took for his lieutenant a young general whose services at Toulon had brought him to the front, but who had since been dismissed since the 9th Thermidor: Napoleon Bonaparte. He had only six to seven thousand soldiers. In a few hours he had transformed the Tuileries into an entrenched camp; the insurgents, received by heavy fire on the *Pont Royal* and in the *Rue St. Honoré* before the church of St. Roch, were at once disorganised, but in their

¹ The convention had substituted for the Gregorian Calendar a Republican Calendar. See end of this chapter.

flight they left 500 of their men on the pavement : the rest were disarmed on the following days. On the 4th Brumaire (October 26, 1795) the convention declared its mission at an end.

Summary of the Principal Acts of the Convention.—The imperious necessities of war had not allowed the assemblies of France to realise all their proposed reforms. They had at least prepared an immense mass of material which the next generation utilised. But in the midst of trials and victories, the convention, in order to fortify the unity of France, had decreed a system of national education ; it had created normal schools, central (*Lycées*) and primary schools, schools of medicine, schools of arts and crafts, a chair of modern languages, a bureau of longitude, a conservatoire of music, a natural history museum, and had finally established a uniform system of weights and measures (metric system). The convention had replaced the Gregorian Calendar by a Republican Calendar. The new era commenced on September 22, 1792, it ceased on September 9, 1805. The twelve months were Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, for the autumn ; Nivôse, Pluviôse, Ventôse, for the winter ; Germinal, Floréal, Prairial, for the spring ; Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor, for the summer. Thus one said the 14th Thermidor, year X., instead of the 2nd August, 1802.

By the immoderate issue of *assignats*, of which 44 milliards had been put in circulation, finance was turned upside down : commerce had been ruined by the law of the *maximum*. But by the sale of national property immense domains which had up till then been unproductive were given over to the cultivation of new proprietors. A statement of the national debt had prepared for happier days confidence in the credit of the state. The invention of the aerial telegraph facilitated the rapid transmission of orders from the central government to the frontiers. The founding of museums fostered the taste for art. The convention desired also that the aged and the destitute children should be gathered together and cared for by the state. And the last decree of these formerly terrible legislators was that, after the general restoration of peace, capital punishment should be abolished.

CHAPTER LXII

THE DIRECTORY (OCTOBER 27, 1795, TO NOVEMBER 9, 1799)

Position of the Republic at the End of 1795.—The Council of the Ancients and that of the Five Hundred were constituted on the 27th of October; they were composed two-thirds of conventionals, the other third of newly elected deputies. Some days later five regicides were elected to the directory, La Réveillère-Lépeaux, Rewbel, Letourneur, Carnot, and Barras. The first three, though honest and hard-working, were quite unequal to their task; the fourth, Carnot, was an exceptionally fine man. The new government established itself in the Luxemburg Palace (which was built by Marie de Medicis, 1615–1620; during the Revolution it had been used as a prison). It was a difficult situation: the elective councils which were to administer the departments, the cantons, and the communes, either did nothing or did wrong, and by thus paralysing authority, all the interests of the country suffered. The treasury was empty, the *assignats* fell into complete discredit; commerce and industry had ceased to exist; the armies had neither provisions nor clothes, not even munitions. But three years of such a war had made soldiers and generals: Moreau commanded the army of the Rhine; Jourdan that of the Sambre-and-Meuse; Hoche watched the sea-coast to defend it against the English and to pacify Brittany and Vendée. And he who was to eclipse them all, Bonaparte, then twenty-seven years of age, was given command of the army of the interior, which he soon exchanged for that of the army of Italy.

Napoleon Bonaparte.—Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio on August 15th, 1769. His father was Charles Bonaparte, a Corsican nobleman, whose family hailed originally from Italy; his mother was Letizia Ramolino. His father, a judge of Ajaccio and deputy of the Corsican nobility in 1779, died in 1785; his mother died in Rome in 1839. They had eight children¹; Napoleon was the second son. Admitted to the *École Militaire* of Brienne in 1779, he passed five years later to the *École Militaire* at Paris on the recommendation of his professors, one of whom, his professor of history, gave him this note, "He will go

¹ Five sons, Joseph, Napoleon, Lucien, Louis, Jérôme; and three daughters, Elisa, Pauline, Caroline.

far, if circumstances are favourable." The following year he obtained the rank of lieutenant in an artillery regiment of La Fère. His first garrison was Grenoble, his second at Valence. He showed himself favourable to the Revolution, and when Paoli wished to give Corsica to the English in 1793, young Bonaparte was one of an expedition sent against this old family friend. The expedition did not succeed: obliged to fly with all his belongings Bonaparte took refuge at Marseilles where his mother and his sisters lived in narrow circumstances. At the time of the federalist movement at Marseilles, a movement which he opposed, he was made a captain. When the conventional army attacked Toulon, then in the hands of the Anglo-Spanish fleet, the representatives of the people made him commander of a battalion and gave him charge of the artillery during the siege. His general, Cartaux, a brave but incapable man, asked him only to make a breach through which he could pass with his men. Bonaparte insisted that they should think not of the town but of the ships: if their retreat was threatened they would be obliged to fly. He showed the general and the representatives a point at the southern extremity of the sea-passage from which the fleet could be destroyed. "It is there that we can save Toulon," he said. Dugommier had replaced Cartaux. He understood Bonaparte's plan and approved of it. The fort of l'Eguillette was carried and the English hastened to abandon Toulon, which, as they could no longer hold, they set on fire. Bonaparte, as a reward, was made general of a brigade, and went to command the artillery of the Italian army. On the 9th Thermidor his good fortune ceased. His services were no longer required. The 11th Vendémiaire saw him emerge triumphantly from his temporary obscurity. Carnot gave him command of the army of the Alps, with which Scherer, or rather Masséna, had gained the glorious but sterile victory of Loano (November 23 and 24, 1795). And Bonaparte was only twenty-seven years old.

Campaign of Bonaparte in Italy (1796-1797).—Carnot's plan for the campaign of 1796 was both bold and wise. Two generals, already well-known, Jourdan and Moreau, having each seventy to eighty thousand men, were to penetrate into Germany, the first by the valley of the Main, the second by that of the Neckar, in order to reach the basin of the Danube. Thence they were to descend on the hereditary states, which Bonaparte's 38,000 men would threaten from the Italian side. And so, Moreau in the centre, Jourdan and Bonaparte on the two wings, they set forth to carry out this movement, having to support the French

armies on enemy soil and to converge if possible on the road to Vienna. But the three armies were separated : Bonaparte from Moreau by the mass of the Italian Alps ; Moreau from Jourdan by the Franconian Alps. The plan, so happy in success, might have disastrous consequences in misfortune.

When Bonaparte arrived at the army of the Alps, the generals, Masséna, Augereau, Serrurier, Laharpe, Berthier, already celebrated for important services, received the newcomer without enthusiasm to say the least of it. He gathered them together to explain his plans. On leaving this council of war, Masséna said to Augereau, " We have found our master." To the soldiers Bonaparte issued one of those stirring proclamations which electrify the spirit : " Soldiers ! " he said, " you are badly fed and almost naked ; the government owes you much, but can do nothing for you ; your patience, your courage do you honour, but cannot gain for you either glory or profit. I am going to lead you to the most fertile plains in the world ; you will find large towns, wealthy provinces ; you will find honour, glory, and riches. Soldiers of Italy, is courage lacking ? "

The army was encamped on the southern slopes of the Alps and Apennines, where it had existed miserably for four years, skirmishing against Sardinian and Austrian troops. The Sardinians were at Céva ; the Austrians were for the most part cavalry stationed on the Apennines further east in the valley of the Bormida and the river of Genoa, towards Voltri. Beaulieu was in command and wanted to act quickly. He did not wish, he told the King of Sardinia, to take off his boots till he arrived at Lyons. Bonaparte had 38,000 men against 60,000. He resolved at once to take the offensive, and he did so with extraordinary boldness. Instead of using his forces in the midst of these barren rocks, where he could strike no hard blows, he repeated on a larger scale the manœuvre which had caused the fall of the camp at Saorigio in 1794, and which, followed by Masséna in 1795, had secured Scherer the victory of Loano. He turned to cross the Alps at the lowest part of the chain, towards the sources of the Bormida at the Col di Montenotte, whilst Beaulieu waited for him beside the sea near Voltri. Bonaparte placed himself by this clever strategy opposite the weakest point of the Austro-Piedmontese forces. He broke through their centre at Montenotte (April 11 and 12), established himself between them, and in order the better to separate them, fought them one after the other : the Piedmontese in the gorge of the Millesimo (April 13 and 14), the Austrians at Dego (April 14 and

15). He was then master of the route to Turin on which the Piedmontese retreated and of the route to Milan by which the Austrians retreated. But he did not halt ; he pursued the Sardinian army closely and defeated them utterly at Mondovì (April 22); by the armistice of Cherasco he obliged them to lay down their arms. This armistice, which he signed two leagues from Turin, was changed on June 3 to a treaty of peace, thereby securing for France Savoy and the counties of Nice and Tenda ; it also opened to Bonaparte the three strongholds Coni, Tortona, and Alessandria, which he used as bases for the offensive advance he meditated.

Delivered from one enemy, he turned to the other. Beaulieu, frightened by these rapid blows, fell back in great haste ; Bonaparte followed him. The Austrians stopped for a short time to recover their breath at the junction of the Tessin and the Po, where they covered their positions by entrenchments. Bonaparte crossed the Po behind them and at Piacenza (May 9) he defeated one of the divisions, and following the Adda to Lodi he found the Austrians taking refuge on the left bank of that river in a formidable position. Thirty cannon covered the bridge of Lodi, a hundred fathoms long : 12,000 men guarded the defile. Bonaparte formed—under the protection of the houses of the town—a body of 6000 grenadiers and hurled them at the bridge, led by Masséna. They rushed across it at full speed, killed the gunners at their posts, and overwhelmed the infantry who came running to defend the guns (May 11). The Oglio was crossed without opposition. But Beaulieu, resting his right flank on Peschiera, his left on Mantua, still tried to guard the line of the Mincio. Bonaparte deceived him as to the real point of attack, forced his way through at Borghetto (May 30), and threw back into the Tyrol that army which had not long since threatened the frontiers of France.

And while he fought he negotiated. He gave an armistice to the Duke of Parma for a consideration of 20 millions, some munitions, and 20 pictures. He dealt with the Duke of Modena on the same terms. The pope promised 21 millions, 100 pictures, 500 manuscripts. In Lombardy he made a war levy of 20 millions, sending 10 to the directory, who had only been able to give him 2000 louis at the beginning of his campaign and one million to Moreau to help him with his preparations on the Rhine. Bonaparte supplied his army, his government, his colleagues.

He had reached the Adige, where he occupied the Venetian town of Verona to punish Venice for having violated her

neutrality in allowing the Austrians to enter Peschiera. He waited behind this excellent line of defence, which, running from the mountains to the sea, covered Lombardy: he besieged Mantua, one of the strongest places of Europe (June 3).

But Wurmser, one of Austria's best generals, had succeeded Beaulieu, and a second army, more numerous and more warlike, succeeded the first. Wurmser had 60,000 men against Bonaparte's 30,000, but he divided his forces. Quasdanovich descended by the Trentino to the right of the Lake of Garda and Wurmser arrived at the other side by the two banks of the Adige. Bonaparte foresaw that he could defeat these two armies—imprudently divided—one after the other. He raised the siege of Mantua in order to have all his forces united and concentrated behind the Mincio. In carrying all his forces, first from his right to his left and then from his left to his right, he stopped Quasdanovich at Salo: he overwhelmed him at Lonato (August 3) and Wurmser at Castiglione (August 5). The aged marshal, threatened with being cut off from the Tyrol, had only time to escape. But he received reinforcements which gave him an army of 50,000 men and he commenced a second campaign. While he descended the valley of the Brenta, Bonaparte, who wished to forestall him, having reascended the valley of the Adige, overwhelmed the Austrians at Roveredo, where they had been left to guard the Tyrol (September 6). Arrived at Trent, Bonaparte began an offensive march against Wurmser. Instead of going back to wait for his arrival behind the line of the Adige, he turned to the right and threw his forces into the valley of the Brenta, following Wurmser, whom he overtook and fought at Bassano (September 8). Wurmser was caught between Bonaparte's army and the river; Bonaparte would have taken him prisoner had not a bridge which he had overlooked provided the veteran commander with means of evading the shame of surrender. He was enabled to make his way to Mantua. The Battle of St. George hemmed him in (September 15).

Three armies had already disappeared, a fourth arrived. Austria, which had become alarmed by a defeat at the hands of Jourdan and by the presence of Moreau on the Danube, sent large forces into Italy: Alvinzi collected 60,000 men. The Austrian force already in Italy seemed to be lost, all the peninsula behind it was in a state of tumult: this time the enemy advanced with prudence. Forty thousand men occupied the strong position of Caldiero, confronting Verona; twenty thousand more with Davidovich came down by Rivoli to join

their compatriots before Verona. Bonaparte made a desperate effort before Caldiero : he was repulsed. He re-entered Verona and set off along the road to Milan, which is also the way to France, the way of retreat. The inhabitants and the soldiers congratulated themselves, " Bonaparte is abandoning this venture." But all at once he turned to the left along the Adige, descended its banks as far as Ronco, crossed the river, and established his forces in the midst of a marsh intersected by the great high roads. The soldiers clapped their hands ; they understood the plan of their general. He had turned to the left of the position of Caldiero which he had vainly approached from the front : he had rendered useless the formidable defences of the enemy and had found a battlefield where superiority of numbers counted for nothing. For three days the battle raged along these high roads (November 15-17). Augereau and Masséna headed their columns : Bonaparte was himself in the forefront, a flag in his hand, on the bridge of Arcola, which his grenadiers hesitated to cross under a heavy fire of grape-shot. He was driven back on to the marsh ; he was all but taken when his men rushed forward in time to save him. While guarding the ground taken each day he sent the bulk of his forces back behind the Adige every night, to be ready to turn against Davidovich should he emerge from the mountains. On the third day, Bonaparte engaged him at the foot of the mountains, Alvinzi took to flight, leaving behind him 10,000 dead and 6000 prisoners. The French army re-entered Verona by way of Vicenza, the opposite direction to that from which it had emerged (November 15, 16, 17).

Six weeks later (January, 1797) Alvinzi, reinforced, appeared again with 60,000 men. This time the principal Austrian attack was delivered in the mountains of the upper Adige, the secondary attack by the river side. Bonaparte discovered the only place where the different forces of the army, moving slowly and with difficulty in a mountainous country, could unite ; and that was the plateau of Rivoli. A long column of infantry without horses or guns was to travel by footpaths ; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage were to approach by the high road. Bonaparte determined at any price to prevent the junction of these two forces, in themselves incomplete but together composing a formidable army. He had only 16,000 men against 40,000 ; he established his army at the point where the Austrian forces were to meet. He prevented them from acting together ; the moment they appeared he threw Joubert on them, then Masséna. The two

columns, taken by surprise, were thrown into a panic and retired in unutterable confusion. Bonaparte followed them and defeated them. At that moment he heard that Provera with 20,000 men had crossed the Adige and proceeded to the relief of Wurmser. He left Joubert to force back into the Tyrol the half-ruined army of Alvinzi ; he himself rushed with Masséna's division to deal with Provera. This division had fought on the 13th before Verona, had marched all the next night to the help of Joubert, had fought all the 14th at Rivoli, and was now to march for a day and a night to fight on the 16th before Mantua. Never had even the most vaunted troops accomplished anything to compare with this.

Provera surrendered ; defeated at St. George (January 15) and at La Favorite (January 16) he was compelled to lay down arms. Wurmser, reduced to the last extremities, his garrison having eaten his last horse, gave up Mantua (February 2). " And so in ten months the army of Piedmont, three other formidable armies, with three bodies of reinforcements, were destroyed by an army which, though it numbered 35,000 men at the beginning of the campaign, received only 20,000 to make good its losses. Thus 55,000 French soldiers defeated more than 200,000 Austrians, took more than 80,000 prisoners, killed or wounded more than 20,000 ; fought twelve pitched battles, more than sixty other actions, crossed many rivers, braving the floods and the fire of the enemy." War, waged in such a way and for a noble cause, becomes a magnificent spectacle.

During the struggle against Wurmser the regency of Modena showed its sympathy with the Austrians ; at the approach of Alvinzi the pontifical troops went into action. Bonaparte, even before Arcola, pronounced the disinheritorship of the duke ; his estates were formed into the Cispadane republic. After Rivoli Bonaparte marched on Rome. Pius VI., in fear and trembling, signed the Peace of Tolentino ; it cost him 30 millions, the Romagna (Ravenna, Rimini, etc.), which was united with the legations of Ferrara and Bologna to the Cispadane republic, and Ancona, occupied till the declaration of peace by a French garrison (February 10, 1797). In October of the previous year an expedition sent by Bonaparte from Leghorn had driven the English out of Corsica.

Retreat of Moreau (October, 1796).—The armies in Germany had neither such favourable conditions nor such successful issues. At first Jourdan and Moreau drove the Austrians before them ; Moreau defeated them at Rastadt (July 5) and at Ett-

lingen (July 9), which gave him access to the mountain passes ; but Carnot, instead of advising the two generals to unite their 120,000 men in the valley of the Danube, ordered them to act independently and separated them from each other in commanding them to outflank the wings of the enemy forces. The Archduke Charles on the contrary concentrated his forces between Ulm and Ratisbon and then tried to force Moreau to retreat in attacking him at Neresheim (August 10). The archduke was repulsed and conceived the bold plan of stealing away from Moreau with part of his forces, hurrying them from the valley of the Danube into that of the Main, uniting with Wartensleben, who was retreating before Jourdan, and, after overwhelming the latter (who was in fact held up at Neumark and Amberg and had been defeated at Würzburg on September 3), throwing him back behind the Lahn (September 10). It was the same manœuvre which had been so successful with Bonaparte at the outset of his Italian campaign. It had the same success, but not the same consequences, for Moreau was not Beaulieu ; the archduke was not Bonaparte. He lost precious time instead of attacking the second French army which was already in the interior of Bavaria ; Moreau retreated slowly, stopping whenever he was closely pressed to inflict severe punishment on the Austrians who followed him (victory of Biberach, October 2). He crossed the Black Forest by the Hôllenthal without having left behind him a single ammunition waggon or a single soldier in this magnificent retreat of twenty-six days. He re-entered Alsace when and how he would, by Brisach and Huningen (October 18).

Last Victories of Bonaparte in Italy: Preliminaries of Leoben (1797).—The marvellous victories of the army in Italy happily compensated for this reverse. The Italian army had not yet quite finished its task ; the Archduke Charles, the victor of Jourdan, arrived in his turn with a fourth army, which took its stand on the borders of the Carnic and Julian Alps, from the source of the Adige to the mouth of the Tagliamento. Bonaparte frustrated his designs. He proposed to cut this semicircle at three points. On the left he sent Joubert by the Tyrol to the Brenner Pass ; in the centre he sent Masséna by the Col di Tarvis which carries the main road from Verona to Vienna ; while he himself marched against the archduke, who guarded behind the Tagliamento the approaches to Trieste. The river was forced on March 16 ; on the 19th a furious battle secured Masséna the Col di Tarvis ; Joubert after many vigorous blows

on the upper Adige arrived at the Brenner. The chain of the Alps was conquered. The French had now only to descend their northern slopes. Whilst Joubert proceeded down the Putersthäl to join Masséna, Bonaparte arrived on March 31 at Klagenfurt on the Drave. The archduke wished to prevent him from penetrating to the basin of the Mähr; but Bonaparte forced the gorge at Newmark (April 1); he entered Loeben on the 7th and pushed his advance-guard to the summit of the Soemmering, whence the hills of Vienna, twenty-five leagues to the north, were clearly visible.

At this juncture Hoche and Moreau began operations. The first, at the head of the army of the Sambre-and-Meuse, crossed the Rhine in the face of the enemy: in four days he had marched thirty-five leagues, gained three battles (Neuwied, April 17, Ukerath, and Altenkirchen), and fought five other actions. He was about to surround the Austrian army of Kray when news of the armistice imposed by Bonaparte on the Archduke Charles arrested his triumphal progress. Desaix, Moreau's lieutenant, also crossed the river and drove the enemy into the Black Mountains. Had Bonaparte known of these successes he would have refused to negotiate: but the court of Vienna, in alarm, hastened to sign the preliminaries of Leoben (April 18) on the basis that France should have Belgium and that Austria should receive as an indemnity the provinces of Venice in compensation for the loss of the provinces of Milan.

Venice had taken advantage of Bonaparte's absence to massacre the sick and wounded French soldiers; it tried also to carry out on the rear of the French armies an Italian Vendée; but it expiated the cowardice of its senate. Forty thousand men penetrated into Venice, where they established a provisory republic. The senate of Genoa was defeated like that of Venice for outrages against France, but the Ligurian republic kept her liberty together with her French alliance. England, dismayed by the numerous reverses of her ally, offered to negotiate, and a peace conference met at Lille.

Internal Anarchy.—While the republic was victorious abroad, at home the situation grew worse under a divided government which was consequently neither respected nor obeyed and which was incapable of subduing contrary elements. At the beginning, however, it was strong enough to frustrate the plans of two extreme parties. The first, prepared in the Vendée by Charette with the connivance of England, was stifled with the help of General Hoche. Charette and Stofflet were delivered over to the

republicans and shot (February and March, 1796). The second, that of Babœuf, who proposed the equal division of the country and its wealth among all the citizens, had hardly been mooted (May, 1796) when it was stopped by the execution of its two principal leaders, but it left as a legacy the bloodthirsty outrages of disappointed communists. A Jacobin conspiracy to seize the camp of Grenelle during the night was as unfruitful (September 9, 1796).

There was therefore excuse for violent factions in the directory; it sank under its own weight and disorder reigned supreme. The *mandats territoriaux* (territorial money orders) which had replaced the *assignats* (March, 1796) had fallen into the same discredit. The financial crisis, which had become acute, led the government to the practice of fatal expedients; the whole directory was accused of embezzlement, though Barras alone was guilty. The country, like its government, went blindly on at random. The need of relaxation took possession of a society so lately escaped from the terror. The people threw themselves headlong into all forms of pleasure-seeking; every path led to money-making; the dissolution of morals was unbridled, gambling was carried likewise to unheard-of excesses; the police did nothing, bands of brigands multiplied. The south was laid waste by the *compagnons de Jéhu* and the *enfants du Soleil*; the *chauffeurs* terrified the west. It seemed as if the whole state was on the verge of dissolution.

Progress of the Royalists.—The royalists thought it would be easy to destroy this tottering government. The emigrants returned in crowds. They caused anxiety to those who had recently bought up national land and in the *Société de Clichy* they openly urged a counter-revolution. Emboldened by their successes in the elections of the year V. for the reconstruction of the councils, they succeeded in making Pichegru president of the Five Hundred, Barbé-Marbois of the Ancients, and replaced Letourneur, the retiring member of the directory, by Barthélemy, one of their own party. A restoration of the monarchy in favour of the Bourbons seemed imminent. The Pretender, Louis XVIII., brother of Louis XVI.,¹ thought himself on the point of being recalled and was busy making his conditions. But it would have required greater misfortunes to decide the country so soon to restore what it had but lately dispensed with. The armies were thoroughly republican, and

¹ The son of Louis XVI., whom the emigrants had called Louis XVII., had died at the Temple in 1795 of misery and ill-treatment.

from the banks of the Adige Bonaparte promised his co-operation against the royalists.

The idea of respect for the law and peaceful reforms was so completely lost that there was everywhere the desire to return to force. The members of the majority in the two councils conspired for the overthrow of the constitution—in virtue of which it existed—the directory defended it while violating it. To the strategy of the parliamentary state it replied by a stroke of the government and the army.

The 18th Fructidor, Year V. (September 4, 1797).—During the night of the 18th Fructidor, Augereau brought 12,000 men into Paris, who surrounded the building in which the meetings of the council were held. The two minorities, on the invitation of the directory, declared themselves permanently elected and annulled the mandates of their colleagues, whose chairs remained vacant. They re-established all the revolutionary laws so lately abolished, and condemned fifty-three deputies to deportation: Pichegru, Barbé-Marbois, Boissy d'Anglas, Portalis, and Camille Jordan; besides two members of the directory—Carnot, who did not wish to resort to violence against the royalists, and Barthélemy, who favoured that cause. These directors were replaced by Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchâteau. Many royalists were added to the list of deportations, and taken, some to Cayenne, others to Oléron.

Death of Hoche (1797).—For several months Moreau had held proofs of the treachery of Pichegru; he produced them at this point, but his delay in making these revelations caused him also to be suspected and he was dismissed. The two armies of the Rhine were entrusted to Hoche, who was regarded as a second Bonaparte and in whom the republicans had great hopes. A few days after taking over this great command, he died at the age of twenty-nine, leaving behind him one of the greatest and fairest names of the Revolution.

Treaty of Campo-Formio (1797).—The directory, fortified by its new members, proposed to continue the war and broke off the negotiations entered upon with England. But Bonaparte wished peace in order that his dazzling glory as general should be enhanced by his new rôle of Peacemaker. In spite of the government, who rightly refused to deliver the Venetians over to Austria, he signed the Treaty of Campo-Formio, the most glorious peace France ever concluded (October 17, 1797). The emperor ceded Belgium, recognised the possession by France of the left bank of the Rhine and the Ionian Islands: he accepted

the establishment of the Cisalpine republic (Milan, Modena, Bologna), and as an indemnity he was to receive, instead of Venice, which Austria had now lost, Istria, the Friuli, and Dalmatia—lands which Austria still holds, whilst nothing now remains to France of what she gained at that time.

Bonaparte had calculated well: his fame increased by this peace for which he had made no new victories. He was made general of the army of England (*i.e.* to operate against England) and plenipotentiary of the Congress of Rastadt. Having settled the affairs of Italy, he went to Rastadt, but impatient of the delays of German diplomacy, he soon proceeded to Paris, where the government and the people gave him a triumphal reception. The army of Italy was associated with the honours awarded to its general. The directory gave it a flag on which these words were inscribed: "This army has made 150,000 prisoners, taken 170 flags, 540 artillery and siege guns, 5 bridges, 9 ships, 12 frigates, 12 corvettes, 18 galleys, given liberty to the people of the north of Italy, of Corcyre, of the Ægean Sea, of Ithaca; sent to Paris the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paolo Veronese, Correggio Albano, the Carraci, Raphael, etc.; triumphed in 18 pitched battles and fought 67 actions."

Egyptian Expedition (May, 1798, to August, 1799).—Austria had laid down her arms, but the English, unassailable in their island, could not consent to leave France so many conquests. War continued between them. Hoche and Truguet had wished to fight England hand to hand; that was the right policy. An army was prepared, Bonaparte was in command and visited the ports where the preparations were going forward; but he found the means so inadequate to the end that he renounced the enterprise to the directory. He resolved at any price to keep himself well to the fore in public opinion, and not allow himself to be forgotten. He proposed an expedition of which he had often dreamt in Italy, the conquest of Egypt. "Nothing great can be done," he said, "except in the East." From the banks of the Nile he hoped to strike at England through India, to give her a vital blow in destroying her commerce and her empire. The great Leibnitz had proposed the same plan to Louis XIV. in 1672. Now it was possible; in 1798 it meant nothing but one enemy more for France, Turkey, her former ally. To risk 40,000 of her best soldiers on such a distant expedition, it would have seemed necessary for France to have command of the sea. But England covered it with her fleets. It was to play a great game, but that was the way to fascinate and command public

interest and sympathy. The expedition was prepared in secret, concealed under the name of the left wing of the army of England. The squadron, composed of fourteen ships of the line and a great number of transports, left Toulon on May 10th : Brueys was in command. The expedition consisted of 36,000 men, nearly all veterans of Arcola and Rivoli. Scholars, artists, engineers, and labourers were attached to the army. According to Bonaparte's plan, colonisation was to follow conquest.

Everything went well at first ; Malta was taken in passing : the chevaliers did not even defend it. Nelson, the English admiral, who sailed from one side of the Mediterranean to the other looking for the fleet to fight it, missed it by several days. The disembarkation was carried out on July 1 at four places near Alexandria, which was carried by assault some hours later.

Bonaparte marched at once on Cairo where the redoubtable militia of the mamelukes, the real masters of the country rather than the Porte, had concentrated their principal forces under Mourad-Bey. The journey was long and painful, especially the crossing of the great desert of Damanhour. There were privations of every kind. The soldiers contented themselves with pitying their general, who allowed himself to be carried "like a good child," or else they amused themselves with pleasantries : "He laughs at all this," they said speaking of Caffarelli, who had lost a leg on the Rhine, "he has always one foot in France." The army arrived at Chebreiss : the mamelukes, repulsed in a first engagement, fell back on Cairo and prepared for a pitched battle. The French army followed them, and on July 21 stopped, struck dumb with admiration before the Pyramids which stand near that town. "Soldiers," cried Bonaparte, "from the heights of these Pyramids forty centuries look down on you !" A new system of warfare was necessary against the innumerable and valiant cavalry of the mamelukes, operating in the midst of the desert. Bonaparte discovered it. He formed his divisions into squares and disposed them in such a way that they protected each other mutually by their fire, like so many living citadels. It was in vain that the mamelukes rushed forward with the most brilliant courage, they could not break those lines of fire and iron. Many hurled themselves on the points of the French bayonets and were killed. Mourad-Bey retired wounded to Upper Egypt : the other Bey, Ibrahim, fled towards Syria. The occupation of Cairo and the submission of Lower Egypt were the price of this victory (Battle of the Pyramids, July 21).

Bonaparte hastened to organise the country : he respected the

beliefs and customs of the people who called him the "favourite of the great Allah"; he took part in the festival of the Nile (August 18) and in that of the prophet; but he also looked after the wellbeing of his soldiers, and he established in one of the largest palaces of Cairo the *Institute of Egypt*, the members of which — Monge, Berthollet, Fourier, Dolomieu, Larrey, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, etc.—commenced the scientific conquest of that mysterious country which did not begin to reveal its secrets till the genius of France had touched it.

The news of the disaster to the fleet surprised Bonaparte in the midst of his labours. He had recommended Brueys to leave the harbour of Aboukir. An unfortunate delay gave the English time to arrive. The line whence the French ships delivered their broadsides had not been formed near enough the bank; part of the English fleet was able to pass between it and the shore, while the other half sailed on the other side, between the French fleet and the open sea. It was a bold manœuvre which Nelson attempted. But it succeeded. Every ship of the left wing of the French fleet, lying motionless at anchor, received on two sides the concentrated fire of the whole enemy fleet, which advanced slowly, destroying one by one the French ships. The commander of the right wing, Villeneuve, should have copied this movement and manœuvred his squadron to the left wing of Nelson's fleet, so that it also would have been between two fires, like the head of the French line. The signal was given him, but smoke prevented him from seeing how to carry out the manœuvre, and when he saw the *Orient* of 120 guns take fire and sink, and two other French ships heel over and go down, he sailed away with two ships and two frigates to take refuge at Malta. Admiral Brueys, gravely wounded, refused to descend between decks, saying that an admiral must die on the bridge. He was killed by a bullet. The French fleet, with the exception of Villeneuve's ships, was annihilated (August 1). The Egyptian expedition, which was to have given France the empire of the Mediterranean where she had already four of the most important positions, Toulon, Malta, Corfu, and Alexandria, was only an adventure, instead of being the beginning of a great enterprise.

France was imprisoned in her conquest and the Porte declared against her. Bonaparte said to his soldiers, "Well! we must die here, where we can at least quit the world nobly like the ancients," and he wrote to Kleber, whom he had left at Alexandria: "This obliges us to do even greater things than we had intended. We must hold ourselves ready." Kleber replied: "Yes, we

must do great things: I am preparing myself." Bonaparte commenced by achieving the conquest of the whole country. A revolt had broken out at Cairo (October); he repressed it with severity. Desaix, "the real Sultan," as he was called by the Arabs, went off in pursuit of Mourad-Bey, who had already taken possession of the Thebaïd, and the French regiments encamped near the cataracts of Syene, the boundary of the ancient Roman world.

Assured of conquest, Bonaparte advanced towards Syria whence he could command Egypt and menace at his will either Constantinople or India (February, 1799). He was successful at first; he took possession of Gaza and Jaffa (where the French soldiers were infected by the plague), and dispersed a large Turkish army at the Battle of Tabor (April 16). But at the siege of St. John d'Acre all his genius failed him, for want of the necessary means, against the courage of the Turks and the tenacity of the English admiral, Sidney Smith, of whom he often said in after years, "That man has cost me my fortune." Having neither munitions nor big guns, he could not open practicable breaches: after sixty days of trench warfare and eight of murderous assaults he led his army, worn out by fatigue and exhausted by disease, into Egypt (May 20). An English fleet had disembarked 18,000 janizaries at Aboukir; Napoleon with his native forces drove them back into the sea (July 24). It was after this brilliant action that Kleber cried in an outburst of enthusiasm: "General, you are as great as the world!" The army of Egypt had nothing more to fear, but it had also nothing more to do, and this inaction was insufferable to Bonaparte. When he learned that a second coalition had been formed, that Italy was lost, that France was about to be invaded, he gave over the command to Kleber and boarding a frigate boldly crossed the Mediterranean, in spite of the English cruisers in these waters. On the 8th of October he disembarked at Frejus.

Bad Administration of the Directory: The 22nd Floréal (May 11, 1798).—The directory, now feeble, now violent at home, had lost abroad the magnificent position to which France had attained through the Treaty of Campo-Formio. On the 18th Fructidor it had struck a blow at the royalists; on the 22nd Floréal (May 11, 1798) it attacked the deputies known as *patriots*, by cancelling their election. The directory wished to govern apparently only by sudden and autocratic measures; it thereby showed its weakness, a strong government would not have required to resort to such means. Some months previously it had caused a veritable

bankruptcy. The interest of the debt amounted to 258 millions ; the directory met two-thirds of this by bonds on national property, which lost five-sixths of their nominal value ; the other third was *consolidated* and inscribed in the national debt. The directory also carried public irritation to a height by two tyrannical measures : a forced and progressive loan of 100 millions and a law of hostages against the relatives of emigrants and the ex-nobility : this measure destroyed the security of 150,000 families. Abroad, the directory provoked Europe by its imprudent actions. It overthrew the temporal power of the pope and discontented the Batavian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics—created by that of France—allowing them to be robbed by unscrupulous factors. And finally it was not able to exact obedience from its generals ; Championnet at Naples and Brune in Lombardy simply imprisoned the representatives of the directory.

Second Coalition (March, 1799, to March, 1802).—The spectacle of internal disorganisation, the absence of Bonaparte with the most seasoned French army, which seemed lost among the sands of Egypt, decided the continental powers to give ear to Pitt's advice. England, Austria, Russia, a part of Germany, Naples, Piedmont, Turkey, and even the barbarian states united against France. France, without money, without commerce, having lost the new force and life given her by the great republic of '93, and having neither the military enthusiasm nor the strong organisation of Europe, found herself confronted by serious dangers.

The councils, in order to face the attacks of Europe, decreed the law of conscription, which called all citizens of twenty to twenty-five years to military service and it ordered a levy of 200,000 men. The King of Naples by an imprudent attack gave France an unexpected triumph. He thought single-handed to deliver Italy and invade the territory of the Roman republic. Championnet commanded 25,000 men ; he allowed the Neapolitans to advance as far as Rome, then fell on them with fury, followed them closely to the walls of Naples which the *lazzaroni* defended in three days of street fighting. The Parthenopean republic was soon proclaimed (January, 1799). Joubert had at the same time, and with equal facility, driven the King of Sardinia from Piedmont (December 9, 1798).

Reverses in Italy and Germany: Defeats of Stokach, Magnano, Cassano, La Trebbia (1799).—But the coalition had 360,000 men on a war footing ; the directory had only 170,000 divided in five

armies : Macdonald, the successor of Championnet, and Brune were at the two extremities, at Naples and in Holland ; Jourdan and Scherer were on the wings, in Germany and Italy ; Masséna in the centre, in Switzerland. Since the last war a revolution had taken place in that country. Switzerland had given herself a new constitution founded on a basis of greater equality, and had signed a treaty of alliance with France, permitting France military occupation of Switzerland. It was a considerable advantage, because Switzerland formed a salient which penetrated deeply into France between Italy and Germany, and which was watered by the Rhine. Masséna advanced to this limit, whilst Scherer in Italy approached the Adige, which the Treaty of Campo-Formio had given to Austria, together with Verona and Legnago.

On March 1st Jourdan crossed the Rhine, while the Austrians were still behind the Lech, and advanced between the Danube and the Lake of Constance to be in the same latitude as Masséna ; the latter crossed the line of the Rhine and sent his light cavalry to the upper valley of the Inn in order to help Scherer in crossing the Tyrol. But the Archduke Charles stopped Jourdan at Stokach, the junction of routes between Switzerland and Swabia, by superior forces, and obliged him to retreat to the narrow passes of the Black Forest, later even to the Rhine (March 22).

In Italy Scherer found himself on the scene of the great operations of 1796 and 1797 ; but he did not know how to profit from the lessons Bonaparte had given him ; he wanted to force the passage of the Adige first in the mountains and then in the lower reaches of the river. A series of badly calculated movements tired his men and sent them scattered and half-hearted to the Battle of Magnano, near Verona, a battle won by Kray (April 5). Scherer lost his head, and without making any further attempts, he abandoned the lines of the Mincio and the Oglio as if after a disaster, and did not halt till he was safely behind the Adda. Masséna was obliged to follow this retreat ; he ceased to hold the line of the Rhine from St. Gotthard to Constance and took up his position behind the line formed by the Linth, the Lake of Zürich, and the Limmat. Having this great lake in front of him and being firmly established in the rear on the mountains of Albis, he commanded the whole of Switzerland and held the armies of Germany and Italy in check.

But the Italians came on. Thirty thousand Russians had rejoined the 60,000 Austrians of Mélas, and Souwaroff, surnamed

the *Invincible*, commanded the combined armies. On April 27 this force crossed the Adda, just when Scherer had given over his command to Moreau, that is to say, the task of rescuing his army from almost inevitable defeat. Moreau had no time to alter the unfortunate dispositions of his predecessor: he was defeated at Cassano (April 28). On the same day the Austrian court soiled its hands by the commission of wilful murder: the French ministers attending a congress at Rastadt, at which the peace of the empire was being discussed, were assassinated by Austrian hussars.

The defeat of Cassano cast no slight on Moreau's reputation, for it could not be imputed to him, and he made a good retreat from the Adda to Turin and thence to Genoa, a retreat which while not so famous as that of 1796 was yet more noteworthy. Macdonald found himself in difficulties in the south of the peninsula. He returned to Naples in great haste, and it was in order to allow him to debouch on the flank of the coalition army that Moreau drew it after him towards Turin. When Macdonald drew near, Moreau hastened his forces into the Apennines in order to be ready to co-operate with him on the plain of Piacenza. But the Neapolitan army lost some days in Tuscany for rest and reorganisation and thus gave Souwaroff time to establish himself on the Trebbia between the two French generals. Macdonald could not break through the enemies' lines in a three days' battle called the Battle of Trebbia (June 17-19). He lost 15,000 men and was forced to follow the precipitous and rocky footpaths of the Apennines in order to return to Genoa and the army of Moreau. Both these generals were dismissed and replaced by Joubert: Moreau consented generously to give him his advice. A new and sanguinary action at Novi, where Joubert was killed, completed the loss of Italy to France (August 15).

Victories of Brune at Bergen (September 19, 1799) and of Masséna at Zürich (September 25 and 26, 1799).—Even the territory of the republic was threatened; two victories, gained at six days' interval, saved the situation. Brune fought an army of 40,000 English and Russian troops disembarked in Holland at Bergen on September 19 and forced them to seek refuge in their ships. Masséna won the immortal victory of Zürich. Souwaroff would have nothing to do with the affairs of Austria in Italy. He had written to the King of Sardinia inviting him to return to his states. But that was not to the mind of the court of Vienna, which found Turin very convenient after Venice and Milan. To put an end to these difficulties the Aulic Council,

which had supreme control of the operations, contrived to send Souwaroff back to Switzerland under the pretext that the climate of that country would suit the Russian soldiers better ; they then ordered the archduke to descend on the Rhine. In this way there were no longer any soldiers in Italy save the Austrian army under Mélas, in Germany the Austrians under the archduke ; Switzerland had now only Russian troops. If the move was strong politically, it was a military mistake, for it involved a flank march from Turin to Strasburg in face of Masséna and within his reach. He would doubtless find occasion to punish this temerity. As a matter of fact he took the coalition by surprise in the midst of this manœuvre, after the archduke had left Switzerland and before Souwaroff had entered it. Throwing himself at the psychological moment on Zürich, he surrounded it, wiped out a Russian army corps, sent another corps who were guarding the Linth to the right about, and when Souwaroff arrived from the St. Gotthard, after great fatigues and losses, thinking to fall on the right flank of the French army frightened by a sharp frontal attack, he encountered victorious troops who thrust him back on impassable and rocky gorges from which he only emerged with the loss of a great part of his army. The success of all these manœuvres, called the Battle of Zürich (September 25 and 26), cost the coalition 30,000 men and the defection of Russia. For Russia reproached the Austrians with treason, when they had only to reproach her with a bad plan of campaign, and retired from the campaign. Bonaparte himself had no more glorious battle ; for those victories which assure the welfare of a country are of more value than those which only add to her power, or to the glory of her leaders.

The 20th Prairial (June 18, 1799).—France was saved ; the country no longer accused her government of having exposed it to such great perils. The councils had been able to revenge themselves on the directory for the days of the 18th Fructidor and the 22nd Floréal, by forcing Treilhard, La Réveillère, and Merlin de Douai to give in their resignations (30th Prairial, June 18, 1799). But it helped little to change the men, for the cause of evil lay in the institutions themselves. Anarchy continued. It was no longer the royalists—as on the 18th Fructidor—who tried to profit by it, but the last of the Jacobins. The *Club du Manège*, who counted among its members Jourdan, Augereau, and Bernadotte, then Minister for War, launched forth in violent movements against the directory, just as it had formerly done against the *Société royaliste de Clichy*. The government easily

got the better of this party in reawakening memories of the '93 and in exciting the alarm of the moderate party. Bernadotte was dismissed, the *Club de Manège* was closed, and the government continued to make mistakes (August and September, 1799).

It was at this point that Bonaparte landed at Frejus.

The 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799).—His return was greeted with transports of joy, which showed him that he was master of the situation. At once the different parties came to him and offered him power. He held himself reserved, impenetrable. He retired to his little house in the *rue de la Victoire* and seemed to live only for his sister, for his wife Josephine Beauharnais, whom he had married after the 11th Vendémiaire, and for his colleagues of the *Institute*, whose uniform he wore when he appeared at any public ceremony. But all the time he was observing and calculating. The country repulsed the royalists because it did not wish to return to the ancient regime; it repulsed the Jacobins because it did not wish to return to '93. It had firmly made up its mind to keep the Revolution. But the Revolution was a dual movement; it was social and political; it had been accomplished to obtain equality and liberty. Anarchy compromised these two benefits: to save the one France postponed the other: she threw herself into the arms of Bonaparte and asked him to guarantee the social conquests of the Revolution in assuring order, the first need of society; liberty would come later. And Bonaparte accepted.

Every one conspired: Siéyès in the directory; Fouché and Talleyrand in the ministry; a hundred others in the councils. "In order to save France," said Siéyès, "we need a head and a sword." He reserved to Bonaparte the rôle of the sword.

On the 18th Brumaire the majority of the Council of Ancients decreed the removal of the two councils to St. Cloud, and entrusted the execution of the decree to Bonaparte, who was given command of all the troops. Three members of the directory, Siéyès, Roger-Ducos, and Barras gave in their resignation; Moulins and Gohier, who refused to resign, were put in custody in the Luxemburg. Paris was full of troops. The next day Bonaparte went to St. Cloud. He went first to the Ancients. "The country," he said, "has no more zealous defender than myself. But its welfare rests on you alone. There is no longer a government; dangers press on every side. Let us avoid the loss of two things for which we have made so many sacrifices, liberty and equality. . . ." "And the Constitution," they cried, "what of it?" "The Constitution!" he replied. "You yourselves

violated it on the 18th Fructidor, the 22nd Floréal, the 30th Prairial. . . . I do not speak in this way in order to gain power for myself. I was offered power on my return to Paris. The different factions came to knock at my door ; I did not listen to them because I do not belong to any party, because I belong only to the great party of the people of France." Furious cries were heard in the Five Hundred. "Down with the dictator! Down with the bayonets!" was heard on every side when Bonaparte entered the hall followed by grenadiers. He was surrounded, crushed, threatened. The grenadiers had to separate some of the groups. The deputies demanded that Bonaparte should be outlawed. His brother Lucien, who presided at the council, tried in vain to justify him. Not being able to make himself heard, he laid down his insignia of office, left the hall, and spoke to the troops : "The majority of the council," he said, "is oppressed by a handful of agitators." In the name of the people he commanded the soldiers to expel these agitators. On the order of Bonaparte General Leclerc entered the assembly ; the drums drowned the voices of those deputies who protested, and the hall was emptied without bloodshed. The Council of the Ancients remained alone ; they deferred the executive power to three provisional consuls, Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger-Ducos, and charged two commissions of twenty-five members each to revise the constitution (November, 1799).

The Revolution abdicated in favour of military power and entered with it on a new phase. At home, thanks to the order which reigned everywhere, the new ideas had taken root in a way which no power could prevent. Abroad, thanks to the conquests of the French soldiers, the new principles spread over Europe like the victories of France. After having floated over nearly all the capitals of Europe, the flag dropped, mutilated, bloodstained, into the strong hands of a powerful genius who came to seize it. The 18th Brumaire began that long chain of prosperity, of glory, of unheard-of power, but also of mistakes and lamentable reverses, which form the history of the consulate and of the empire.

From another point of view it was a trial of strength. What lessons were given to the world in these perpetual insurrections of the commune, the convention, the directory, the councils, even the army! How could France produce law-abiding citizens, striving to modify the law by wisdom rather than to destroy it by anger, when for the last ten years nothing had been done save by sudden and passionate outbreaks of violence ?

End of the 18th Century.—Some days after this military revolution the eighteenth century came to an end. It had been a century of passionate discussion, at once sceptical and credulous, gentle and ferocious, of foolish customs and of a spirit that was often frivolous. But it had yet given to the world the great idea, that society, like mankind, must be constantly improving itself ; it was a century which gave a hand to all the pariahs of the law, of the state, even of nature. Serfs, negroes, heretics, aliens, the infirm—all were helped and cared for. Solicitude for them was nothing but a heritage bequeathed by the century. Whatever may have been its faults, much will be pardoned to this century “ which in the material world created sciences by the help of which man gained an unforeseen domination over nature, a domination which strangely increased his wellbeing ; a century which in the moral order conquered tolerance, sought out justice, proclaimed the law, claimed civil equality, recommended the brotherhood of mankind, banished the cruelty of penal institutions, dismissed arbitrary methods from public administration, made reason the guide of intelligence, liberty the guide of government, progress the ambition of the people, law the sovereign of the world.”

CHAPTER LXIII

THE CONSULATE (NOVEMBER 10, 1799, TO MAY 18, 1804)

Constitution of the Year VIII.—Siéyès, who with Bonaparte had been responsible for the 18th Brumaire, had a constitution all ready ; he proposed it. It was cleverly calculated to reconcile the monarchy and the republic, having neither the despotism of the one nor the agitations of the other. But its complicated machinery was not suitable to the society of these days, which wished to feel itself under a firm government ; neither was it acceptable to General Bonaparte, who had the genius and the force to draw France out of the chaos in which she found herself. Siéyès' plan was therefore abandoned, at least as far as regarded the organisation of executive power, which was the chief consideration, and on the 15th December the “ Constitution of the year VIII.” was promulgated.

The Roman system was followed: there were consuls, senators, tribunes, prefects ; soon there would be an emperor. There were three consuls elected for ten years and re-eligible,

but the first alone had the prerogatives of power, the two others were only for purposes of consultation. These three consuls were Bonaparte, Cambacères, and Lebrun.

Council of State, Tribunal, Legislative Body.—In the three assemblies of the *Constitution* and the *Convention* executive power had been subordinated to legislative power. Now the contrary was to be the rule. The laws were prepared at the command of the first consul by a *Council of State*, of which the members, named by the consuls, could be dismissed by them. The laws were next discussed by the *Tribunate*, composed of 100 members, passed or rejected by the *legislative body*, which consisted of 300 deputies. The tribunate explained the laws made or proposed, the abuses to be corrected, the ameliorations to be introduced, etc. ; the course which the government should take or should not take into consideration. When a law, after having been examined by the tribunes, was taken to the legislative body, where three councillors of state, orators of the government, were ready to defend it, three orators of the tribunate came to uphold or condemn it. No other member of the legislative body had the right to intervene in the debate. The vote was taken in silence like a national grand jury on a cause which had been debated by both sides.

Thus in defiance of *executive* power the convention had divided it in creating five directors. Now, in defiance of *legislative* power, the "Constitution of the year VIII." divided it in giving the initiative of the laws to the government, the discussion to the tribunes, the vote to the legislators.

The Senate Conservator.—There was a body between the executive and legislative powers, the *Senate Conservator*, composed of eighty members appointed for life. They saw to the maintenance of the constitution, judged all the acts contrary to the organic law, and chose from the national list the members of the tribunate and the legislative body.

Electoral power still existed but was transformed. All Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age who were inscribed on the public registers were electors ; the electors of each communal district chose a tenth part of their number to draw up a list of communal notabilities ; it was from this list that the first consul chose the public functionaries of the district. The citizens on the communal list next named a tenth of their number, to form the departmental list, from which the first consul chose the functionaries of the department. A tenth of those on the departmental list formed the national list. All those comprised in this

list could be raised to national functions of a public nature. It was from the third list of notabilities that the senate elected the members of the tribunate and the legislative body. The assemblies which discussed and voted the laws were thus the result of an election of four degrees. It was only a phantom of representative government; the least discerning could recognise behind this transparent shadow of liberty the hand of the dictator.

The senators had 25,000 francs of annual endowment; the tribunes 15,000; the legislators 10,000.

Submitted to the approbation of the people, the "Constitution of the year VIII." was accepted by 3,011,107 votes against 1567.

Administrative Reorganisation.—To achieve the work of the constitution, numerous organic laws were necessary. The first consul hastened to propose them to the tribunate and the legislative body. One of the most important was that which constituted the department after the pattern of the state itself. The departments were administered by elected directors on whom central power had little influence and who left to themselves made little effort. The office of intendant was revived under the Roman name of prefect; all executive power was concentrated in the hands of this individual who was directly responsible to the minister of the interior. As well as the intendant in the *Council of the Prefecture* there was a departmental Council of State and as well as the *General Council* there was a legislative body which, if it did not make the law, at least explained the desires of the department. The *under-prefect* had also a *District Council*; the *Mayor* of each commune had a *Municipal Council*. So that in all the action was reserved to one person, the deliberation to several: that was right and good.

Each district or under-prefecture had a civil tribunal, and for finance a special receiver, each department had a criminal tribunal and a receiver-general. Twenty-five tribunals of appeal were spread over the country and a Court of Cassation maintained the uniformity of the jurisdiction. This administrative organisation of France was the completion of a work begun by Louis XIV. pushed by centralisation to its furthest limits; in its general features it had survived all the revolutions of France. Ten governments had fallen, but the idea of a sovereign state had ever risen from their ruins, and by whatever name those were called who held the power, local liberty had always been suppressed or maintained without force. This excessive centralisation resulted in the need of founding the national unity

of France ; it became an urgent necessity when, by reason of her geographical position and the hatred of foreigners, France was obliged to take up a combative position. Liberty perished, and many of the misfortunes of France arose from the fact that Paris, where the political life was concentrated, could impose her will, her caprices, and her revolutions on the whole country.

Efforts to Reconcile and Abolish Parties.—On leaving the first council held after the 18th Brumaire, Siéyès had said, "Gentlemen, we have a master." But if the minority, who like himself saw the dictator already in the toga of the consul, if the royalists and the Jacobins, who dreamt of two impossible things, are excepted, the whole of France hailed with satisfaction the news of these strong measures and the words of Bonaparte : "Let there be no more Jacobins, moderates, or royalists ; let all be Frenchmen!" The provisional consuls showed by their first measures a great spirit of conciliation. The proscripts of the Fructidor, Carnot, Portalis, Simeon, etc. ; the conventionals, Barrère and Vadier, were recalled ; the law of hostages and that which established progressive taxes were annulled ; the priests detained for refusing to take the civil oath were set at liberty. A storm had wrecked some emigrants on the coast of Calais and the law condemned all emigrants found on the soil of the republic to death. Bonaparte gave them their liberty. He did more, he closed the list of emigration and declared the ex-nobles eligible for public employment, at the same time guaranteeing their property to the purchasers of national lands (*i.e.* those who had bought the lands formerly held by emigrants, lands which had been confiscated and sold by the state). At the same time, in the name of the liberty of worship, he reopened the churches.

To the astonishment of the incredulous this powerful man of war showed himself a consummate administrator. In a few days he had touched everything, and to everything he touched he gave new life. This provisory government, where before there had always been a definitive government, had so quickly inspired commerce with confidence that the bankers of Paris lent the merchants the first capital of which they had need. And the armies, whose misery was extreme, had received relief. The country was cleared of the bands of robbers which infested it, and the revolutionary agitations of the south were appeased. The royalists—who had hoped, in spite of the events of the 13th Vendémiaire and the 18th Fructidor, that Bonaparte was working for Louis XVIII., and that the sword of the constable would satisfy his own ambition—deceived in their hopes, had raised

in the west the flag of insurrection. Bonaparte by energetic measures suppressed this new civil war. D'Autichamp and Susannet made their humble submission to him (January 17, 1800). Georges Cadoudal capitulated and went to England. But in defiance of the press, which with good laws and a firm resolve to carry them out is really no danger and may often be a help and counsellor, Bonaparte suppressed a great number of papers. Thirteen only were allowed to appear in Paris and they were warned that at the first slip their fate would be the same as that of their fallen contemporaries.

The armies, owing to all they had suffered and all they had accomplished for the republic, included many republicans in their ranks ; both soldiers and generals had much to complain of in the negligence of the directors ; one stroke of the pen which freed them from those " lawyers and gossips " had been warmly welcomed. Bonaparte was actively occupied in reorganising and relieving the intense misery which decimated their numbers. Moreau, who had accepted the strange office of guarding the directors imprisoned in the Luxemburg whilst Bonaparte went to St. Cloud to terminate the Revolution, received in recompense the command of the united armies of the Rhine and of Switzerland. Masséna was not considered so sound ; he was taken from the scene of his recent successes and relegated to the command of the Italian army, the distress of which was beyond words.

Marengo (June 14, 1800).—The day after the " Constitution of the year VIII." had been put in action, the first consul, breaking with all former traditions of diplomacy in order to make an impression on the public, had written the following letter to the King of England :

" Sire, called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it wise, on taking up this charge, to negotiate directly with your majesty.

" Must the war which has for eight years ravaged the four corners of the globe go on for ever ? Can no understanding be arrived at ?

" How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, so strong and powerful that their security and independence do not admit of doubt—how can they sacrifice to a mistaken idea of greatness the wellbeing of commerce, of internal prosperity, of the happiness of family life ? How is it possible that they do not feel peace to be the first of their needs as it is the first of their glories ? "

This letter was both dignified and able. Bonaparte wrote in

similar terms to the Emperor of Germany ; but Austria, who held and counted on holding the whole of Italy, and England, who did not wish on any account to leave Malta and Egypt to France, rejected these overtures ; the first in moderate terms, the second with a violence of speech which showed the hatred of her first minister, William Pitt, for France.

Bonaparte was therefore obliged to make war. He had been content to win public opinion by his moderation, but if it had to be war, then it would be a glorious and decisive war. In Italy Masséna had only 36,000 men against 120,000 Austrians under Baron Mélas : he was overpowered by superior forces and a part of his army was thrown back on the Var ; with the rest, 15,000 to 18,000 men, he shut himself up in Genoa and sustained that memorable siege which, after that of Zürich, is the brightest star in his military crown. He held the siege for more than two months, till the 4th of June, when the Austrian army captured him, losing in the operation more soldiers than were altogether in Masséna's army. But great things were going on elsewhere, rendered possible by his heroic defence. The Austrian line of operations stretched from Strasburg to Nice ; but Switzerland was in French hands, thrust like a coin into this line and opening it to the blows of the French. In deceiving the enemy as to the movements of their army, the French were able to emerge either from the Upper Rhine valley behind Marshal Kray or from the Alps behind Baron Mélas. Bonaparte conceived this double design, but Moreau, as far as he was concerned, only executed half of it. He succeeded nevertheless in crossing the Rhine and concentrating his forces near Schaffhausen where he beat the Austrians under Kray at Stokach, Engen, and Moesskirchen, and threw back the Austrian forces on the entrenched camp of Ulm. While he held them hemmed in, Bonaparte, by one of the greatest strokes of war which had ever yet been executed, himself crossed the Alps.

In order to arrest Mélas who threatened the Var, and Kray who threatened the Rhine, the first consul had made public announcement of a reserve army of 60,000 men at Dijon. Spies of foreign powers hastened to that town, where they found a few invalids instructing a handful of conscripts ; they published abroad that the reserve army was a stratagem of war to intimidate the Austrian generals and retard their progress. But the reserve army did exist ; it was being formed on all the roads of France with isolated bodies of men in La Vendée, Toulon, Marseilles, and Paris ; they received munitions, horses, guns, and uniforms as

they marched slowly along the roads, without noise or disturbance, towards Geneva and Lausanne. By the beginning of May all the army corps were in Switzerland, and Bonaparte, following the movements of Mélas from the Tuileries, movements which led him further and further into Liguria, saw the very circumstances which he had predicted come to pass. One day before leaving, leaning on the maps and putting signs of different colours to mark the positions of the French and Austrian troops, he said to his astonished secretary: "That poor M. de Mélas will pass Turin on his retreat towards Alessandria. . . . I will cross the Po, I will meet him on the way to Piacenza on the plains of Scrivia, and I will beat him there. . . ." In saying these words he put one of his marks against San Giuliano on his map. The campaign was prophesied in advance.

He left Paris on the 6th of May, passed through Dijon and hastened towards Geneva. Marescot, a general of great military genius, had been charged to make a reconnaissance of the Alps. He pronounced in favour of crossing by the Great St. Bernard, but he considered the operation a very difficult one. "Difficult? So be it," replied the first consul. "But is it possible?" "I think so, on condition of extraordinary efforts." "Good," replied Bonaparte, "let us go." The cannon were dismounted and put on sledges with small wheels; the gun-carriages were taken to pieces and, with the munitions and all the baggage, slung over the backs of mules, for there were ten leagues impracticable for vehicles to be traversed.

The crossing of the pass commenced on the night of the 14th of May. An advance-guard of six fine regiments commanded by Lannes left at midnight. They had to make the ascent before sunrise, on account of the avalanches, more frequent in the heat of the day. It took eight hours to reach the convent of the Great St. Bernard. The troops found provisions there which the first consul had sent on in advance and which the monks distributed to them. After a short rest the descent of two hours was made to the village of St. Remi, where the road recommenced. On the following days divisions, gun-carriages, munitions, crossed the pass. The guns, especially those of large calibre and the howitzers, offered great difficulties. They were laid in the hollowed trunks of fir-trees; a hundred men were required for each of these sledges; in the most difficult places music would cheer them or the call to charge would be given; everything crossed successfully. But an unforeseen obstacle arrested the army. Lannes, marching by the Ivrée, found the way barred by an

impregnable fortress, that of Bard. All efforts to take it proved futile ; the first consul himself came. He recognised the impossibility of taking this rock, but had it surrounded by a double foot-path on which the infantry and cavalry could cross over. As for the artillery, there was no way for it to pass except by this fort. The path was covered with straw and dung, the cannon were rolled in tow, the gunners dragged them along, and this dangerous place was passed at dead of night, and that under the enemy's guns. There were 40,000 men in Italy ; 20,000, who came by another route, were to join them. In 1796 Bonaparte had gone round the Alps ; in 1800 he crossed them, and this time with great hopes of an immense and speedy success, for he had established himself by this manœuvre on the rear of Mélas ; he had cut him off from Austria ; he had alarmed him by his audacity ; he had vanquished him before he met him.

Mélas was in the most profound ignorance of these movements, and for long he refused to believe in them. At last he could no longer doubt the truth of the reports, when he heard that Bonaparte had entered Milan in the midst of wild enthusiasm and universal admiration. Mélas then concentrated his forces as rapidly as possible to escape being surrounded. On the 9th of June he threw himself upon Lannes at Montebello, but was not able to break through. Three attempts on Piacenza, to take possession of the bridge over the Po at that town, were equally unsuccessful. Hemmed in between the river, the Apennines, and the French army, he decided to give battle on a large scale. It took place not far from Alessandria, near to that village of San Giuliano which Bonaparte had fixed at the Tuileries as the scene of his victory, and near the village of Marengo, whose name it has immortalised.

The encounter of the two armies was terrible, desperate. Bonaparte had not all his forces at command, for, to prevent Mélas from escaping, he had been obliged to dispose his troops in a vast net-work around him, behind the Tessin, towards the Apennines, and near Piacenza. There were three battles on that day. The first took place at a quarter to ten in the morning between Lannes and Victor, with 15,000 men against 36,000. It was lost. The French, retreating under the fire of 200 cannon and the pressure of an immense force of cavalry, abandoned the village of Marengo. Bonaparte arrived at that moment with his consular guard. He placed 800 picked grenadiers in the middle of the plain, formed in a square, like a living citadel. By their murderous fire they stopped the cavalry

flung against them for some time. But they had to retreat to reform and concentrate. Lannes took two hours to travel three quarters of a league. Mélas thought he had gained the victory, he re-entered Alessandria, leaving his chief of staff to complete the destruction of the enemy, and dispatched couriers to all the cabinets of Europe with the good news.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the second battle was lost. But Desaix—detached the evening before to look for the enemy, who was not then known to be at Marengo—had heard the frightful cannonade ; he stopped ; then understanding at once that the duty of a lieutenant is to hasten to the fire of his general, he returned, and appeared on the field of battle with his division at the moment when the Austrians, formed in close formation, were endeavouring to reach the road to Piacenza, their only path of safety. Then Bonaparte began the third battle. " My friends," he said to his soldiers, " that is enough retreating ; you know that it is my habit to sleep on the field of battle." And he flung Desaix with his 6000 fresh troops on the front of the Austrian column, while the rest of the army attacked the flanks. Desaix, whose loss can never be sufficiently deplored, fell at the very outset, killed by a bullet in the chest. But his soldiers threw themselves with the more fury on the Austrians to avenge him. Kellermann charged at the gallop with his squadrons. Marmont suddenly unmasked a battery of large guns. The Austrian column, shaken at its head, was broken in two halves. One of them was taken, the other was thrown into disorder. The panic spread to the Austrian cavalry ; soon all had fled and Mélas was reduced to surrender. Italy was reconquered (June 4, 1800).

Hohenlinden (December, 1800).—If Moreau had not met with such brilliant success in Germany, he had at least kept the offensive and forced the Austrians to quit their entrenched camp at Ulm in menacing by the victory of Hochstadt their line of retreat. Moreau penetrated as far as Munich, so that Austria, who had no longer an army in Italy, was held in Germany, powerless to arrest the French. Austria decided to treat ; but England intervened with her subsidies, and the cabinet of Vienna prolonged the conferences of Lunéville. Bonaparte resolved to conquer peace by a winter campaign. Moreau received orders to recommence hostilities on the 28th of November, to cross the Inn and march on Vienna, while Macdonald was to emerge from the Grisons into Tyrol ; Brune was to force the Mincio and the Adige. Everything seemed hopeful.

In Italy, Brune forced the Austrians to recross the Adige ;

Macdonald, descending on their territory by the Splügen Pass, threatened their communications. During these operations, 6000 French or Cisalpines seized upon Tuscany, ruled by an Austrian prince, and Murat drove the Neapolitans from the pontifical states.

The situation in Germany portended great events. Moreau commanded a magnificent army of 100,000 men splendidly organised. He was at Munich holding the line of the Isar, while the Austrians at Braunau held the line of the Inn. A great forest stretches between these two rivers, and the village of Hohenlinden occupies a clearing in the centre of it. These wooded slopes inclining to the north and descending to the Danube by successive terraces, terminate in low and marshy ground. The two generals took the offensive at the same time, both by their right : Moreau directed Richepanse to attack Wasserburg where he had to cross the Inn ; the archduke proposed to turn the French line by surprising Moreau when he attempted to cross the lower Isar. But the Austrians had not foreseen the difficulties in their way ; they found so many obstacles that in the midst of their operations they stopped and resolved to resort to the high terraces of which we have spoken, while the principal mass of their army should march direct on Hohenlinden through the forest.

If Moreau had held—as Bonaparte knew so well how to do—all his forces at hand or near him, he could easily have destroyed his adversaries ; but he could only command 50,000 men against 70,000. He did beat them, thanks to the able forethought which drew the enemy into a labyrinth, thanks most of all to the boldness of Richepanse who threw himself with the utmost bravery and dash into the centre of the enemy, crowded together in long columns in the forest. Richepanse divided these columns, established himself in the gap he had made, stopped the enemy on the one side, and on the other forced him towards Ney, who attacked the head of the column. The results of this brilliant victory were 8000 killed or wounded, 12,000 prisoners, 87 guns. Six days later Moreau crossed the Inn, then the Salza, the Traun, and seized Lintz on the Danube, Steyr on the Ens. He was at the gates of Vienna. Austria stopped him in promising to accept the conditions of France.

Peace of Lunéville (February, 1801).—Two months after the Battle of Hohenlinden peace was signed at Lunéville. The emperor accepted the basis of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, which gave the left bank of the Rhine to France and threw

Austria back behind the Adige. He recognised the Batavian, Swiss, Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics, the last of which was to possess the valley of the Po from the Sesia and the Tanaro to the Adriatic. He also recognised the new kingdom of Etruria formed by the Spanish branch of the house of Parma at the expense of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the brother of the emperor (February 9, 1801).

The court of Naples, threatened by the army of Murat, promised hastily to close its ports to the English, and received French garrisons at Otranto, Taranto, and Brindisi. France already had troops at Leghorn and Ancona; Italy was therefore entirely at her disposal. Spain was busy trying to force Portugal, by an invasion, to desert the English alliance. The czar, struck by admiration for the first consul, offered his friendship. And so in fifteen months France, reorganised at home, had broken the second coalition and imposed peace on the continent.

Unfortunately the new Italian states had no strength in themselves. They required the hand of France to protect them against Austria, which still ruled at Verona and Venice. Forced to intervene constantly beyond the Alps, the first consul found it simpler to make of Italy another France. These aspirations and encroachments brought on another war. Could he have acted differently? Doubtless he could, since Chauvelin sixty years later showed that the solution of this difficult problem was to be found, where France has now found it, in the greatness of the house of Savoy. A historian of French imperial diplomacy called the Treaty of Lunéville "the origin of all our misfortune as well as of all our glories."

Continuation of Hostilities with England.—England alone was obstinate in her enmity. Abandoned by Austria, she still made war, thinking herself unassailable. But it was coming to be understood why this power, which gained wars when all other powers lost them, refused to lay down arms. The ideas which had caused the northern states to arm against her 20 years earlier reappeared in the councils of kings. The Czar Paul I., gained by the adroit flatteries of the first consul, who had ceded him the island of Malta at the moment when the English took it; the King of Prussia to whom, on the morrow of the Brumaire, Bonaparte had sent his aide-de-camp Duroc with friendly overtures; the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, whose commerce England molested, whose flag she insulted—all these had renewed the armed league of neutrals (December 16, 1800). England replied by putting an embargo on all the ships of allied powers which

were then in her ports, and on March 21, 1801, Admirals Nelson and Parker forced the passage of the Sund to engage in a battle under the walls of Copenhagen, a battle bravely sustained by the Danes. To spare their capital the horrors of a bombardment they signed an armistice. This audacious action and the death of the Czar Paul I., assassinated in his palace by his courtiers, put an end to the league of neutrals. Alexander, son and successor of Paul I., abandoned his policy, and France found herself alone to defend the liberty of the seas. But the English, with their 195 ships of the line and their 250 frigates, had such a superiority of forces afloat, that far from being in a position to fight them, France was not even able to send help to Malta which the English were blockading, or to Egypt which they threatened.

Loss of Egypt.—Kleber, to whom Bonaparte had confided the government of his conquest and of the army in Egypt, was an excellent general. But being of a morose and critical nature he was not great except when in danger. The idea of being left, abandoned in Egypt, irritated him profoundly ; not only did he make the mistake of allowing himself to become disheartened and depressed, but he allowed the same spirit to dominate the army. The talk was soon only of getting away from Egypt at any price, and the unexpected appearance of a Turkish army of 80,000 men, led Kleber to sign the convention of El-Harish with the English commodore, Sidney Smith. By this convention the French troops were to be taken back to France on English ships. The British cabinet, deceived by this discouraged spirit, disavowed their representative, and declared that the army might find its way back as best it could. Kleber found his energy at once. He completely destroyed the Turks at the bloody battle of Heliopolis (March 20, 1800), recaptured Cairo, which had been in insurrection, and re-established by vigorous measures the domination of France in Egypt. But he fell by the knife of an assassin the same day on which Desaix was killed at Marengo (June 14).

The command passed to the hands of General Menou, an able administrator but an incapable general. He allowed the English to disembark on the peninsula of Aboukir to the number of 10,000 men, attacked them too late and with inferior forces (March 21, 1801). The defeat of Canope (April 9) constrained him to cede Cairo and Alexandria. France had occupied Egypt for three years when this unfortunate convention compelled her to evacuate it (September 2, 1801).

Peace of Amiens (March, 1802).—It was a great success for

the English ; another had preceded it, the capitulation of Malta, after a blockade of 26 months. But England was groaning under the weight of a debt of 12 milliards and the misery to which the working classes were condemned by the high prices and scarcity of provisions. Abroad she viewed with alarm the rebirth of the French navy under the powerful impulse of the first consul. Gantheaume with a full squadron had twice scoured the Mediterranean with impunity. Rear-Admiral Linois, in view of Gibraltar, engaged in the fine fight of Algeciras, where with three ships he had defeated six and destroyed two. Finally, and this was more serious, Bonaparte was preparing at Boulogne an immense fleet of gun-boats for a descent on England and the victor of Aboukir charged with burning these "nut-shells" had met with a check. Fear silenced for a moment the rancour of the English aristocracy and on March 25, 1802, the Peace of Amiens was signed. All the continental acquisitions of France, all the republics founded by her arms, were recognised. England restored the French colonies, gave Malta to the Chevaliers of St. John, the Cape to the Dutch ; she kept nothing but the Spanish island of Trinidad and Ceylon.

The news of the Treaty of Amiens was received in France and in England with unmixed joy. Peace with the continent had never been anything but a truce : the true peace was that which led England to recognise the greatness of France. Bonaparte had said after the 18th Brumaire, "The Revolution is finished." Now it was of the wars of the Revolution that it was said, "They are at an end." The first consul was of that opinion. "At Amiens," he said at a later period, "I thought in all good faith that the fate of France and of Europe seemed settled ; war finished, I would have given myself solely to the administration of France ; I think I should have brought forth prodigies."

Glorious Administration of Bonaparte: The Concordat (1801).—The prodigies had already begun ; Bonaparte was at the height of his glory. For the second time he had given France a glorious peace. Egypt was lost, Malta also, and an expedition to enforce the authority of the home country on the negroes of St. Domingo had come to nothing. But these distant disasters hardly awakened an echo in France. They were forgotten at the sight of the growing calm of the different parties, the rebirth of order under the firm and able hand of the first consul. He gave again to industry the powerful impulses of Colbert, in persuading France to produce for herself that which she might no longer buy from England. The division of the large domains sold as national

property gave small pieces of land to those who had never before possessed land of their own, and agriculture doubled its production. Commerce was encouraged, in spite of the system of protection extended every day by the increase of duty ; finance was reorganised ; the Bank of France established ; the budget, for the first time in a century, balanced ; roads and bridges were repaired, arsenals filled. At Paris three bridges were built across the Seine : that of the *Arts*, and those which afterwards received the immortal names of Austerlitz and Jena. Between the valleys of the Somme and the Oise the canal of St. Quentin was dug ; between France and Italy the Simplon route was made ; those of Mont Cenis and Mont Genevra were contemplated, and hospices were founded on the summits of the Alps. The civil code was closely studied ; the project of a powerful organisation for public instruction—the university—was elaborated ; that of a great institution for national recompense was founded—the Legion of Honour.

A marvellous activity, an unheard-of power for work, made Bonaparte see everything, understand everything, do everything. Arts and letters received sympathetic and welcome encouragement. A stranger to the rancour of the last ten years, he recalled the emigrants by an amnesty, giving at the same time renewed security to the buyers of national property ; he recalled the priests, rebuilt the altars, and signed with Cardinal Consalvi, legate of Pius VII. (July 15, 1801), the *Concordat* by which he thought to have established religious peace. After this famous treaty France was divided into ten archbishoprics and fifty bishoprics ; a salary payable by the state was substituted for the ancient territorial endowment of the clergy. The government had the charge of worship, the nomination of the bishops and archbishops ; but the pope alone had the right of giving them canonical institution. Bonaparte inaugurated this “ religious peace ” with great pomp in Notre-Dame. Chateaubriant in his *Génie du Christianisme* had prepared for this restoration of Catholic worship.

After this manner the first consul strove to overcome hatred and rally all parties to one sentiment—that of the greatness of France. In chaining the Revolution to his chariot he was acting up to the principles of his code, that is to say, he was making it imperishable. Unfortunately from day to day the master showed himself more and more ; he could hardly brook contradiction. To aid the senate—transformed into a sort of superior power to the constitution—he broke the power of the legislative body

and the tribunate in eliminating those of their members who showed themselves contrary to his government, Chénier, Daunou, Benjamin Constant, and others ; as much as to say that the rest had better hold no opinion save that of the chief of the state. Some men like Siéyès, De Tracy, Garat, Cabanis, kept up the custom of appealing in all things to principle, a custom they had brought from the previous century and from the constitution. Bonaparte treated their metaphysic with sarcasm, called them by the name of *Idealogues*, and reserved power and honours for those who served him well without discussion. His injustices, committed in the name of the public peace, must be acknowledged ; also his lively intrigues, his prompt determinations, his powerful initiative which pointed all his life to government concentrated in his own person. These did not disturb many people ; as there was order as well as glory, far from being irritated by this adjournment of liberty, the country repeated with Bonaparte that " France had escaped from slavery and anarchy." France congratulated herself that she had found such a powerful genius to control her destinies.

The Infernal Machine (December, 1800).—While these sentiments of gratitude and confidence were being heard on all sides, the incorrigibles of the extreme parties, having given up hope of success for their policies in any other way, had recourse to the horrible and cowardly expedient of assassination. The republican plot of Aréna and Céracchi, in which the police were deeply implicated, was frustrated (October, 1800). But Bonaparte nearly perished by an infernal machine which exploded in the rue St. Nicaise when he was on his way to the opera. Fifty-two people were killed or wounded. That was the work of royalists. The government attributed it to the Jacobins and 130 of them were deported ; the real authors of the outrage became known later on and were punished by death.

The Consulate.—Attempts of this sort had the effect of confirming what they had sought to overthrow. Every one held it necessary for France to prolong the power of him who was threatened by the parties ; all considered that the Peacemaker of Europe deserved some national recompense—the more fitting that it was so obvious, so useful to the country—which would make it possible for him to allow his great projects to ripen. Shortly after the Peace of Amiens, the senators having proposed to prolong for another term of ten years his consular powers, the people gave him the consulate for life, with the right of choosing his successor (August 2, 1802).

In order to put the institutions in harmony with the new rights accorded to the first consul, the "Constitution of the year VIII." was revised. The lists of notabilities were suppressed and replaced by colleges elected for life. The senate, invested with constituent powers, obtained the right of regulating by a *consulting senate* everything not dealt with by organic laws: the right of suspending a jury, of dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate, of putting the departments outside the law of the constitution. A privy council composed of consuls, ministers, two senators, two counsellors of state, and two high officers of the Legion of Honour had to be consulted on the ratification of treaties and was entrusted with the revision of the organic consulting senate. The tribunate, reduced to fifty members, was nothing but a section of the Council of State. We have forgotten, as all the world had forgotten, the two other consuls, silent witnesses of the government of their colleague. Like him they were elected for life; that did not make them the less obscure. The *Organic Consulting Senate* of the Constitution of the year X. was adopted by 4,568,885 votes to 3,577,259. Among the number of negative votes was that of Masséna.

External Policy of the First Consul: Changes in Italy (1802).—The republics which owed their being to that of France modified their constitutions after her example. The Cisalpine republic had already made Bonaparte president of their government (January, 1802); the Ligurian republic asked him to choose their doge. This influence of the first consul in Italy was accepted by the foreign powers as a consequence of the victories of France. The reunion of France and Piedmont, which formed seven new departments (September, 1802), the occupation of the Duchy of Parma and the Island of Elba, were foreseen and were effected without opposition, though not without exciting murmurs of anger. It was the inauguration of a policy absolutely contrary to that of the first assemblies of France, a policy which was to be fatal to her.

Mediation in Switzerland (1802).—The Swiss were engaged in deplorable agitations. Bonaparte, invoked as mediator by the government of that country, sent them 20,000 men who re-established material order; he also gave them a constitution in which Europe could only admire his wisdom (February 9, 1803). The ancient alliance of France with the cantons was renewed, and 16,000 Swiss entered the service of France. Unfortunately, Bonaparte added to this moderate mediation arrogant and threatening words against England.

Intervention in Germany.—Bonaparte's intervention in the more complicated affairs of Germany was as animated, and for France much more unfortunate. German diplomacy was constrained, it is true, to renounce its proverbial slowness and to keep in step with the young conqueror, who conducted negotiations as he conducted battles. Indemnities had been promised to the German princes who had lost their domains on the left bank of the Rhine. The clergy furnished the wherewithal. The three ecclesiastical electorates were secularised and the powerful bishops and rich abbeys—relics of the Middle Ages—which belonged to the principalities were given to the dispossessed princes. Imperial towns lost their ancient privileges, to come under the authority of a prince. The chaos of Germany was simplified ; it was much more so after Austerlitz and Jena. But Germany saw clearly at that time what was for her own interest and found that she had been put by the hand of France on the path to that unity which was for France the cause of all her misfortunes.

Expedition of St. Domingo.—The first consul had promised to build up the French navy and her commerce ; he was naturally led to the thought of raising up again her colonial empire. In the first place he made a politic sacrifice. He sold Louisiana to the Americans for 60 millions and he justified this act when he was reproached for it by these profound words : “ It is necessary in the interests of France that America should be great and strong. I read further than you into the future ; I prepare myself avengers.” And the Americans would have taken up this rôle in 1812—if he had waited for them.

St. Domingo, the queen of the Antilles, which before 1789 had exported 160 millions of produce, was no longer in the hands of France. The liberal doctrines of the constitution, thrown without precaution into the midst of this flourishing colony, had caused incalculable misfortunes : the negroes had massacred the white population and the island, covered with blood and ruins, had returned to barbarism.

The first consul wished to recover the richest jewel of the ancient colonial empire of France. He sent, under the command of his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, considerable forces against the negro Toussaint l'Ouverture, who, named by him governor of St. Domingo after his victory over the mulattoes, declared himself to be independent and called himself the “ Bonaparte of the blacks.” The capture of this remarkable man was the only success of an inopportune expedition which

profoundly irritated England and the members of which were seized and decimated by yellow fever. Christophe and Dessalines, successors of Toussaint, favoured by the rupture between England and France, drove the French from the island and founded the republic of Haiti (1804).

Rupture of the Peace of Amiens (May, 1803).—England had made peace in order to stop the growth of France and France grew more in peace than she had done in war. Her commerce and her industry took an immense flight; her flag reappeared on all seas, and seemed to offer serious competition to her who called herself “Mistress of the Seas.” And France intervened with authority in Germany and Switzerland. Holland was under her direction. Piedmont had become one of her provinces; it seemed that upper Italy was about to form another. And so it was said, “The ambition of the French is not satisfied with what were but lately her natural frontiers. She has crossed the Alps, she has overflowed into Italy; soon she will cross the Rhine and her other barriers.” England recriminated against every act of the external policy of France, acts which were either accomplished or foreseen when England had signed the Peace of Amiens; she was making a pretext for retaining Malta, the key to the Mediterranean. Bonaparte demanded this restitution, the principal condition of the treaty. The English minister answered him by one of those undignified violations of the right of nations, of which one finds too much in the history of England: without declaration of war he seized 1200 French and Batavian ships on all seas (May 13, 1803).

Plot of Cadoudal and Pichegru: Death of the Duke of Enghien.—The two enemies not being able to reach each other, they had to content themselves in the meantime with reprisals. Bonaparte arrested all the English travelling in France; interdicted the entry of English merchandise into French ports; sent garrisons to the sea-coast towns of the kingdom of Naples; and laid hands on Hanover, a continental possession of the King of England. Then he returned—this time with the serious intention of carrying it out—to the project of crossing over from Calais and conquering peace in London itself. England stirred up the whole continent to raise enemies against France. She alarmed Russia, Austria, and Sweden; tried to embroil Prussia, which for eight years had been an ally of France; and joining wilful murder to legitimate warfare, she financed the conspiracy of Georges Cadoudal and of Pichegru, in which Moreau allowed himself to be implicated. Cadoudal went to Paris with some of his *Chouans*

to assassinate the first consul and re-establish the Bourbons. The police prevented this crime, and the victor of Hohenlinden was to be seen, his face red with shame, sitting as his accomplice beside the leader of the *Chouans*. Pichegru strangled himself in his prison ; Moreau was condemned to two years' imprisonment. Cadoudal, the Counts of Rivière and of Polignac, with seventeen others were condemned to death ; only two were executed along with Cadoudal. Josephine and Murat succeeded in obtaining pardon for MM. de Rivière and Polignac. Moreau secured remission of his sentence. He was exiled to the United States and did not return till 1813 to direct the last coalition.

Another tragedy preceded this one. The Duke of Enghien, the last of the Condés, was carried off from the Castle of Ettenheim in the Grand Duchy of Baden, taken to Vincennes, delivered to a military commission, and the same night condemned to death and shot in the moat. The duke denied any knowledge of Cadoudal's plot ; but he would not have stayed four leagues from the French frontier except to profit from some event prepared in Paris the exact nature of which may not have been revealed to him. He admitted having been several times to Strasburg, and the law concerning emigrants who had taken up arms against France was applied to him (March 20, 1804). He was protected by the right of nations because he was not taken during an action of war nor on French territory. His death was an infamous reprisal. The first consul, surrounded with assassins from London, "sent terror back to the Bourbons, even in London itself." "In similar circumstances," he wrote in his last testament, "I would act in the same way again." He deceived himself, or rather he wished to deceive posterity, for he knew very well that the condemnation of the Duke of Enghien had deplorable consequences. The violation of the law cost more power than it seemed at the time to give. Prussia, ready to enter into an alliance with France, turned away towards Russia ; that day the coalition renewed its bonds, already twice broken.

CHAPTER LXIV

REIGN OF NAPOLEON I. TILL THE PEACE OF TILSIT
(1804-1807)

Proclamation of the Empire.—The glorious soldier of Arcola and Rivoli, the first general of the republic, had aspired to govern France, a country which the directory had either not governed at all or had governed badly, and of which he had been the leading force on the 18th Brumaire. Elected first consul for ten years, his brilliant services had gained him the recognition of the country, and when factions directed against him an infernal machine and the assassin's knife, France in protesting against these criminal attempts continued his decennial functions for life. This power which was entrusted to him for good he wished to retain for his family. And France was not disposed to allow the title to which he had given such honour and security to fall into other and less capable hands. So that when the attempt of Georges Cadoudal was frustrated France responded to the plots of the royalists by offering Bonaparte the empire. The whole tribunate, with the exception of Carnot and one or two others, expressed the wish that Bonaparte should be made hereditary emperor. The senate proclaimed him under the name of Napoleon the First, and the people by 3,572,329 votes to 2569 established a new dynasty which, born of the Revolution, would preserve its principles. "My spirit," said Napoleon, in taking the title of hereditary emperor, "my spirit will be no longer with my descendants on the day when they cease to merit the love and confidence of this great nation."

Organic Consulting Senate of the Year XII.—A consulting senate modified the consular constitution. Heredity was established in favour of the descendants of the male line of Napoleon or of his adopted sons. Should he have no descendants, natural or adopted, the crown should pass into the line of Joseph, failing him to that of Louis, two brothers of the emperor. Absolute authority was attributed to the emperor and to the imperial family. His brothers and sisters became princes and princesses. The civil list was fixed at 25 millions ; the endowment for each prince at one million.

To give this new throne the brilliance of the old courts, it was surrounded with a new aristocracy, richly endowed and carrying

great titles. It was desired to place between the monarchy and the people this regulated hierarchy, this intermediate body, as Napoleon called it, which seemed indispensable to the monarchic institution. There were first the great dignitaries of the empire, the great elector (Joseph Bonaparte), charged with convoking the legislative body, the senate, the electoral colleges, etc. ; the arch-chancellor of the empire (Cambacères) who had charge of supervising generally the judicial order ; the arch-chancellor of the state with a similar rôle in connection with diplomacy ; the arch-treasurer (Lebrun) of finance ; the constable (Louis Bonaparte) for the army ; and the grand-admiral for the fleet. These great dignitaries, in the case of a minority, would form the council of the regency ; in the case of extinction of the dynasty they would elect an emperor.

Below these six grand dignitaries—of whom only four were appointed at first, in order to leave two places vacant for brothers of Napoleon then in disgrace—there were forty or fifty grand officers of state, appointed for life like the great dignitaries.

There were sixteen marshals of the empire, of whom fourteen were chosen at once ; Jourdan for his victory at Fleurus ; Masséna for Rivoli, Zürich, and Genoa ; Augereau for Castiglione ; Brune for Bergen ; Berthier for his eminent services at the head of the General Staff ; Lannes and Ney for a long series of heroic actions ; Murat for his exceptional valour at the head of the French cavalry ; Bessière for the command of the guard, which he had held since Marengo ; Moncey and Mortier for their warlike virtues ; Soult for services rendered at the camp of Boulogne, and to the Swiss at Genoa ; Davout for his conduct in Egypt ; and finally Bernadotte for his military fame, but chiefly on account of his connections (Bernadotte had married Eugénie Clary, daughter of a merchant of Marseilles and sister of the wife of Joseph Bonaparte). There were also four honorary marshals, who being senators, had no more active service ; Kellermann for Valmy ; Lefebvre for his devotion on the 18th Brumaire ; Perignon and Serrurier for the respect they justly inspired for the army.

Songis and Marescot, inspectors of artillery and engineers ; Gouvion St. Cyr, colonel-in-chief of the cuirassiers ; Junot of the hussars ; Marmont of the hunters ; Baraguey d'Hilliers of the dragoons ; and finally Admiral Bruix, inspector-general of the coast on the ocean, and Vice-Admiral Decrès, inspector-general of the shores of the Mediterranean—these closed the list of the great military officers. The great civil officers comprised

Cardinal Fesch, the uncle of Napoleon, grand almoner ; Talleyrand, grand chamberlain ; Berthier, grand huntsman ; Caulaincourt, grand master of the horse ; Duroc, grand master of the household. A grand master of ceremonies, the Count of Ségur, had charge of instructing the new court in the ways of the old.

The senate was composed of 80 members elected by the senate itself along with the six grand dignitaries, the French princes of eighteen years of age and over, and finally those citizens called by the emperor. The senate thus constituted maintained the prerogatives given to it by the constitution of the year X. The legislative body voted the laws beforehand, without discussing them ; speech was allowed on condition that it was not used except in secret committees. The tribunate became more and more a sort of council of state. There being no special reason for its existence it was suppressed in 1807.

A high imperial court was instituted to deal with plots against the safety of the state or the person of the emperor, with faults committed by ministers or their agents, the members of the imperial family or the grand personages of state. It was composed of sixty senators, twenty counsellors of state, grand officers of the empire, and so on.

The new constitution, as far as regards outside forms, was representative, seeing that it was created for the most part by election, and that the deputies of the country voted the taxes and made the laws. But regarded as a whole, with a wide impartial view, it was absolute ; for it is not the wheels which make the force of the machine, but the power imposed on it by the human will. And so in 1804 the will of France was that of Napoleon ; France gave her fortunes into the hands of this extraordinary genius who up till now had showed his power only by his services ; who could still render service by defending the Revolution against the implacable rancour of England and against the old monarchies of the continent. But if it was natural for France to be thus attracted and carried away, was it not the duty of the chief of the state to moderate and control her enthusiasm ? Would it not have been useful for him to have preserved some of that political liberty which had been abused, but the desire for which is always at the bottom of the heart ? Napoleon did not find in the senate, in the legislative body, in the aristocracy which surrounded him one man who dared to contradict him in his prosperity ; would he find any one to support him in the days of misfortune ?

The Coronation (December 2, 1804).—Accustomed to appeal

to the imagination by brilliant spectacles, Napoleon had resolved to astonish France and the world by an imposing ceremony. He obtained from the pope that with which no king or emperor had hitherto been honoured ; the pontiff himself came to Paris to consecrate this new Charlemagne (December 2, 1804). Pius VII. put the Holy Oils on the head, arms, and hands of the emperor, but when he would have taken the crown to put it on his head, Napoleon seized it and crowned himself ; then taking that of the empress, he crowned her also ; Josephine burst into tears, perplexed by the triumphant fortune which her husband bore so proudly.

The Legion of Honour.—From the day when Napoleon replaced the republic by the monarchy, he dreamt of reconstituting the nobility ; he did not carry out this great project till after the triumphs of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland. Ten years earlier he had decreed the institution of the legion of honour, a system of national recompense such as the spirit of equality could accept, because it created no hereditary privileges in marking out for public esteem the scholar, the industrial benefactor, and the soldier, who had deserved well of their country by their works, their activities, and their courage. On the 14th July, 1804, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, Napoleon distributed in the *Hôtel des Invalides* the highest decorations of the order to the principal personages of the empire. On the 16th August he himself gave to the soldiers of the camp at Boulogne the cross which had replaced the *armes d'honneur* formerly given by the republic in recognition of deeds of heroism. It was a splendid military festival, such as the world had never seen. One hundred thousand men, heroes of twenty battles, were ranged round the imperial throne which had been erected on a natural rising ground, descending in a gentle slope to the shore. From there one saw the ocean ; the English fleet which barred the Channel ; and far away, hidden in the mist, that England which all longed to invade, to which a favouring breeze and six hours of good fortune could carry the French. A division of the fleet from Havre entered the harbour at this moment ; the English to trouble its voyage engaged in a lively cannonade, and it was to the familiar sound of the enemy's guns mingled with warlike fanfares that officers and soldiers, nobles of old families or sons of peasants, came forward to receive this cross, bought with their blood.

Napoleon, King of Italy.—The Italian republic, constituted after the pattern of the French republic, followed its vicissitudes

to the end. Italy, enervated by secular servitude, by divisions which dated from the downfall of the Roman Empire, could not now, if left to herself, either defend or unite her different provinces. Were the hand of France—which had protected her for eight years—withdrawn for a moment, Austria would seize on some town or district; should the hand of Napoleon, which held her united, be taken away, she would fall back into her unceasing rivalries. “You have only local laws,” Napoleon said to the deputies of the Cisalpine republic, “you require general laws.” He meant to say that Italy was nothing but an assembly of incoherent and envious municipalities, enemies to each other; that Genoa being jealous of Turin, Venice of Milan, Bologna of Florence, every large town insisting obstinately on having its own special independent existence, resulted in the fact that there was no communal or national life; no unity, no state. This unity, which Italy now knew, she could cultivate under the friendly instruction and enlightenment of France. Many Italians understood that, and when the empire was proclaimed at Paris, the monarchy was established at Milan (March 18, 1805).

The Italians were glad to accept the defence of France, but they did not like the appearance of being in subjection. Napoleon entered into their feelings and offered the crown of the kingdom of Italy to his brother Joseph who refused it. He therefore took it himself; but in order not to offend too deeply those powers which were alarmed at the reunion between Italy and France, he declared that in the interests of peace he would give this kingdom to a French prince. Eugène Beauharnais, son of the Empress Josephine, was sent as viceroy to Milan. And so Napoleon was Emperor of France and King of Italy: as mediator of the Swiss confederation he had Switzerland already under his influence and Swiss regiments in his army. Austerlitz was to make him protector of the confederation of the Rhine. He would then very nearly have reconstituted the empire of Charlemagne; his generals asked him if he would not like to be known by the title of *Emperor of the West*: a grandeur which was his downfall—the downfall of France.

Camp of Boulogne.—The continent was silenced in the face of this Revolution which had already put two crowns on the head of a soldier. England alone braved its anger safe behind that impassable barrier, the British Channel. But Napoleon having only England for his enemy, could apply the immense resources of his genius to the project of the invasion of her shores. Not many days had passed since the rupture of the Peace of Amiens

when an activity long since unknown reigned in the ports of France. The class of ships being built were small and low ; gunboats, flat-bottomed boats, pinnaces, all for sail or oars, were thought to be sufficient to carry the expedition. The work went forward not only in the ports but also in all those rivers from which boats could descend to the sea. At Paris eighty gunboats were put on the stocks along the Seine, launched and taken to Havre, where, joined to other divisions, they were equipped, armed, and sailed along the coast towards Calais. Squadrons of cavalry and light artillery followed their course along the shore ready to protect them against an attack from the enemy. Similar fleets came from the Loire, the Gironde, the Charente, and all the ports of the coast. Twelve to thirteen hundred ships assembled in this way, and concentrated at Boulogne and its neighbouring ports, Étaples, Wimereux, and Ambleteuse, which Napoleon had specially deepened for the purpose. One hundred and fifty thousand men were gathered in the proximity of these ports, and, like the Roman legions, exchanged their arms for pick-axes, working to hollow out the channels to the sea. In order that they should not be disturbed in their work, Napoleon invented various means to keep the enemy at a distance. He established lines of submarine batteries armed with big guns which were covered at high tide, but laid bare at low-water ; so that their fire seemed to advance and retreat with the sea itself. Five hundred guns of large calibre were put in batteries on the cliffs which the English called the " coast of iron " ; forts constructed in the open sea prevented the enemy from approaching the ports. Many of these batteries fired hollow projectiles, of which one alone, exploding on the hull of a ship, did irreparable damage. From the winter of 1803, the preparations were far enough advanced, the sailors and soldiers sufficiently trained, for Napoleon to fix the date of the invasion. The conspiracy of Cadoudal and Moreau and the proclamation of the empire turned his attention for a short time from the camp at Boulogne, but he returned to it with new energy as soon as the questions raised by that great change had been solved.

He had many different possibilities to choose from as to crossing the Strait : he might cross in a calm which held the English fleet motionless ; after a storm which had chased it from the Channel ; under cover of night and the thick fogs of winter ; or thanks to a combination of circumstances which would make the French fleet, if only for a few hours, the superior force in the Channel. This last chance would have been the best.

Napoleon made his preparations in profound secrecy and with marvellous ability. Admiral Villeneuve, who had sailed from Toulon with all the forces of that port, was to pick up on his way the Spanish squadron of Admiral Gravina at Cadiz, then to sail to the Antilles, create some disturbance there, and so attract Nelson, who was guarding the Mediterranean. Before having been caught up Villeneuve was to return towards Europe when thought to be on the way to make some great conquest of India, raise the blockade of Ferrol's squadron, then the blockade of Brest, and finally enter the British Channel with fifty ships, which would remain in command of these waters till such time as the English admiralty could reunite her scattered fleets on all seas. But before that could be accomplished, the French fleet would have crossed, and with it 150,000 soldiers and the chance of the world.

At first everything succeeded according to desire: Nelson, who kept a watch on Toulon, was deceived. When, after having lost some time in looking for the French fleet, he pursued it to the extremity of the Gulf of Mexico, Villeneuve returned to Europe; but he allowed himself to be delayed off Cape Finisterre by a battle with Admiral Calder. The issue was uncertain, if anything rather to the advantage of the French admiral, who had only lost two inferior Spanish ships. He could have continued his voyage and accomplished Napoleon's plan. But he had not the courage and returned to Cadiz to repair his damages; there he was blockaded.

At the moment when this magnificent plan was wrecked, Napoleon learned that English gold had formed a new coalition. Enraged, he left the sea for the land and began the immortal campaign of 1805.

Campaign of 1805: Capitulation of Ulm (October 19).—Four attacks were prepared against the empire. The Swedes and Russians were about to advance by way of Hanover; the Russians and Austrians by the valley of the Danube; the Austrians alone by Lombardy; the Russians, English, and Neapolitans by the south of Italy. Of these four armies, Napoleon disregarded two; those which were placed at the two extremities. He held the third in charging his ablest lieutenant to stop with 50,000 veterans the 80,000 Austrians which the Archduke Charles thrust on the Adige; he reserved all his strength for the fourth, 80,000 men whom General Mack, preceding the great Russian army and the reserves of the Austrian army, conducted across Bavaria and Swabia, towards the defiles of the Black

Forest. Napoleon turned that army, and repeating the miracle of Marengo, he fell, by way of Franconia, on the rear of Mack's forces, cut them off from Vienna, surrounded them, trampled upon their detachments at Wertingen, Gunzburg, and Elchingen, where Ney defeated them, and finally surrounded them at Ulm. It was on the 25th of September that Napoleon's great army had entered Germany; on October 6 it had crossed the Danube; on the 19th, the Austrian army, hemmed in by a circle of iron and fire, surrendered. In three weeks an army of 80,000 men had disappeared. Some thousands fled towards the Tyrol and Bohemia, but 50,000 had been killed or taken prisoners: 200 guns and eighty flags were left in the hands of the French. What rendered these magnificent results still more glorious was that they had been assured by the foresight of genius, and were fulfilled practically without loss. "The emperor," said the soldiers, "does not make war any longer with our arms but with our legs."

Trafalgar (October 21).—The news of a great naval reverse came to depress the emperor. The very day on which Mack left Ulm, Admiral Villeneuve lost to Nelson the sanguinary Battle of Trafalgar, which cost the combined fleets of France and Spain 18 ships and 7000 men. The English had 3000 killed, of whom Nelson was one—a loss more regrettable to England than if she had lost an army. This defeat was the death-blow of the imperial navy. Napoleon no longer counted on it, and despairing of coming to a hand-to-hand fight with England, he was the more driven towards the thought already in his mind, of ruining his unassailable enemy by closing the continent to her.

Battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805).—But Napoleon proceeded with his march on Vienna, which was now unprotected. He entered the capital on November 13 and found himself between two armies; on the right, that of the Tyrol and Italy which Ney and Masséna were driving before them and which was about to be brought to a halt under the Archduke Charles behind the line of the Raab; on the left, the great Austro-Russian army with the two emperors. This army occupied Moravia; Napoleon hastened his forces towards it, crossed the Danube, and arrived at Brunn on November 20 with 65,000 men. In three months his soldiers had marched 500 leagues.

Ninety thousand Austro-Russian troops were ranged on the heights of Austerlitz. Their leaders had conceived a magnificent plan: to turn the right wing of the French, cut them off from the road to Vienna and from their reserves, to overwhelm them

or at least thrust them back into Bohemia, where it would be easy to complete their destruction with the aid of Prussia, who was arming and only waited for a success to hasten with 60,000 men to the final dispatch of the French. But Napoleon had foreseen their intentions as if he had been at their councils, and he pretended to be working into their hands. He only sent inadequate forces, one division of the corps of Davout, to his right wing, towards the villages of Telnitz and Sokolnitz, to draw the enemy, in offering him the temptation of blocking the road to Vienna which passed behind these hamlets. But he established himself strongly on his left, he sent cavalry to guard the road to Olmutz, resting them on Mont Bosenitz and the top of the Santon which covered the artillery and protected a regiment he had trusted by oath to defend that position to the death. Lannes was in command. In the centre, behind the river Goldbach and facing the plateau of Pratzen, Napoleon put Soult with three divisions, and further to the rear in the same direction a formidable reserve of 25,000 men. The Russians were massed on the plateau of Pratzen, on the plain to their right was the corps of Bagration and a large body of cavalry under orders to trample Lannes and the other French regiments under the feet of their horses. The castle of Austerlitz, the headquarters of the two emperors, was only guarded by a reserve of 10,000 men.

The enemy fell blindfold into the trap. Three Russian divisions came down from the heights and engaged in an unequal but furious fight towards Telnitz and Sokolnitz, defended only by one regiment and a battalion, Friant's division being still far in the rear towards Gross-Raigern, although it had advanced thirty-six leagues in two days. While the enemy were engaged on this flank and, having taken the villages, thought they had practically decided the issue of the day, Napoleon, who had with great difficulty restrained the impatience of his soldiers, hurled 25,000 men on to the plateau of Pratzen, the key of the position, annihilated the Russian Imperial Guard which defended it, cut the enemy forces in two, and set again on the three divisions sent to turn the French right. Davout's men attacked them in front, subjected them to a fierce fire, forced them back on the frozen ponds which surrounded the plain, broke the ice with a million bullets under the feet of multitudes of Russians who sank and were drowned. At the same time Lannes had engaged in a furious battle on the left; he braved all the efforts of the enemy's cavalry, which, decimated by his fire, could not withstand the shock of Murat's squadrons and

was thrown back in disorder, with the remains of Bagration's force, on Austerlitz (December 2, 1805). "Soldiers," said Napoleon in one of those proclamations which were both the announcement and the recompense of victory: "Soldiers! I am proud of you. You have decorated your eagles¹ with immortal glory. . . . Return to your homes, it will be sufficient for you to say, 'I was at Austerlitz' for your hearers to rejoin, 'There is a brave man!'"

Fifteen thousand dead, ten thousand prisoners, two hundred and eighty guns—these were the losses of the enemy. The two emperors fled; the Emperor of Austria demanded an interview with Napoleon at the outposts: an armistice was granted. The Prussian emperor, alarmed, hastened to renounce the intentions he had cherished and treated with Napoleon. To put difficulties in the way of Napoleon's turning towards England, the emperor offered him Hanover in exchange for the duchy of Cleves, the stronghold of Wesel on the Rhine, and the principality of Neuchâtel in Switzerland.

Treaty of Pressburg (December 26): Confederation of the Rhine.—Austria did not sign the peace treaty till December 26 at Pressburg. She abandoned the Venetian states, Istria and Dalmatia, which Napoleon reunited to the kingdom of Italy; also Tyrol and Swabia which he used to enlarge the domains of the Dukes of Bavaria and Würtemberg, who took the title of king, and that of the Duke of Baden, who took the title of grand-duke. Austria lost four million subjects and a revenue of fifteen million florins. By the cession of Venice she lost all power over Italy, by that of the Tyrol all influence over Switzerland. The arsenals of Vienna had given over to the French army 100,000 muskets and 2000 big guns. The "column of the great army" was made of the bronze taken from the enemy in this campaign and was erected at Paris in the Place Vendôme.

The Treaty of Pressburg consecrated the emperor after Austerlitz just as the Peace of Lunéville had crowned the consul after Marengo. It gave France a magnificent position. Prussia was driven back from the Rhine; Austria was pushed back from Italy. The German princes who separated France from Austria had received lands and titles from the hand of France—lands and titles which they had never dreamt of possessing. And so Napoleon, achieving in peace the results of war, constituted some months after Austerlitz the Confederation of the Rhine.

¹ The eagle was the standard of the French under Napoleon, a device which he had copied from the ancient Romans.

The old germanic empire, constituted by Charlemagne, was dissolved after existing for six centuries. Francis II. gave up the title of Emperor of Germany (August 6); to prevent his prestige from falling he had already adopted the title of Emperor of Austria. But now a great number of the 370 states into which Germany was divided, and which had entered on continual anarchy, were suppressed by, and for the advantage of, the more powerful princes of western and central Germany. These princes reunited, under the protection of France, in a new federative state which was called the *Confederation of the Rhine*. Prussia and Austria, partly Slav nations, were excluded. It was a benefit for Germany and a happy thought for Europe to place between these three great military states this confederation which prevented their frontiers from touching. France must for ever regret that the emperor did not hold to the Treaty of Pressburg, so happily conceived for the peace of Italy and Germany as well as for the greatness of France.

Royal Vassals: Great Military Fiefs: The New Nobility.—But already Napoleon was occupied with other thoughts. This sceptre of Charlemagne's which he had wrested from the hands of Germany he wished to keep for himself, especially as the interests of Europe and of France demanded that it should never be broken. Hardly were the 120 flags conquered in that three months' war hung from the arched roof of Notre-Dame, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Palace of the Senate, when he drove the Bourbons from Naples and completed the system of the empire in surrounding it by monarchies in vassalage and feudatory principalities. Joseph Bonaparte was created King of Naples and Sicily; Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland; Elisa, sister of Napoleon, became Duchess of Lucca; the beautiful Pauline Borghese, his other sister, was made Duchess of Guastalla; Murat, the husband of Caroline Bonaparte, Napoleon's youngest sister, was made Grand-Duchess of Berg; Berthier was given the sovereign principality of Neuchâtel; Talleyrand that of Benevento; Bernadotte, brother-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte, that of Ponte-Corvo.

Napoleon reserved twelve duchies in the Venetian states, four in the kingdom of Naples, two in the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, one in that of Lucca. These he distributed successively to his companions in arms and his most devoted servitors. The two former consuls, Lebrun and Cambacères, became in this way the Dukes of Piacenza and Parma; the ministers Gaudin, Fouché, Champagny, and Maret became the Dukes of Gaëta, Otranto,

Cadore, and Bassano. The chief judge Regnier became Duke of Massa ; the Grand-Marshal Duroc, Duke of Friuli ; the Marshals Soult, Bessières, Victor, Moncey, Mortier, Macdonald, and Oudinot became Dukes of Dalmatia, Istria, Belluna, Conegliano, Treviso, Tarento, and Reggio ; the Generals Caulaincourt, Clarke, Savary, and Arrighi, Dukes of Vicenza, Feltre, Rovigo, and Padua, etc. In these duchies—which were all created outside of France in order not to injure the national spirit of equality—part of the public revenue was assured to the titular chief, but no political power ; it was thus not a complete return to feudalism.

In order to have recompenses at hand for all classes of society, Napoleon retained 34 millions of national property, 2,400,000 francs income in the different states of Italy ; and after the campaigns of Prussia and Poland, twenty millions in Polish property, thirty in Hanover, and five or six millions of the revenue of Westphalia. He was thus able to distribute princely gifts to his generals, to his ministers, to his soldiers. Every general of a division had before him, as a recompense for his services, an endowment and the title of baron. The colonels looked forward to either the one or the other. Thus a new nobility, of plebeian origin, but which had found its parchments on the field of battle, grew up around this crowned soldier, who sought to reconstitute the aristocracy, that it might take its place round the throne on which he was seated. That was a deviation from the principle of equality. But Napoleon gave no privileges to this aristocracy. It had no advantage over the rest of the citizens except in its titles and its honours. In order to make it lasting and to maintain its brilliance, he established primogeniture ; but the spirit of the country did not follow him there ; and outside of these *perpetual entails* constituted by the emperor, there were only 212 constituted specially, and they only represented a revenue of less than two millions.

Prussian Campaign (1806).—The success of Austerlitz had been the death-blow of William Pitt, the implacable enemy of France ; he was succeeded by Fox, a man of open mind and noble spirit. On hearing this, Napoleon hoped to be able to conclude a peace with England. But unfortunately Fox died, and power returned to Pitt's disciples, partisans of war to the death. A treaty was about to be signed by the Russian ambassador in France. It was disavowed. An English politician was in Paris, the conferences were delayed, hints were thrown out of the restitution of Hanover to England, which Napoleon had recently

promised to Prussia, and the court at Berlin was thrown into a panic which led to imprudent resolutions.

Napoleon wanted a great continental alliance. Austria had been too profoundly humiliated in the last ten years to take her into consideration ; Russia had been forced since Austerlitz to recall her vanquished soldiers and she demanded too much in return for her alliance ; she herself could only half fulfil it. It was with Prussia that Napoleon wished to unite his fortunes, but since the campaign of 1805 that vacillating court—which thought itself still the court of Frederic the Great while it had only a feeble king and an imprudent queen—inspired in Napoleon neither esteem nor confidence. The evening before Austerlitz Prussia prepared her armies to attack the rear of the French forces ; the next day she stretched out her hand. The emperor plainly saw through her hostile intentions. On receiving the congratulations of the Prussian ambassador in the camp at Austerlitz : “ There,” said Napoleon to his officers, “ there is a compliment of which fortune has changed the address.” Nevertheless, after he had created the Confederation of the Rhine in the south-west of Germany, he engaged with Prussia to form a similar confederation in the north, to be placed under his patronage. But Prussia, who had deceived him, thought she was now being deceived herself. She thought that peace with England could only be made at her expense, and to prevent an injury which she had not the slightest cause to fear, she threw herself with inconceivable levity into the most dreadful peril. The Austrian army was only mentioned in Berlin with disdain ; it was said that the victories of Napoleon over these incapable generals would find their term before the old Duke of Brunswick, a pupil of the great Frederic. The queen, beautiful and romantic, showed herself on horseback in the midst of the troops, excited their courage, led the court and her husband to the abyss that yawned before them. “ One seems to see *Armide*,” said the *Moniteur* of France, dryly, “ who sets her own palace on fire.” A new coalition was formed. Russia promised two armies, who were three months on the way ; England promised subsidies and Sweden her feeble support. Napoleon left Paris on September 26. His great army of 130,000 incomparable soldiers was still stationed in Germany. In a few days he concentrated them at Bamberg ; on October 8 they were in motion. Two Prussian armies, instead of guarding strongly the line of the Elbe, had crossed that river and manœuvred with clockwork regularity, following the tactics of text-books, behind the forest of Thuringia.

Napoleon repeated again the manœuvre of Marengo and Ulm ; he turned the left of the Prussians as he had turned the right of the Austrians the preceding year ; established himself in the way of their communications between their armies and the Elbe, which was their line of retreat, and struck the same day two terrible blows at Jena and Auerstadt (October 14).

Jena and Auerstadt (October 14, 1806).—There were some preliminary fights : at Schleitz on the 6th, at Saalfeld on the 10th. In the last of these encounters Prince Louis of Prussia, one of the authors of the war, was killed by a hussar. Already confusion reigned in the Prussian army. The old Duke of Brunswick was terrified that he would end his military career in the same way that Mack had done. When Napoleon threatened the crossing of the Saale at Jena, at Dornburg near Auerstadt, the duke, instead of accepting battle on ground that was favourable to him, imagined it would be better to retreat to Magdeburg on the lower Elbe. He ordered Prince Hohenlohe, who had 70,000 men under his command, not to accept battle ; but it was too late : in such close proximity to Napoleon nothing escaped him. The Prince of Hohenlohe had to improvise the attack at Jena, when he waited for the French from the opposite side, near the forest of Thuringia, and lost in a few hours 12,000 killed or wounded, 15,000 prisoners, and 200 guns.

While Napoleon was gaining this victory, prepared by such brilliant strategy, another splendid fight was being fought at Auerstadt, four leagues away, by Marshal Davout. This great warrior had only 26,000 men at Naumburg to guard one of the principal crossings of the Saale, and had orders to hold this position at all costs. The Duke of Brunswick arrived to cross the river with 60,000 Prussians. Davout, abandoned by Bernadotte, who out of jealousy refused to support him, boldly barred the way to the Prussians, resolving to allow himself and the last man of his corps to be killed rather than allow the Prussians to cross. It was like one of Napoleon's Egyptian battles. The Prussians had a cavalry of 15,000 horses, reputed to be the best in Europe. Twenty times they were thrown at the French squares, not one of which allowed itself to be broken ; the squares in their turn deployed in attacking columns, intimidated the enemy infantry, threw it into disorder, and forced it to retreat. The Duke of Brunswick, the Marshal de Mollendorf, and General Schmettau were mortally wounded ; 10,000 men killed or wounded covered the field of battle ; 115 guns remained in the hands of Davout, who had himself only possessed forty-

four. "If it had only been necessary to fight with our arms against these Frenchmen," wrote a Prussian officer, "we would soon have beaten them. They are small, pitiful creatures, one of our Germans could fight four of them. But under fire they become superhuman. They are carried along by an unutterable ardour, of which we find no trace in our soldiers. . . . What can one expect from our peasants who are taken into battle by the nobles and share in their danger, but who know they can never share in their feelings nor in their recompense?" Thus were the French described by those whom they had vanquished; in their praise of the bravery of France we see also praise of the Revolution.

The two Prussian armies fled in indescribable confusion. Had the ground resembled that on which Mack had fought, they would have been captured; but in the great plains of northern Germany it is not possible to manœuvre in the same way as in the valley of the Danube. The French troops, above all Murat's cavalry, pursued them, crossed the Elbe, and hurried to the Oder to intercept the Prussians. The Prince of Hohenlohe, wounded at Prenslaw, was forced to lay down his arms; Blücher had the same fate at Lübeck. Of the 160,000 men who marched so lately to attack the French, 25,000 were killed or wounded, 100,000 were taken prisoners, 35,000 were scattered, without one recrossing the Oder. Magdeburg, Spandau, Custrin, and Stettin, all the strongholds of the Elbe and the Oder, were occupied by the French. In one month (October 8 to November 8) the Prussian monarchy had ceased to exist. Napoleon had entered Potsdam, where he had taken as his share of the booty the sword of Frederic the Great, which had been laid on his tomb. He had also been at Berlin where he did himself honour by an act of clemency. In a letter, which was intercepted, the Prince of Hatzfeld, left as civil governor of the town, revealed to Blücher the position of the French troops. It was an act of treason punishable by the laws of war with death. Napoleon ordered that he should be given over to a council of war. Rapp, Caulaincourt, and Savary confined the prince in the castle. The princess, shunned by them, threw herself at the feet of the emperor. "Do you recognise the writing of your husband?" he asked. Dismayed she did not know what to say. "Well, well, madame," said Napoleon, "throw this piece of paper into the fire and the military commission, having no proofs, will not be able to condemn."

The Continental Blockade (1806).—From the day when Napo-

leon was obliged to abandon the camp at Boulogne, he had constantly thought of how to conquer the sea from the land. Austerlitz had given him Italy and the Adriatic, that is to say, half the European coasts of the Mediterranean; Spain and Turkey added to his alliance would give him the rest. Jena assured him the northern seaboard and a portion of the Baltic coasts. One step further and he could entirely close the continent to the commerce of England. He could cause these islanders, whom he could not reach, to perish of plenty amidst the heaped-up merchandise of the world imprisoned in her harbours. This step Napoleon decided to take; he resolved to march from the Oder to the Vistula, to occupy the mouths of all the great European rivers. And as England, with a monstrous extension of the rights of war, had announced the blockade of the coast from Brest to Hamburg, which prevented the approach of vessels belonging to neutral powers, Napoleon promulgated on November 21, 1806, the famous *Decree of Berlin*, which declared the British Isles themselves to be in a state of blockade. In consequence, all commerce with these islands was formally interdicted; English goods, in some places where they were found, were confiscated; all English arrested on the continent were detained as prisoners of war; all letters coming from or going to England were destroyed. Thus the tyranny of England on the seas led the emperor to establish the same tyranny on the continent. In this struggle of giants, the interests of the ordinary people disappeared and the right of nations was trodden under foot by both sides.

But for this system to be successful, to strike at the heart of England and oblige her to demand mercy, it was necessary that not one continental port should remain open to her. After having closed the ports of Prussia, it was necessary also to close those of Russia, that is to say, for Napoleon to become master over all. The continental blockade was a gigantic machine of war which was sure to inflict a mortal wound on one of the two adversaries. Napoleon was killed by it.

Eylau (February 8, 1807).—In one of the splendid addresses Napoleon made to his soldiers, which were called the "Bulletins of the Great Army," he said to them: "Soldiers, one of the great powers of Europe, a power which dared but lately to propose a shameful surrender to us, has been annihilated. The forests and valleys of Franconia, of the Saale and the Elbe, which our fathers took seven years to traverse, we have covered in a few days; we have entered Berlin, covered with the glory

of our victories. The Russians boasted of coming to us, we saved them half the way. They and we, are we not the soldiers of Austerlitz ? ”

On the 28th November, Murat entered Warsaw : Napoleon arrived on December 15, waiting for a general rising in Poland to proclaim the re-establishment of that kingdom, so imprudently destroyed in 1773. The Poles, on their side, waited to begin their rising till Napoleon was thoroughly engaged with them. But the emperor hesitated ; so far from the Rhine, which was the base for his operations, he feared that Austria might throw her forces on the flank of his army. This great question was therefore in suspense, Napoleon counted on no one but himself. Already 120,000 Russians were on the Narew, the western tributary of the Vistula. To separate them from the sea, whence they were receiving help from England, and from the Prussians who guarded Dantzic and Königsberg, Napoleon engaged with the Russians, towards the end of December, at Czarnowo, Golymin, Soldau, and Pultusk, in a series of combats which, and especially the last, were marked by sharp fighting and cost 20,000 men and eighty guns. But on the heavy clay soil, cut up with woods and marshes, which an unexpected thaw had changed into a liquid bog, movements were difficult and slow. Napoleon could not follow up his advantages. He had to stop and take to winter quarters which were admirably disposed in front of the Vistula and between the Bug, the Narew, the Orezyc, and the Ukra, like a great entrenched camp.

In placing himself so far from Dantzic, of which he hoped to make a siege during the winter, Napoleon purposely offered the Russians the temptation of crossing the Vistula below his encampments, then he hoped to draw them on into his clutches and drive them into the sea. Benningsen, the Russian generalissimo, did in fact conceive this idea, and hoped to take the French by surprise in mid-winter. He transported all his forces to the left of the French encampments. But Ney was there. Advised by his couriers, whom he sent far afield, to within view of Königsberg, the marshal gave the alarm to all his troops. Bernadotte arrested Benningsen at Mohrungen ; the emperor was already manœuvring to cut him off, when the despatches containing the order of march revealed to Benningsen the danger by which he was menaced. He was able to retire. But Napoleon pursued him relentlessly, defeated some of his divisions at Wallersdorf, Hoff, Heilsberg, and obliged him to halt at Eylau to engage in a great battle.

The Russians had 72,000 men. The emperor had not been able to muster more than 54,000 and those harassed, tired, and famished with hunger. It was a winter's day, the 8th of February, thick snow covered the ground, sudden gusts of wind and whirls of snow cut the faces of the soldiers. The business of the day commenced by a veritable cannonade. Two hundred French and more than three hundred Russian guns belched forth shot and death on the two armies. Napoleon waited at the foot of a tree in the cemetery of Eylau under a rain of missiles that passed above his head, till Davout, whom he had called to him, fell on the left flank of the Russians. When Napoleon heard his cannons, from the direction of Sarpellen, he launched Augereau's forces on the centre of the enemy. But the Russians unmasked a battery of large-calibre guns which in a few moments laid low 4000 of the French army. The rest of this division fell back on Eylau, the enemy followed them and came almost to the cemetery, the key of the French position, where Napoleon had only six battalions to guard him. At his order, Murat hastened to him. "Will you leave us to be devoured by these creatures?" asked the emperor. Murat gathered eighty squadrons, and at the gallop pierced the first line of the enemy, slaughtered them, and threw his force on the second line. But this line, resting on a wood, unmasked yet another formidable battery which fired broadcast on all which lay before it, friends and enemies alike. General Hautpoul was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball; disorder broke out among the cuirassiers. Seeing this, General Lepic charged at the head of his grenadiers of the guard; scouring the plain in every direction he achieved the destruction of the first Russian line, which proceeded to re-form. A portion of this line, 4000 grenadiers, advanced once more as far as the cemetery; a battalion of the guard, without waiting to load their guns, rushed at them with the bayonet and levelled them to the ground. In the meanwhile Davout's attack was making progress: Ney approached on the other wing with his army corps: Benningsen, reduced to 40,000 men, decided to retreat. He had lost 30,000 men, killed, gravely wounded, or taken prisoner, 24 guns, and 16 flags. The French on their side had lost 3000 killed and 7000 wounded.

This dreadful butchery was not the victory Napoleon was in the habit of gaining; it was estimated almost as a defeat; and Benningsen, while in flight himself, boasted of having beaten the French. The solidity of the Russian infantry, the disproportion of numbers, the derangement of Napoleon's plans by

the unexpected attack of the Russians explained the small results of this sanguinary affair.

Friedland (June 14, 1807).—The great army, disturbed for an instant in its repose, retired after giving this lesson to the enemy and approached its new camp near Dantzic to cover the siege of that stronghold. General Chasseloup, a military genius, under the orders of Marshal Lefebvre, reduced it to capitulate on May 26th. Further in the rear, Vandamme and Jerome Bonaparte achieved the conquest of Silesia.

The summer campaign was short and decisive. The army left its central camp on the 1st of June to encamp in divisions. On the 5th the Russian generalissimo believed he could still surprise and carry off the army corps of Ney at the extreme right of the imperial army, and attacked. But all had been foreseen; a proud retreat on the part of Napoleon's lieutenant and the rapid concentration of the whole army disconcerted the plans of the enemy. Obligated in his turn to retreat, he was driven, closely followed, along the Alle, defeated at Heilsberg and intercepted at Friedland on the way to Koenigsberg, the great city which he wished to protect. Lannes with 26,000 men against 82,000 barred his passage and held him from three in the morning till midday defending with terrible slaughter the wood of Sortlack, the plateau of Posthenen, and the village of Heinrichsdorf by which the enemy's route lay. At last the emperor arrived with the rest of the army. It was the anniversary of Marengo; Napoleon's face was radiant with hope and genius, for he found the Russians in a position to which his manœuvres had driven them and in which he could inflict on them an overwhelming disaster. The River Alle cut their army in two; they had thrown four bridges across it and occupied the little village of Friedland before this river. The emperor, simulating an attack all along the line but giving serious attention only to the right, threw Ney on Friedland. "That man is a lion," he cried, on seeing the intrepid soldier attack under a rain of shot, capture the town, and cut or burn the bridges. Then the centre and the left were engaged, the Russians were driven to the Alle and on into the river: it was half-past ten at night, and Lannes had commenced the action at three o'clock in the morning. Eighty guns had been captured, 25,000 Russians had been killed, wounded, or drowned; the rest fled in the greatest disorder. Koenigsberg, the last town of the Prussian king, surrendered; immense supplies of provisions were found there, 100,000 muskets sent from England, who gave arms and money, but did not dare to land a single regiment.

Peace of Tilsit (July 8, 1807).—But this astute policy commenced to turn against those who practised it with so much profit and so little danger. Whilst Austria, Prussia, and Russia lost their provinces, their armies, their honour, the English ranged the seas, sweeping everything before them ; they seized the colonies of Holland and Spain : the miseries of the continent made their fortune. “ I hate the English even more than you do,” was one of the first remarks of Alexander at the Tilsit interview on the banks of the Niemen. “ In that case,” replied Napoleon, “ peace is made.” After long and intimate conferences between the two sovereigns, peace was signed on July 8, 1807. The emperor gave up to the King of Prussia, Pomerania and Brandenburg (that is, old Prussia and Silesia) with the exception of Dantzic, which was declared a free town, and the great fortress of Magdeburg on the Elbe, which was left to the French. Of Hesse-Cassel and the Prussian possessions west of the Elbe Napoleon constituted the kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome. The Polish provinces of Prussia he formed into the grand-duchy of Warsaw, which he gave to the King of Saxony. These two new states joined the Confederation of the Rhine.

These were only half measures. Prussia, reduced by a half, to five million souls, was either too much weakened or too little. She could no longer be a useful ally for France. At heart she remained an implacable enemy. Poland was not reconstituted. Saxony, united to the grand-duchy of Warsaw, did not form a state likely to endure, for the state of Silesia cut it in two and the grand-duchy of Warsaw consisted after all of only two million people. The new kingdom of Westphalia was a better conception because it became, in the north of Germany, the companion to Bavaria in the south ; but these poor provinces, their population thinly sown, were of little importance. There was no support in all that Napoleon had gained by his conquests. There can be no support in ruins and on the Rhine and the Niemen he had scattered only the ruins of states. That policy was not of Napoleon's best.

Germany was no longer anything but a secondary consideration in Napoleon's gigantic combinations, and the intoxication of success was beginning to lead his strong spirit astray. Austria and Prussia had refused to enter into an alliance and he had crushed them ; he now tried to gain the alliance of Russia in offering to Alexander to divide the world with him. He gave him Finland, which was a mistake, because he at once weakened Sweden, then the enemy of France but for centuries her ally

and the guardian of the Baltic against the Muscovites ; it led him to the idea of abandoning also the Turkish provinces of the Danube, which was another mistake, for these provinces led to Constantinople, the legitimate ambition of the Russians. And Napoleon had firmly made up his mind he would never let the Russians enter Constantinople, to which therefore he should on no account have opened up the way. In return for these sacrifices he obtained the *Bocche di Cattaro* and the Ionian Islands ; he also received a promise of rigid application of the continental blockade on the part of Prussia and Russia ; finally he secured in advance acceptance of all the changes he proposed to make in the East.

Summit of Napoleon's Greatness: The Civil Code: The University.—The years from 1804 till 1807 were the most brilliant period of the empire. Never had such glory been shed upon a people by a man. France had a new Charlemagne, greater even than the old, and the continent bowed in silence before him. One thing was wanting to him, the sea, but he had the earth : and whilst his sword gained battles, his hand founded enduring institutions.

The Concordat has been mentioned, the effort towards religious peace ; the Legion of Honour ; the vast system of national recompenses. But Napoleon had done something even greater than all these, he had drawn up the *Civil Code*.

On his return from Marengo, the first consul had charged a commission of four legal authorities, Tronchet, Portalis, Bigot de Preameneu, and Maleville, to consider and arrange the project of a civil code for which preceding assemblies had prepared the material. This great work was accomplished in four months. Bonaparte ordered that the resulting code should be sent to all judicial courts, and a number of useful observations were received from them. The legislative section of the council of state examined these observations, then called in the rough draft which had been communicated to the tribunate and which came back amended and improved, but still not carried into law. Then commenced those admirable discussions under the presidency of the first consul and in which he took an honourable and praiseworthy part. He filled every one with his own enthusiasm ; he astonished the learned lawyers by the profound knowledge displayed in his views, and especially by that rare good sense which in the making of a good law is of more value than all legal science. And so the charter of family rights and propriety which the legislative body adopted in the session of 1804 was elaborated ;

three years later it received the well-deserved name of the *Code of Napoleon*.

Before Napoleon, anarchy reigned in education as in everything else. He wished to introduce order into education, and thought with reason that the state had the right to superintend the education given to the rising generations in order that their education should not be directed against the state. Napoleon created twenty-nine *lycées* where instruction was at once literary, scientific, and moral; 6400 bursaries, representing an annual outlay of five or six millions; assured to these institutions a supply of scholars which the confidence of families did not cease to augment. The private schools, moreover, were required to send their scholars to the courses of these *lycées*. Thus the state resumed the management of secondary education.

For primary education, unfortunately, little was done; schoolmasters were only established in those communes which would or could pay the salary. As for the higher branches for special education, Napoleon founded six schools of law and six of medicine. *L'Ecole polytechnique* existed already; the first consul added the School of Roads and Bridges to produce engineers and that of Fontainebleau to produce officers.

It was in 1802 that Bonaparte organised public instruction in this way. "It is only the beginning," he said; "later on we will do better." And in fact he afterwards founded a great lay body in which the regular and modest life of a student offered, together with a good education, the advantages of religious corporations, and which, not being like the latter separated from the age, educated the scholars in view of the society in which they would afterwards have to live (Decree of March 17, 1804). This body—which was not founded till after repeated attempts, which scholars might not leave except by permission of their equals—was the *University*. Like all great institutions it had its detractors; it was modified but could not be destroyed, because, along with its members, who became public functionaries and fathers of families, it was educating simultaneously the state and society.

Public Works.—At the same time a severe but able administration of public revenues permitted immense works to be undertaken all over France. The canal of the Ourcq gave water to many quarters of Paris which before had none. The canal from Nantes to Brest assured, in spite of English cruisers, the provisioning of the great military port of France: that of the Rhine and Rhône created an important line of interior navigation. At Cherbourg

Napoleon practically threw a mountain into the sea in order to have an immense and safe port on that Channel where French ships found otherwise no point of refuge. At Antwerp he constructed quays, an arsenal, and docks which could hold a large fleet of warships. He furrowed La Vendée with roads which opened up to commerce and to ideas that country till then impenetrable and of which, in a few years, the spirit was transformed. The splendid routes of the Simplon, Mont Cenis, Mont Genevra, Tarare, Metz to Mainz, were achieved. Handsome and useful buildings adorned the great cities: at Paris, the *Madeleine*, the *Arc de l'Etoile*, the largest in the world, the graceful *Arc de Triomphe* of Carrousel, the column of the Place Vendôme which the *communards* of 1871 had the infamy to destroy; at Lyons the Place Bellecour; at Bordeaux the most beautiful bridge in France; at Milan the Arch of Peace, etc. He achieved also the Pantheon or Ste. Geneviève, the palace of the legislative body, the Louvre, which he wished to unite on the north with the Tuileries, as Louis XIV. had united it on the south; he repaired St. Denis, projected the building of the Bourse, constructed slaughter-houses and numerous granaries so that Paris had always a supply of flour in hand for forty-two days; and so on.

Industry and Commerce.—Industry received energetic encouragement; Napoleon promised magnificent rewards to inventors who should endow national industry with secrets drawn from foreign industry. He promised a million to whoever should discover a machine for spinning flax. He promised another million to the scientist who replaced cane sugar by beetroot sugar; he pensioned Jacquard the inventor of that method of weaving silk called by his name; he decorated with his own hand Richard Lenoir for his methods of spinning and weaving cotton; Oberkampf for his painted cloth or oilcloth; he finally created a school of arts and crafts at Compiègne. There were only 310 exhibitors at the exhibition of 1798. In 1806 there were 1422, and the words of the minister who opened the exhibition of 1795 could be more truly repeated of the exhibition of 1806: "It is a campaign against England. Our manufactories are the arsenals whence the arms most fatal to British power must proceed."

The sea-borne commerce was negligible, but the commerce by land was immense. French silks were without rival, their woollen stuffs feared no competition, since the Spanish wool was sent to France instead of to England; French machinery

was being perfected; woollen and linen goods, even cotton goods, found a ready sale on the continent. Napoleon promulgated in 1808 the commercial code. He attached so much importance to it that the day after his return from Tilsit, July 28, 1807, he went to take part in the discussion on the *Titles of Bankruptcy*.

Art and Letters.—The glory of letters was not wanting to this great reign, but the principal writers were in the opposition; Chateaubriant, Madame de Staël, Cabanis, Maine de Biran, Chenier, Ducis, Bernardin de St. Pierre, Le Maistre, De Bonald, Destutt de Tracy, Deslisle, and even Fontanes, the official orator of the empire, but these last with the prudent reserve of public silence.

Art followed a brilliant career. David had given it a violent shock in order to awaken it from the enervating insipidity of the eighteenth century. He had brought the French school back to the fruitful study of the antique. If his pupils, in exaggerating the faults of the master, painted like sculptors and gave to their draperies the stiffness of military dress, some of them, and chiefly Gros, began to agitate against that cold and academic style of painting in joining the worship of nature to that of rules and regulations. *Les Pestiférés de Jaffa* appeared at the exhibition of 1806. Guérin, Gérard, Girodet, and Proudhon were, after David and Gros, the most celebrated painters of that time; Greuze had died in 1805. The sciences with Laplace, Lagrange, Monge, Haüy, Fourcroy, Berthollet, Georges Cuvier, Bichat, Cabanis, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Gay-Lussac, Al. Brongniart, Thénard, etc., took that marvellous flight which led them to accomplish so many amazing results. This period was to them what the time of Louis XIV. was to their forefathers, but Napoleon, who kept even while on the throne his title as a member of the institute, treated the scholars better than that great king had treated the poets. He was the personal friend of many of them. Learning one day that Berthollet was embarrassed in his affairs, "I have always," he said, "a hundred million francs at the service of my friends."

CHAPTER LXV

THE EMPIRE FROM 1807 TO 1812

Feudal Kingdoms.—It has been seen how the emperor created defences and supports in surrounding the empire by feudal kingdoms. The kingdom of Naples under his brother Joseph, and that of Italy under Eugène Beauharnais as viceroy, protected France on the south-east ; the Swiss confederation, of which Napoleon was mediator, the Confederation of the Rhine, of which he was protector, guarded her on the east ; the kingdom of Holland, in the hands of Louis Bonaparte, defended the approaches from the north-east. On that side Napoleon had just created for his fourth brother, Jerome, the kingdom of Westphalia. Time had not given these new kingdoms the force which comes to human institutions evolved in the natural course of centuries, nor sealed the alliance of these newly-made kings with their peoples ; time cannot be hurried ; these young dynasties had yet to push their roots into the soil which supported them—if they could. All the eastern frontiers of the empire were thus protected ; on the south, Napoleon had nothing on which he could count. A degenerate branch of the house of Bourbon was on the throne at Madrid, but he was under the direction of a court favourite, Godoï, Prince de la Paix. Before Jena, Spain had armed against France ; the Prussian monarchy broken, Spain declared her preparations had been made in support of France. Napoleon did not deceive himself as to her real intentions ; he returned from Tilsit, hoping to connect the Iberian peninsula in one way or another with his policy.

Conquest of Portugal (November, 1807): Naval Armaments.—Napoleon resolved first to drive the English from Portugal, and offered to divide the kingdom with Spain. An army commanded by Junot crossed Spain and entered Lisbon without one blow having been struck. At the same time the Russians conquered Finland, and England excited the indignation of Europe by a new violation of the rights of peoples—the attack against Copenhagen, which she bombarded for three days in order to possess herself of the Danish fleet. She also robbed the arsenal which was reputed to be richly supplied. This outrage caused Denmark and Austria to join the continental blockade to which Portugal already belonged. From the extreme north of the Baltic

to the straits of Gibraltar, all continental ports were closed against the English. Simultaneously, immense armaments were being prepared at Texel, Brest, Lorient, Rochefort, Cadiz, and Toulon : the flotilla of Boulogne was reorganised and a new menace was held over England. This time the whole continent sided with France. England could not hold out long. She was saved by a mistake of Napoleon's—his intervention in Spain, which took place at the same time as his rupture with the pope.

Rupture with the Pope (April 2, 1808).—The contention with the pope arose over the question of the continental blockade. The pope intended to remain neutral, but as a temporal power he could not escape the measures imposed on all continental states. But he wished to ; more than that, he refused to recognise Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples, and he constantly opposed Napoleon's policy in France and Italy. Napoleon did not pay much attention to this resistance ; tired by a war of " Notes," threatened by excommunication, he occupied Rome on April 2, 1808. But this capital, so easy to take, was impossible to hold save with great difficulty ; this old man who had neither soldier nor gun seemed harder to vanquish than the innumerable troops of Austria. The sword of the conqueror was bound to break against this unassailable power, who commanded not armies but consciences. Napoleon declared in vain—after Wagram—the temporal domination of the suppressed pope ; he had constituted Rome and its territories into two French departments, and he had retained the pontiff in an honourable captivity at Savona. He found himself weakened by these measures, for a powerful opposition was formed against him from the ranks of the clergy and the French Catholics. The great services he had rendered the Church were forgotten : the altars he had set up ; the worship he had restored ; France led by him to Catholic unity—in spite of all this the author of the *Concordat* was regarded only as the persecutor of the sovereign pontiff. In signing the *Concordat*, the first consul had said, " The clergy is a force : I will seize it." He did not know that that force never allows itself to be seized ; it had now turned against him.

The Invasion of Spain (1808).—The intervention of the emperor in Spain had serious consequences. The court at Madrid was deeply divided in itself. Godoï dominated the king and queen, but was abhorrent to the Prince of the Asturias and to the whole nation. He had hoped to raise himself from this contempt in which the nation held him by an attack in conjunction with an Anglo-Portuguese army on the south of France. That was before

Jena ; after Jena he humbly solicited the favour of Napoleon. An illness of King Charles IV. decided the queen and Godoï to seek means to deprive the heir-presumptive of the throne ; the heir defended himself against this intrigue in imploring—as so many had done—the help of Napoleon. But in addition to these entreaties to the powerful master of the west, he arranged a plot to compass the downfall of Godoï. His papers were seized ; he was arrested and criminal proceedings were begun against him. Such was the family who ruled over Spain, who allowed that beautiful country to fall into the most shameful torpor.

Napoleon, feeling at once that he could have no dealings with such princes, wished to drive them to take refuge in America, as the house of Braganza had taken refuge in Brazil. He thought to overpower them by mobilising great forces behind the Pyrenees. But a fresh scandal caused this plan to miscarry. A rising which broke out at Aranjuez forced Charles IV. to abdicate in favour of his son Ferdinand VII. Godoï ran the risk of his life and was wounded. But Murat with his army was already close to Madrid ; he entered, refused to recognise the revolution of Aranjuez, and persuaded the old king to go to Napoleon near Bayonne. Ferdinand took the same road, to plead his cause with the redoubtable arbitrator. They were blind to the fact that whoever went into this trap would never come out. Intimidated or deceived, they abdicated under the advice of the emperor. Charles IV. went to live at Compiègne in an imperial castle ; Ferdinand VII. at Valencay in partial captivity. Joseph gave up the crown of Naples, which had suited him well, to Murat and took that of Spain, a much heavier responsibility which he was not capable of supporting. A *Junta* (Spanish council) of the principal personages of Spain convoked at Bayonne recognised the king and promulgated at the same time a new constitution for the monarchy.

All through this affair Napoleon had played a part which did not agree with his character, his force, or his glory. He wished it to sink into oblivion under the great services he hoped to render Spain during his rule. But a proud people repulse even benefits when they are conferred by a strange hand, the hand of an enemy. While official Spain hastened to do homage to the new king, the people rebelled. Insurrection broke out in every quarter with patriotic fury. Religious united with political passions fanned the conflagration to a white heat. The monks preached the war like a crusade.

The movement soon became formidable ; all the provinces

joined in ; French soldiers who were ill or wounded—as well as their couriers—were put to death. Bessières had gained a victory at Rio-Seco on July 14, which opened the gates of Madrid to Joseph. At Saragossa and Valencia the French troops were repulsed. One of the most brilliant generals of the great army, Dupont, surrounded at Baylen in Andalusia, signed a capitulation which was unworthily violated (July 20). On the return journey to France, 18,000 French soldiers were wrecked on the barren rock of Cabrera, one of the Balearic Isles, where they were left to perish of hunger and misery.

It was the first reverse which Napoleon had sustained. His grief was so bitter that the joy of the enemy knew no bounds. Soon afterwards the English arrived and General Wellesley gained the Battle of Vimeiro against Junot, a battle which lost Portugal to France (Capitulation of Cintra, August 30). By September, 1808, the French possessed, in the whole peninsula, only the provinces to the north of the Ebro.

The emperor proposed to make good the reverses of his lieutenants. But the chief army was in Germany, where Austria dissimulated her hatred and her armaments in a way that deceived no one, least of all Napoleon. In order to brave Austria it was necessary to be sure of Russia. Napoleon had an interview with the Emperor Alexander at Erfurt, which appeared to consolidate the alliance entered into at Tilsit. Napoleon had already ceded Finland ; he now added Moldavia and Wallachia, and Russia recognised Joseph as King of Spain (October 12, 1808). The mistakes of France in the west served to enlarge Russia's domains in the east.

Napoleon was now free to hasten to Spain. He had already mobilised 100,000 men ; he raised another great army of 150,000 dauntless soldiers, and arrived with them beyond the mountains. Nothing could stand before him ; the centre of the enemy was broken at Burgos (November 10), at Espinosa (November 12), at Tudela (November 23) ; further forward the famous light cavalry of Poland took the pass of Somo Sierra at the gallop (November 13), and the army entered Madrid where Napoleon decreed the abolition of the Inquisition, of two-thirds of the convents, of feudal rights, and of internal customs houses (December 4). On the left wing, St. Cyr made a fine campaign on his own account. Having taken Rosas, he crossed Catalonia without a single gun to raise the blockade of Barcelona. He defeated the enemy twice, at Cardeleu and Molins del Rey. On the right wing, Soult drove 30,000 English as far as Corunna,

and forced them to take refuge on their ships. A storm which surprised the French troops on the ridge of the Guadarrama retarded their march by forty-eight hours, and thus saved the English army.

Battles of Abensberg and Eckmühl (April 21 and 22, 1809).—But already Napoleon was called elsewhere, and the danger of this new enterprise seemed extreme. Austria, seeing him deeply engaged in the Iberian Peninsula, set herself to wage a terrible war in the south-west of his empire and thought the moment had now come to avenge her long disasters at his hands. England offered Austria 100 millions to help with this war and the enthusiasm of Alexander of Russia for Napoleon seemed at once to grow cold. Germany, burdened by her war indemnities to France and tormented by secret societies, showed herself hostile; finally Napoleon's great army, weakened by the loss of 150,000 men, was scattered over the country from Hamburg to Naples. A bold offensive gave promise of success, but success promised a general rising. "Shake off the yoke," said the Archduke John to the Italians, "to the end that Italy may take again that rank among the great powers which she formerly held and which she will certainly hold again." The Archduke Charles with 175,000 men marched towards Bavaria. They could have entered it at any time since March; the Inn was not crossed till the 10th of April; six days were spent in travelling twenty leagues. That was the first mistake. Napoleon, informed of this in forty-hours by telegram, left Paris on the 13th April and arrived at the scene of operations on the 17th. It was high time, for his army, surprised, had not yet achieved the concentration of its forces. Masséna was at Augsburg with 60,000 men and Davout, 25 leagues from there, at Ratisbon with 50,000 men. But already the archduke was manœuvring to throw himself on the large vacant space between the two marshals in order to overwhelm one of them. Napoleon immediately discovered the remedy for this perilous situation; he established himself with 40,000 men on the Abensberg, an excellent defensive position between Ratisbon and Augsburg; there he called his two lieutenants to him.

Davout had great difficulty in forcing a passage through the masses of Austrian troops which already commenced to surround him. But the brilliant action of Tengen made it possible for him to execute his movement. Then the position of the two armies was the exact opposite of that which it had been a few days earlier. The French had concentrated their forces and the

Austrians, on account of the offensive movement of the archduke against Davout, were extended on a line of thirty leagues from Munich to Ratisbon. Napoleon seized this opportunity. He threw himself on the enemy's centre, cut his forces in two by the Battle of Abensberg on April 20th and by the capture of Landshut on the 21st, descended the following day on their right flank, crushed them at Eckmühl, drove them to their last extremity on the Danube, and would have taken them had Ratisbon not fallen a few days earlier. But great results had been attained. By five days' fighting Napoleon had taken 60,000 men, 100 guns, immense quantities of stores and ammunition, cut the Austrian army in two, thrown the right wing back on Bohemia, the left wing on the Inn, and conquered the route to Vienna. On the 10th of May, one month after the commencement of hostilities, he was before that capital, which, after a bombardment of some hours, opened its gates to him.

Essling (21st and 22nd May, 1809).—There were two armies in Austria: that of Italy under the Archduke John, who, after having beaten Eugène at Sacile and threatened the line of the Adige, had, on the news of Napoleon's success, retreated with all haste on the Piave and then into Hungary. The other army in Austria was that of the Archduke Charles, who was still at the head of 100,000 men in front of Vienna, but on the other side of the Danube. Napoleon turned against him. The crossing of a great river in face of a powerful army is a difficult operation. Napoleon attempted it and was at first successful. Thirty thousand men had emerged from the island of Lobau on the left bank before the villages of Essling and Aspern when a sudden spate on the river, which rose seven feet, carried away the bridges. They were rebuilt; 30,000 more soldiers crossed; but the river was steadily rising. The bridges were carried away a second time before the forces engaged had got all their artillery and munitions across. For thirty hours the archduke made vain efforts to push the French into the River Danube; the gardens, the houses, the fences of Aspern were taken and retaken fourteen times. The archduke was the first to abandon this interminable struggle and the French soldiers returned when and how they would to the island of Lobau, Masséna being the last to leave the river.

On the two wings no action had been taken, there were neither victors nor vanquished. But more than 40,000 men, of whom 27,000 were Austrians, had been killed or wounded. More than the population of a large town had been sacrificed in a few hours

and without result. The battles of Eylau and Friedland had begun those terrible massacres which increased from then up till the last days of the empire, for the opposing armies operated every year with larger forces, and in defeating the enemy the French taught them how to resist.

Napoleon had been wounded at Ratisbon by a spent ball in the instep.¹ At Essling two of his bravest lieutenants, General St. Hilaire and Marshal Lannes, had been killed.

Wagram (July 6, 1809).—On his return to the island of Lobau, Napoleon caused formidable works to be executed to convert it into a fortress from which he could emerge at pleasure on either bank of the river. He feared that the Archduke John, repulsed in Italy and defeated by Eugène under the walls of Raab, would not rejoin the Archduke Charles ; that he in his turn might be tempted to cross the Danube in order to drive away the French and relieve Vienna. The whole Tyrol was in insurrection ; on the Elbe the partisans of Prussia overflowed the country ; the population of Swabia was agitated ; the sons of the Duke of Brunswick had mobilised nearly 8000 men in Franconia and Saxony ; the German people, trodden under foot, began to reassert themselves, the whole country was shaken by internal agitation and unrest.

It only needed a reverse to cause the explosion which was preparing to break out. But Napoleon had summoned his Italian army to him ; he was in a state of mind to dread nothing. On the 5th of July he emerged from the island of Lobau with 150,000 men and 550 guns before the enemy, who was in equal force, could offer any resistance to this magnificent operation, an operation unique in the records of military history and which the river on this occasion did not molest. At break of day the French army was found established on the left of the enemy, having thus turned and rendered useless the immense works he had constructed at Aspern, Essling, and Enzersdorf to prevent the passage of the French. The Austrians retired on the heights of Wagram. On the following day the archduke tried to turn the left of the French army, which was extended over three leagues, in order to cut it off from the Danube. But Masséna was on this side, and the archduke could not expect to pass him and his

¹ It has often been said that this was the only wound he received. At St. Helena he told Las Cases how, before Toulon, a bayonet thrust had cut his thigh and left a deep scar ; that at Essling or at Wagram a bullet had torn his boot, his stocking, and the skin of his leg ; that many times his horse had been killed under him, but that these accidents were always carefully kept from the public.

troops without some difficulty. While the intrepid marshal, bruised by a recent fall and travelling in a light carriage, stopped the enemy columns on the left, the emperor commanded Drouot to take 100 guns at the gallop to the front of the line to pierce the enemy's centre with bullets. Macdonald then threw himself on the enemy forces and forced them to retreat. At the same time Davout and Oudinot on the right carried the heights of Wagram. The Archduke Charles sounded the retreat. He had lost 24,000 men killed or wounded, 12,000 prisoners, and 20 guns. The French had 7000 killed and 11,000 wounded. It was not one of Napoleon's most famous battles like those of Ulm, Austerlitz, and Jena, but Napoleon had no longer the same quality of troops. Many young soldiers, many foreigners filled the gaps caused in the great army by the divisions sent to Spain ; and with these inexperienced troops the bold strokes of war were undertaken at much greater risk. If Napoleon had had the soldiers of Austerlitz at Wagram, a manœuvre which he did not dare to attempt would certainly have spelt a great disaster for the Austrian army. But the Austrian army fled, vanquished, incapable of rallying or resisting. An armistice was signed at Znaïm on July 11 ; the Treaty of Vienna was not completed till October 14. Austria lost 3,400,000 of her population, which was divided between Napoleon, Bavaria, Saxony, the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and Russia. The greatest number went naturally to the French empire which extended the Illyrian provinces as far as the right bank of the Save—an extension that was of no use to France.

Events in Spain: Flushing (1809).—During the Austrian campaign, war had continued in Spain, spreading over all the provinces like an insurrection ; there were therefore an innumerable number of small engagements and not a single battle. There were 300,000 French soldiers in Spain. But Napoleon was not there. And the difference of opinion among his marshals prevented any concerted action. Each was jealous of the other ; each drew to himself provisions, money, and troops ; more than one consoled himself for the defeat of a colleague in remembering that it was also a check to a rival. Unity of plan was constantly sacrificed to the individual interests of generals, the campaign was arranged in order that each might command the best part of his own forces, rather than in consideration of the great exchequer of war which Napoleon directed from such a distance. The best-known action was the memorable siege of Saragossa. That town was only taken after an attack of eight months'

duration, twenty-eight days of open warfare, and twenty-three days of fighting in the streets, the convents, and the churches (February 21, 1809). But little profit resulted from this success. An expedition made by Soult into Portugal was a complete failure, although the marshal did enter Oporto. Ney evacuated Galicia and the Battle of Talavera, fought by Joseph Bonaparte and Wellesley on July 26, 1809, was almost a defeat, had the approach of Soult with his army corps not forced the Anglo-Spanish forces to retreat into Andalusia. In spite of the retreat, the campaign was already lost.

The English had also threatened the naval power of France. At the island of Aix they had launched thirty fire-ships against a French squadron; at the mouths of the Scheldt they had taken possession of Flushing (August 15, 1809) and threatened the great arsenal of Antwerp, where Napoleon declared he aimed a pistol at the heart of England. The national guards of the neighbouring departments threw themselves on the town; fever decimated the 45,000 men whom the English fleet had disembarked on the island of Walcheren. They were forced to abandon Flushing; nothing remained to the greatest naval power in the world save the ridicule of an immense effort realising only infinitesimal results.

Effect produced on the Spirit of the Country by Recent Events.—

Up till the Peace of Tilsit Napoleon had mounted ever higher in glory and power. In presence of this man in whom genius and fortune seemed to transcend human limits there had been place neither for criticism nor fear. But in 1807 admiration without abating, confidence without lessening, demanded that the flight of the imperial eagles should be brought to an end in order that France might enjoy her marvellous greatness in undisturbed peace. The spoliation of the Bourbons of Spain, the captivity of the Holy Father, had awakened the first inquietude; the war in Spain and in Austria added to it in spite of the trophies of Burgos and Abensberg. The cause of this was that behind these regular armies and these ancient governments with which France had alone made war since 1792, the peoples were now for the first time seen to rise against France. In Spain the insurrection, formerly the ally of France, was now paralysing immense forces; in Germany insurrection had broken out in twenty different districts; and at Schoenbrunn in the midst of his army Napoleon had just escaped death at the hands of an assassin belonging to the *Tugend-Bund* (a secret society whose objects were to arouse German patriotism; for this end it attempted to

produce general risings). The Battle of Essling gave an alarm which remained in many minds even after the Battle of Wagram and the Treaty of Vienna.

These symptoms could not have escaped the far-seeing eye of Napoleon. But accustomed to success he no longer took obstacles into account and did not believe anything could stand in his way. On his return from Wagram he seemed to one of his friends to be preoccupied, a state of mind previously unknown to his great personality. "He had always the air," said Cambacères in his *Mémoires*, "of living in the midst of his glory." In order to reassure public opinion, which was nervous and alarmed, Napoleon wished to dominate its attention, as he knew so well how to do, by some unexpected move. He announced his approaching marriage with a grand-duchess.

Marriage of Napoleon to Marie Louise (April 1, 1810).—Napoleon's union with Josephine had produced no child. In spite of his affection for Eugène Beauharnais, the son of his wife, and whom he had adopted, the emperor yet wished fervently for an heir of his own blood. He resolved on that account to contract a new union. Acting on the long-established custom of absolute monarchs, who only married among their equals, this glorious *parvenu* of the Revolution, this chief elected by a great people, demanded to enter a family of kings. Russia had been an unfaithful ally to him in the last war; he thought he could win Austria to his side by marriage and demanded of the haughty race of the Habsburgs the hand of one of its daughters, Marie Louise (April 1, 1810). It was an unfortunate and unhappy marriage, for the new empress was never popular in France, while in her own country she was regarded as a victim sacrificed for the redemption of the house of Austria. To many, Napoleon's divorce from Josephine Beauharnais, the gracious and devoted companion of his early years, seemed also the divorce from his happiness and good fortune.

Birth of the King of Rome (March 20, 1811).—The clouds which had passed across the horizon of the empire were dispersed by the brilliance of the marriage festivities, gloomy forebodings were forgotten. The year 1810 passed with no other war save that with Spain, and France was now accustomed to the leisurely course of that campaign. On March 20, 1811, a son was born to Napoleon. He was proclaimed from his cradle the King of Rome. Thoughts again dwelt on the eternity of the empire; the powers which since 1792 had struggled against the Revolution were now resigned to suffer it, or affected not to recognise it in

its most illustrious representative, especially now that a descendant of the Habsburgs was to inherit it. It was said that Napoleon, arrived at a mature age and having to guard the heritage of his son, applied himself now to smoothing the road for his heir, and governed now as a father instead of by strokes of genius.

But there were those who, even in the midst of this grandeur, saw the causes of ruin ferment and grow. One of those who was to be the chief cause of that ruin, Wellington, predicted it to the English ministers, who were tired of the struggle and frightened by their isolation. After Wagram and after the Austrian marriage, Wellington reassured them and urged them to continue the combat in showing them the increasingly unstable foundations of the Colossus.

The year 1811 had not drawn to its close before Napoleon commenced his preparations for the most foolhardy of all his enterprises, his expedition into Russia.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE EMPIRE FROM 1812 TO 1814

State of Europe in 1810.—No single generation of mankind ever saw such changes as were seen by those who lived from 1789 to 1811. New ideas filled the world ; unheard-of sorrows and glories were experienced ; a people became an army ; armies more mighty than the legions of Rome were formed ; war resulted in remarkable combinations and in the attainment of unexampled results ; and finally, to apply these new ideas and to control this new vigour, to direct these formidable powers, there was a man endowed with one of the mightiest minds that the world has ever known. In twenty years the old Europe had been uprooted from its foundations. The Bourbon dynasty, formerly occupying four thrones, retained but the throne of Sicily, and that threatened and trembling. The house of Braganza was exiled in Brazil ; the house of Savoy was relegated to Sardinia ; the houses of Orange, Hesse, and Brunswick, and twenty other reigning families were despoiled of their lands. The duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Holland, the states of the Church and the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist. The monarchy of the great Frederic was shattered and existed but as a feeble flicker ;

the monarchy of Maria Theresa, humbled by twenty defeats, was cut off from Italy and from the sea.

If some thrones had been overturned others had been erected. There were now Kings of Italy, Holland, Westphalia, Würtemberg, and Saxony; there was a Confederation of the Rhine to hold the balance between the remnants of Prussia and Austria; a Swiss confederation, established on surer bases than the old confederation; a grand-duchy of Warsaw, a partial reparation for the political crime of 1773.

In these new states social had accompanied political regeneration. Naples, Milan, and Warsaw, Holland, Westphalia, and Bavaria had French constitutions, the French code, and the French system of administration. Sweden asked France for a king; Marshal Bernadotte was adopted by Charles XIII., who had no child, and was proclaimed Prince Royal by the states (August 21, 1810). In the wake of the French armies new ideas spread everywhere. Spain, which would not receive a king from France, adopted as her own the principles of 1789 and embodied them in her constitution of 1812. Austria and Prussia sought weapons with which to combat France and found them where France had found her arms, in right and liberty. In Austria local liberties were granted to the peoples of the empire; in Prussia territorial serfdom was abolished, civil equality was established, and a title of nobility was no longer required in order to secure the rank of officer. Even England experienced the moral contagion. In Sicily she compelled King Ferdinand to renounce his absolute power; at home she began to repair the long series of injustices done to Ireland and to enter on that path of progressive reform which prevented her in the future from feeling the commotions of the continent.

Thus the French Revolution, the new order founded on justice and not on privilege, began to spread through the world. But such changes could not occur without causing terrible upheavals. It is the law of humanity that there is no birth save through suffering. The dynasties overthrown, the aristocracies despoiled, those powers trampled under foot by the triumphant Revolution did not resign themselves to their defeat. As long as France seemed only to conquer to give to the conquered lands juster laws and a better administration the peoples were with her; on the Rhine and on the Adige loud acclamations had saluted the tricolour. But when England, invulnerable in her island, offered to the implacable hatred of kings and nobles means of satisfaction, the struggle between the two principles, the old

and the new organisation, assumed such proportions that all, even liberty and justice, was sacrificed to the desire for victory. The English first suppressed the freedom of the seas ; Napoleon, in his turn, destroyed the independence of the continent, and by the continental blockade, the interruption of commerce, the stoppage of the arrival of colonial goods which were necessary to Europe, he imposed on the nations sacrifices which were profoundly resented. His political system destroyed their liberty ; his economic system changed their habits ; it was too great a change for one period. In vain he heaped benefits upon them, freeing Germany from a crowd of needy princelings who maintained perpetual anarchy in that land, and Italy from the municipal jealousy which left her defenceless against the foreigner. In vain did he attempt to rouse Spain from her age-long sloth. Peoples ceded, reannexed, divided like cattle, felt wounded in their legitimate pride and injured in their most vital interests. Existing evils bred distrust in the good which was to come some day and in the germs of prosperity and greatness which the conqueror sowed wherever victory led him. The Spaniards greeted his salutary reforms with musket shots. The Italian Liberals were soon ready to hold out a hand to Austria, their ancient and mortal enemy, and Germany had already tried a dagger thrust at the conqueror whose life was attempted by Staaps at Schoenbrunn.

If the peoples were alienated, the kings were not conciliated. In the eyes of the old courts Napoleon was always a *parvenu*, his empire a plebeian institution. The kings flattered him and besieged him with their protestations of devotion, but at the first reverse he was able to gauge their sincerity. While France included Rome and Hamburg among the capitals of her prefectures, she was still isolated among the nations ; Napoleon might be the protector of kings and the son-in-law of the successor of Charles V., but he was isolated among sovereigns. Having conquered so often, he desired to conquer yet again ; having entered Madrid and Naples, Vienna and Berlin, he desired to enter Moscow also as a victor. Moscow was the route to London, the only capital which had never yet beheld the victorious eagles, the only capital at which the eagles might stay their glorious flight, give peace to the world, and assure to France a grandeur beyond compare.

State of France.—France had by this time had her fill of military glory and of conquests ; peace was for her, as for others, the great desideratum. Victorious though she had been, she had

yet suffered cruelly in this ceaseless war which took so many arms from industry and agriculture, which developed military at the expense of pacific instincts, and which tended to introduce the practices of the camp into civil society. Order was everywhere restored ; riots, plots, violent discussions in the tribune or the press, all had ceased ; the legislative body and the senate were thoroughly devoted, never contradicted ; and the journals, strictly censored, had lost all political significance. Yet, in the midst of the profound calm which reigned, there was a tendency to ask that the government, powerful as it was, should have less fear of such writers as Madame de Staël, whom it exiled, and Chateaubriant, whom it excluded from the Academy ; that it should, on the other hand, pay attention to the rising tide of public opinion that it might learn what were the legitimate desires of the people.

Ten years before, France had forgotten, or rather had not yet learned, that political liberty is the necessary safeguard of civil liberties ; that civil liberty, timid and fearful, is helpless and may be easily crushed if political liberty is not existent ready to watch over and defend her. But such reflections now began to permeate men's minds. In order to save material interests, imperilled by a government which was too weak, France had applauded the *coup d'état* of the Brumaire ; it was to save those same interests, to revive commerce which was ruined and industry which was declining, to end the mourning of families decimated by the war, the fears of citizens who felt that they were no longer under the absolute protection of the law, that a feeble opposition, though one destined to grow in strength, was formed against a government which had become too strong, and it may be said too absolute. Already in Paris itself, despite careful management, the crowd showed less enthusiasm ; during the scarcity of 1811 it had murmured sufficiently to lead Napoleon to avoid appearing in public in order that he might not hear them.

With the return of peace, when the cannon were silenced and the smoke of the battlefield had rolled away, Napoleon would doubtless have appreciated the new needs of the situation. With peace, profitable public works would have been undertaken which would have changed the face of the land. If in the midst of so many wars the emperor had been able successfully to accomplish so many vast enterprises, and if in the midst of such vast expenditure he had been able each year to set aside for works of public utility more than had hitherto ever been set

aside in the course of a whole reign—what would he not have been able to effect when free to reduce his war budget for the sake of public works, agriculture, commerce, industry, and arts? Great men who have worn crowns have always loved war. What a magnificent spectacle Napoleon and his empire would have afforded, the genius of battle personified become a pacific hero, France strong, glorious, and free.

Rupture between Russia and France (1812).—At Tilsit Napoleon thought he had found in Russia the ally of whom he had need on the continent, but Alexander, in the war of 1809, had not given him his promised help, and when Napoleon demanded from him the hand of one of his sisters, he showed so little enthusiasm that the emperor turned again to Austria and married Marie Louise. The czar displayed deep annoyance at a union which he might have prevented; he was further offended by the extension of the grand-duchy of Warsaw effected at the Treaty of Vienna, and he attempted to obtain from France a declaration that the kingdom of Poland, the greater part of which he held, should never be restored. Napoleon would not consent "to stain his memory by putting the seal on a machiavellian act." The friendship of the two rulers was already strained; the extension of the French empire and the measures taken to secure the better enforcement of the continental blockade struck the final blows at the union of France and Russia.

In reply to the Berlin decrees, England had threatened the confiscation of all ships which entered the ports of France or her allies (January 7, 1807). Napoleon in his turn declared every ship denationalised which touched at a port of England or of her colonies (Milan Decree, December 17, 1807), and ordered the burning of all English merchandise found in France or in allied states. These decrees destroyed regular commerce, but could not destroy smuggling, which was carried on on a large scale, especially from the ports between Antwerp and Hamburg. The Dutch, who had once ruled the seas, and who saw themselves ruined by these prohibitions, constantly evaded them; Holland became an English market. The King of Holland, Louis Bonaparte, shut his eyes, despite the frequent and stringent orders of his brother. His position became intolerable; he was forced to choose between his subjects who wanted one thing and the emperor who wanted another. On July 3, 1810, he abdicated rather than remain, with the title of king, a mere prefect of Napoleon at Amsterdam. Holland was at once annexed to the empire (July 9). The Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine, and

Ems were thus closed against English smuggling, but the Weser and the Elbe remained open. A decree presently announced the annexation of the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck (December 13, 1810). Thus France, which already extended along the whole coast of the North Sea, touched the Baltic and presented the strange spectacle of an empire which brought under the same laws the Tiber and the Elbe. But, for the sake of the continental system, it was needful to go further, to close the ports of Dantzic, Koenigsberg, and Petersburg, as the ports from Lübeck to Cadiz, from Cadiz to Venice, from Venice to Corfu had been closed. Dantzic already had a French garrison which was quietly increased day by day.

The duchy of Oldenburg, lying between the Ems and the Weser, was on the line of these new acquisitions and Napoleon had seized it (December 13). The czar, who was the nephew of the dispossessed prince, complained without avail at this offensive conduct; so far from satisfying his ally's legitimate complaints, Napoleon showed himself still more exacting in the matter of the continental blockade. The Russians demanded that American ships should at least be permitted to bring colonial products to them; the emperor demanded that Alexander should confiscate all neutral ships entering his ports, as suspected of having contravened the decrees of Berlin and Milan. This was to demand the final ruin of Russian commerce at the very moment when, by his system of licences, Napoleon himself was authorising a certain amount of commerce between France and England. It was, moreover, to place Russia in a position of quasi-dependence, since her internal government was compelled to submit to orders issued from Paris. Such dependence was desired by Napoleon. In a dispatch of March, 1812, to Count Lauriston, the French ambassador at Petersburg, the Duke of Bassano said, "It is essential that there should be a real return to the system which was established at Tilsit and that Russia should resume the inferior position which she then occupied."

At the same time the French empire had become from a territorial point of view dangerous to Russia, since it almost bordered on that country to the north in the Baltic, threatened it in the centre by means of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and menaced it to the south by means of the Illyrian provinces, where France was in touch with the sultan. Yet the czar, fearful of the new struggle, hesitated for a time; Bernadotte decided him for war, and on April 8, 1812, Alexander demanded the evacuation of old Prussia, the duchy of Warsaw, and Swedish

Pomerania, an indemnity for Oldenburg, and certain modifications in the measures taken against neutral commerce.

It was, however, to Napoleon's interest not to precipitate events. England was not yet exhausted, but she appeared to be on the verge of collapse. The labouring classes were unemployed ; the poor lacked bread ; commerce was paralysed. The Thames was filled with ships laden with goods ; sugar which cost six francs at Paris cost six shillings in London ; the paper money was at a discount of 18 per cent. A rupture between England and America was imminent. It was the right policy for France to be patient, to be calm, and to lull the fears of Europe ; then victory would be hers, since she was the better able to bear longest these terrible conditions. Further, the war in Spain was not ended ; Masséna, Soult, Ney, the ablest French generals, were checked by a patient leader, Wellington, who left nothing to chance, and by a general rising of the people, which might be punished but which could not be stifled. Napoleon should not have launched forth into any new adventure until this bleeding wound in the side of his empire had been healed. By an act of rashness, which at an earlier date he would not have committed, he left this undecided struggle behind him to absorb his best troops, and went to join the grand army. " After this war," he said, " the European system will be founded, the cause of the age won, the Revolution finished." Russia was, in actual fact, the last refuge on the continent of all the ideas which the Revolution had fought for twenty years. But vast schemes filled the mind of Napoleon ; Moscow was to be a stepping-stone for the resumption on a colossal scale of his designs against India, which had been thwarted at Aboukir. A secret agent traversed the whole district between the Red Sea and the Indus and united all the Arab chiefs in a common enterprise against British India ; Persia was sounded and gained ; the defeated czar was to supply auxiliaries ; a Franco-Russian army, setting out from Tiflis and gathering in its passage all the nomads of those lands, was to hurl itself into the valley of the Ganges.

Passing through Dresden, Napoleon found there the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony, and a crowd of princes, who had come to assure him of their devotion. " I promised you that I would show you an audience of kings and I have kept my word," said the emperor to Talma, the celebrated tragedian.

For her war against Russia, France counted on Sweden and Turkey, but Napoleon had offended the former by abandoning

Finland to Russia and the latter by his readiness to abandon Wallachia and Moldavia to Russia. Bernadotte forgot that he was a Frenchman: he permitted himself to be bribed by the offer of Norway, made to him by England, and mediated the Peace of Bucharest between the Porte and the czar (May 28, 1812). These were two blunders for which Sweden and Turkey will pay dearly one day, in default of some powerful foreign aid; they both lost an opportunity of warding from their doors a state which holds them in restraint. Had Bernadotte hurled himself upon Finland and threatened Petersburg, Napoleon would have been able to make peace at Moscow, and the son of Bernadotte would not have beheld the smoke of Russian guns from the windows of the palace of Stockholm. Russia, reassured on her left and right flanks, was able to concentrate all her forces in the centre, which Napoleon attacked. The French army, with the numerous auxiliaries that constituted a third of its total strength, amounted to 640,000 men, with over 60,000 horses and 1200 cannon. The Russians were less numerous, but they fought in their own land and for a national cause.

Russian Campaign (1812).—The Russian minister of war, who commanded the main army in person, was Barclay de Tolly. His plan was to cover the road to Petersburg with a force of 130,000 men resting on the Dwina, while Prince Bagration, based on the Dnieper, should cover the route to Moscow. Between the sources of these two rivers lie gentle undulations which divide the basin of the Baltic from that of the Black Sea. It was through this gap, eighty kilometres in extent between Witepsk and Smolensk, that Napoleon proposed to pass. He crossed the Niemen at Kowno (June 24), pressing back the Russians before him, no difficult task in the initial operations of an army which assumed the offensive, and entered Vilna, where the Lithuanians received him with transports of joy (June 28). He was besought to restore the old kingdom of Poland, but, genius of order and government as he was, he did not appreciate popular forces and demanded regiments where he was offered an insurrection. He feared also to rouse discontent in Austria, who held part of Poland and would have been unable to retain her possessions if the Polish kingdom had risen from the tomb.

Napoleon halted at Vilna for seventeen days, instead of crushing the Russians, who had been thrown into confusion by the ability of his first steps. But he designed to make this city the centre of his supplies and already at the first stage of the

campaign, he feared the difficulty and danger of operating at such a distance from his real frontiers.

After this disastrous halt, he moved towards Moscow in order to divide the two chief Russian armies, defeated the rear-guard of Barclay at Ostrowno (July 25) and occupied Witepsk (July 28). But Bagration, defeated by Davout at Mohilev, beyond the Dnieper (July 23), formed a junction with Barclay near Smolensk. That city, defended by 80,000 Russians, was taken after a bloody battle, the enemy setting it on fire in their retreat (August 17).

The Russians then continually retired, laying waste the country, burning the cities and villages, destroying the corn and crops. Napoleon needed a great victory; he lost his chance at Valoutina owing to a blunder by Junot. The army of Barclay was in a very critical position, but the battle became merely a rear-guard action.

Fortunately for the French, the czar replaced Barclay by the aged Kutusov, who decided to fight a battle in order to save Moscow. The action took place at Borodino, near the Moskwa. It was a terrible conflict, in which 270,000 men engaged with violence, each army being determined to conquer. The Russian front was protected on the left by the ruins of a village and three redoubts, which Bagration was ordered to defend, and on the right by a great redoubt commanded by Barclay. Barclay's position was carried and retaken; finally Caulaincourt took it with a division of cuirassiers. A thousand cannon were engaged. After a furious battle, the Russians at last gave way. In order to convert their defeat into a rout, the guards should have been thrown into the battle, as all the marshals advised, but Napoleon felt keenly that, in the existing state of affairs, this was a war of rashness, and having been rash, he was led to an excess of caution. It was for this reason that he had halted at Vilna instead of striking vigorously and at once; at the Borodino he dared not risk his reserves, as a result the battlefield remained to the French, but the Russian army was not routed. The Russians lost nearly 60,000 men (September 7); the French losses were very heavy, 10,000 killed and 20,000 wounded; forty-seven generals were wounded, two mortally, Montbrun and Caulaincourt, and fifteen more severely, including Davout. Ney and Murat, who remained all day in the midst of the most terrible fire, were not hit; the former caused his men at one time to lie down in order to allow a storm of shot to pass over them, and alone stood upright.

The French army entered Moscow, but the governor Rostopchine had evacuated almost the whole population and the Russian army had exhausted the supplies in the public stores. Fire completed the work. Flames appeared at different points and spread with the speed of powder in a city of wood. The fire lasted five days ; it was only possible to save the churches, the Kremlin, and a fifth of the houses (September 16-20). Fifteen thousand wounded of the Russian army, who had been left in Moscow, perished in the flames.

The war of extermination became terrifying. The French had found a new Spain. Napoleon considered retiring to Poland and to his sources of supply, while threatening Petersburg at the same time ; he considered an offensive retreat by the north-west, but his generals dissuaded him and urged him to await in Moscow the offers of the czar. They did not arrive ; the overtures which Napoleon himself made were rejected with disdain, and precious time was lost during which the Russians restored their armies and winter came on. On October 13, a slight frost gave warning of what might be expected, despite the continued fine weather of a brilliant autumn, and inspired a desire for a retreat which the Russians were already threatening to cut off on the right flank. Napoleon, that he might not admit to the world that he was retreating, left Mortier with 10,000 men in the Kremlin, and marched directly upon Kutusov by the road to Kalouga.

The French left Moscow on October 19, thirty-five days after their entry. The army numbered 80,000 combatants and 600 cannon, but was accompanied by 50,000 servants, women, children, people of all kinds, and a crowd of waggons. The march was so hindered that Kutusov arrived first at Malo-Jaroslavetz, where a violent battle took place between the Russians and the French advance-guard under Eugène (October 24). The town was taken and retaken seven times, remaining eventually to the French. It was then an easy matter to force a passage, but the road to Kalouga was abandoned, with the result that a line of retreat through a rich and fertile country was exchanged for the wasted road through Mojaïsk by which the advance had been made. It was necessary to force a way through large enemy forces ; the cold increased, snow fell heavily, and the disorder of the supply was aggravated. When Smolensk was reached, there were only 50,000 men in the ranks (November 9).

Napoleon had taken the most minute precautions for the provision of supplies and reinforcements along his line of retreat ; the carelessness of his subordinates and the difficulty of enforcing

orders at such a distance in such a country made his forethought valueless. At Smolensk, where he hoped to find supplies and resources, all had been exhausted. But there was not a moment to lose. Wittgenstein with the army of the north approached the French right, after having, despite his defeat at Polotzk, forced St. Cyr and Victor to retreat; he had captured Witepsk on the Dwina. Tchitchagoff, thanks to the retirement of the Austrian Schwartzemberg, who was already a traitor, occupied Minsk, behind the Beresina, with an army drawn from the banks of the Danube. Kutusov fell upon Orcha and Borisow in order to aid his two lieutenants. The three Russian forces hastened to unite in order to bar the Beresina to the passage of the French army.

The French resumed their march, but on November 14, 15, and 16, the thermometer suddenly fell to sixteen and eighteen degrees of frost. All vegetation disappeared; nourishment for the horses failed, they died in thousands. The cavalry were thus converted into infantry. It was necessary to abandon and to destroy a great part of the artillery and much of the supplies. The enemy saw in the roads the traces of this terrible disaster and hastened to profit by it. He enveloped the French columns with a cloud of Cossacks, who like the Arabs of the desert cut off every straggler. On the following days the weather grew warmer, but another scourge fell upon the French—seas of liquid mud which prevented all advance and increased the danger of famine.

The retreat of the French, cruel by the inclemency of the weather and still more by lack of food, was nothing but one long battle. In order to deliver Davout, surrounded by a Russian army, Napoleon was forced to charge in person at Krasnoi at the head of his guards. They numbered 10,000; they cut their way through 60,000 of the enemy and brought relief to Davout, but the whole Russian army fell on Ney, who had only 6000 men. Three times this heroic soldier, "whose heart was as tempered steel," according to the verdict of Napoleon, made his way through the enemy who surrounded him and three times they again encircled him. The Russians thought that they had captured him at last, "the bravest of the brave," but he escaped them and the grand army was once more reunited at Orcha (November 19). With the corps of Oudinot, Victor, and Dombrowski, it was still 40,000 strong, a third of that number being Poles. Napoleon relied on crossing the Beresina by the bridge of Borisof, but the Russians had burned it and Tchitchagoff held, on the further bank, the road to Minsk which the French

expected to follow. A ford was luckily discovered to the north of Borisof, at Studzianka. The river, forty yards broad, was filled with great blocks of ice; General Eblé and his engineers, wading shoulder-deep in the water, established two bridges fifty-four yards long, built from the beams of the houses of Studzianka which were demolished (November 26). The bridges were many times broken and had to be remade. Almost all the bridge-builders either perished of cold or were drowned. At last while Ney and Oudinot on the right bank contained the army of Tchitchagoff, and Victor, on the left bank, held that of Wittgenstein in check, the guards under Napoleon, accompanied by Eugène and Davout, crossed the river. Victor, who had only 15,000 men against the 46,000 Russians of Wittgenstein, and whose position was unfavourable, none the less succeeded in checking the enemy, held him, killed or wounded 10,000 men, and crossed the pontoons in the course of the night. On November 29, there remained only on the left bank a rear-guard and a crowd of camp-followers who, having found fuel and food at Studzianka, refused to move. When in the morning they found the rear-guard about to cross the bridges, they hurled themselves upon them. The result was a horrible medley of cavalry, infantry, supplies, and fugitives. The Russians appeared and rained shells on this disorderly crowd. This terrible scene has remained famous as the Passage of the Beresina. The governor of Minsk caused 24,000 corpses to be collected and cremated.

Napoleon directed his retreat towards Vilna, where the French had a large store of supplies. At Smorgoni he left the army to return in haste to Paris, where the conspiracy of Malet had come to a head, to guard against the disastrous effects of the news of the retreat, and to collect a new army. Murat, whom he had left in command, had neither the authority nor the energy demanded by the circumstances. Cold increased to twenty degrees of frost and 20,000 men perished in three days. The enemy, though themselves only able to march slowly, reached Vilna before the French. Ney held them in check for some time at the head of a handful of brave men, defending the bridge of Kowno, where he fought as a common soldier, musket in hand. He was the last to recross the Niemen (December 30). There the retreat and the disastrous campaign came to an end. Beyond that river the French left, dead or prisoners, 300,000 soldiers. And yet they had not once been defeated. The winter and the want of food, not the enemy, had slain the grand army. The Russians themselves, used as they were to their terrible climate, had suffered

horribly. The army of Kutusov in three weeks had lost three-quarters of its effectives.

The French armies had not been more successful in Spain. After the departure of the emperor divided command and the feebleness of Joseph Bonaparte had paralysed all the efforts of the 300,000 veterans whom Napoleon had successively sent there. The campaign of 1810 was marked by a dual attempt of Soult against Cadiz in Andalusia, and of Masséna against the impregnable lines of the Torres Vedras, which Wellington had skilfully prepared at the extremity of Portugal. The campaign of 1811 was marked by the indecisive Battle of Fuentes d'Onoro between Masséna and Wellington, while in 1812 the English general took Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and defeated Marmont at Arapiles, near Salamanca, a reverse which destroyed all the importance of the successes gained by Suchet in the east of the peninsula.

German Campaign (1813).—The retreat from Moscow struck a mortal blow at the power of Napoleon. The King of Prussia joined the czar and the unfortunate French armies had to retreat from the Niemen to the Vistula, from the Vistula to the Oder, from the Oder to the Elbe. A sixth coalition was formed. It consisted of England, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain. Austria was secretly arming to join these powers. What aggravated the peril was that the allied sovereigns appealed to the most energetic of popular passions, national sentiment. "Germans," said Wittgenstein, "we open the Prussian ranks to you, you will find the sons of labourers at the side of the sons of princes. Every distinction of rank is effaced by these great ideas: the king, liberty, honour, and country!" And Germany, tramped for six months by the feet of French soldiers, listened with a fierce resolution to the words of her princes and her poets. The verses of Uhland, of Professor Arndt, and of Koerner were sung in castle and in cottage. And already it seemed insufficient to make the French recross Germany; there was talk of taking again from France her provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which the coalition regarded as German territory. And so by her faults France turned against herself that great wave of patriotism which saved her in 1792.

But in the meantime Napoleon displayed his usual activity; while there was hardly a family in France who did not mourn a victim of these long wars, France silently and sadly continued to give him her sons to fight his battles. "The new levies," said a minister of this time, "offered themselves without delay, without resistance." Napoleon mobilised an army of 200,000 men and

was ready before the coalition. He threw them back beyond the Elbe by his splendid victory of Lützen. "During the twenty years I have commanded the French armies," he cried, "I have never seen greater bravery, greater devotion. My young soldiers! honour and courage come from your every pore!" (May 2.) But the cavalry had been left on the frozen steppes of Russia: Napoleon could not pursue his vanquished foes and Lützen proved a sterile victory. The enemy was defeated again at Bautzen, Saxony was delivered, Silesia half conquered. At this point Napoleon halted and unfortunately accorded the enemy the armistice of Pleiswitz (June 3) in the hope that two months' respite would double his forces. The coalition breathed again and regained confidence.

In Spain Wellington, bolder since his victory of Arapiles, took the offensive, and defeated Joseph at Vittoria. This defeat—the Battle of Leipzig of the south—led to the loss of Spain. Suchet found himself uncovered after the retreat of the armies of Portugal and Castille into the Pyrenees; he evacuated Valence and Barcelona and retired to Figuières where he was protected by the Pyrenees. Soult took up his position behind the Nive, but the English were none the less on the Bidassoa, the soil of France was about to be invaded. This event made a profound sensation. Napoleon was not disturbed. Austria demanded that if the coalition laid down arms Napoleon should abandon the grand-duchy of Warsaw, of Illyria, the Hanseatic towns, and the protectorate of the Confederation of the Rhine. These concessions would have taken nothing from the greatness of France, who would have kept the line of the Rhine and the Alps and beyond that barrier Holland and Italy with the two crowns of Murat and Jerome. Unfortunately for France and for himself, Napoleon refused these demands. Austria had declared that in the event of his refusal she would join her 300,000 men to the armies of the allies. She kept her word. On August 16 hostilities commenced, the cannon thundered on a line of 150 leagues, from Bohemia and the banks of the Katzbach as far as Hamburg.

The coalition faced Napoleon with 500,000 soldiers having with them 1500 cannon and a reserve, ready to enter the lines, of 250,000 men. Two Frenchmen were in these ranks: Bernadotte, the Prince Royal of Sweden, and Moreau, the victor of Hohenlinden, who at the request of the czar had returned from America to direct this mortal blow against his own country. Napoleon had said of Bernadotte, who owed France the crown of Sweden: "In taking a wife one does not renounce one's mother: much less does one attack her and tear her to pieces."

And history gives no other verdict. The allies, always defeated in spite of their superior numbers, adopted the tactics of refusing battle at the hands of their indomitable adversary and accepting it only from his lieutenants.

The emperor had only 360,000 men at his disposal on the Elbe ; presuming too much on the powers of his forces in spite of the inequality of numbers between them and the enemy, he threatened simultaneously Berlin, Breslau, and Prague, which weakened his centre, and Dresden, where he struck a terrible blow at the coalition on the 26th and 27th of August. At this battle one deserter at least was punished : Moreau was suggesting a manœuvre to the czar when a bullet from the French Guard broke both his thighs ; he died four days later. But while the great army of Bohemia fled in disorder across the mountains from which it had descended, Napoleon learned that Macdonald had sustained a disaster on the Katzbach (August 26-29) and that Oudinot had been defeated on the 23rd at Gross-Beeren, on the way to Berlin. These bad tidings prevented him from personally directing the pursuit of the vanquished army and accomplishing its utter destruction. Vandamme, who had been launched unsupported on Bohemia, was taken prisoner at Kulm on August 30. This reverse equalised the victory of Dresden in leaving the Austrians the support of the Bohemian mountains with the facility of descending from them at will to turn the French right. The defeat of Macdonald had occasioned the loss of Silesia and brought Blücher to Saxony. The defeat of Oudinot, and that which Ney sustained at Dennewitz (September 6) in attempting to reopen the way to Berlin, allowed Bernadotte to make his way to Wittenberg where he joined forces with Blücher. Davout, who was already in the centre of Mecklenburg where he had taken Wismar, was obliged to follow the general movement of retreat behind the Elbe. From Wittenberg as far as Toeplitz the coalition armies formed a vast semicircle of 300,000 sabres or bayonets which menaced the French front, while the extremities of this semicircle strove to unite behind the French armies and so close their way back to France. They gave a helping hand to Germany which was mobilising, to Bavaria which joined the coalition, and to Baden and Würtemberg which followed their example. Napoleon tried yet once again to cut this circle ; he concentrated his forces at Leipzig and engaged in a general battle. This day's work, which the Germans called the *battle of nations*, was the most deadly struggle of modern history. One hundred and ninety thousand French soldiers

sustained for three days the furious attack of 300,000 men of the coalition. The Saxons and the cavalry of Würtemberg crossed over to the enemy on the field of battle and fired their cannon, still charged with French shot, on the French soldiers. Although the French had not yet lost one of their positions, the reserves of artillery were exhausted ; at the end of the third day there were only 15,000 rounds of ammunition left, that is to say, barely enough for two hours' fighting, and the numbers of the enemy steadily increased. As in 1812, it was necessary to retreat in order to escape defeat, and as in 1812 this voluntary retreat became a disaster. Napoleon, in order not to reveal his intentions too soon, delayed throwing bridges across the Elster and the Pleisse ; only one long narrow bridge had been thrown across the divided branches of the two rivers. From that cause an immense congestion arose ; it led to delay and then to a fatal error ; one of the engineers blew up the bridge over the Elster before the last part of the army with the two marshals and the commanders of corps had crossed. The valiant Poniatowski was drowned in the river ; Macdonald swam across ; Lauriston and Reynier were taken. One hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom 50,000 were French, spent the night on these mournful plains (October 16-19).

The army still found the way barred at Hanau by 60,000 Austro-Bavarian troops ; Drouot's artillery and the guard pierced a bloody passage by which the army passed through. " Our cannon," said an eye-witness, " rolled over a mass of human bodies." Hanau was the last victory of the French beyond the Rhine (October 30). Only a fifth of the French army re-entered France ; 120,000 soldiers remained inactive on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, where they were besieged. Rapp made a heroic defence for a whole year before Dantzic ; Davout came out of Hamburg when and how he would after the abdication of Napoleon. Du Tailly at Torgau did not open his gates till his last horse had been eaten. Other fine defences must be mentioned : those of Lapoype at Wittenberg ; Lemarois at Magdeburg ; Grandeau at Stettin ; Ravier at Damm ; Fournier d'Albe at Custrin ; and Laplane at Glogau. History owes at least remembrance to these brave men, who far from France and from all help, kept the French flag flying as proudly as in the days of her victories.

Campaign in France (1814).—A unanimous reawakening of the national spirit might have saved France, but that resource was broken ; the very sources of the virility of the population were exhausted. In any case the people of the towns and of the

country were not mobilised ; it was not till the 5th of March, five months after the arrival of Wellington in France, that Napoleon proclaimed, too late, the levy *en masse*, the national insurrection. The bourgeoisie who had welcomed his dictatorship at the time when it saved the country from disorder, repelled it now when it was leading the country to an abyss. At the moment when the whole nation should have rallied round Napoleon, the liberals gave the signal for an unseasonable and unfortunate opposition. His enemies made good use of these first symptoms of lassitude and approaching defection. They published the famous proclamation of Frankfort in which they protested "that they did not make war against France, but against the preponderance which Napoleon had too long exercised outside the limits of his own empire." And they offered peace on the condition that France should retreat within her natural boundaries. By these propositions the allies sought to separate the emperor from the nation. They succeeded ; the legislative body, from which Napoleon demanded energetic measures, replied by complaining of the despotism of war. "Is this the time to speak of mistakes," cried the emperor, "when 200,000 Cossacks are crossing our frontiers ? There is no question of individual liberty or safety ; there is only question of national independence !" And he was right ; had he not already held the dictatorship, it was at that moment that France would have required to give it to him. The legislative body was adjourned for an indefinite period. Napoleon himself decided the measures of the budget, sent the pope back to Italy, Ferdinand VII. to Spain, and prepared for a supreme struggle.

He had only 60,000 soldiers against the 360,000 who were advancing divided in two great armies : that of Silesia under Blücher, that of Bohemia under Schwartzemberg. The first crossed the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse without resistance ; the second, violating Swiss neutrality, debouched by the gap of Belfort and the Jura. They had to connect their communications by the plateau of Langres. In the south 160,000 English and Spanish troops under Wellington crossed the Pyrenees ; in the south-east 80,000 Austrians approached the Alps ; on the north-east 80,000 Swedes, Prussians, and Russians under Bernadotte threatened Belgium. And as if these immense forces were not enough, 400,000 reserves were raised behind these active armies. So that more than a million armed men were about to be precipitated on France.

Napoleon hastened on the 26th January, 1814, to Vitry-le-

François. In order to separate the armies of Silesia and Bohemia, he attacked and defeated Blücher at St. Dizier (27th), then at Brienne (29th), but without being able to prevent his reunion with Bernadotte; a check sustained on the Rothière (February 1) forced him to fall back on Troyes. Some days later (February 8) he received a final ultimatum from the allies. This time they did not even accord the natural boundaries of the Alps and the Rhine, but asked that France should return within her frontiers of 1789. The emperor was advised to accept these terms. "That I should abandon the conquests made before my time!" he cried. "That I should leave France smaller than I found her! Never!"

But the allies separated to march simultaneously on Paris by the valleys of the Seine and Marne. Napoleon, who knew every inch of the ground in the bare plains of Champagne, watched every movement of his adversaries and profited by their slightest imprudence. One hundred and twenty thousand Prussians extended from Châlons to La Ferté-sous-Jouarre: Napoleon cut through this long column at Champaubert on February 10 and separated Sacken from Blücher; on the 11th he defeated Sacken at Montmirail and pursued him to Château-Thierry where he beat him again on the 13th and then allowed him to fly towards the north. Napoleon now turned on Blücher and by an impetuous attack at Vauchamps on the 14th he forced him back into Châlons. Napoleon had won four victories in five days. But while he was on the banks of the Marne, Schwartzenberg advanced by the valley of the Seine; his advanced guard had already passed Melun. The French army marched thirty leagues in thirty-six hours; on February 16th it encountered and drove the Austrians before it to Mormant, and on the 17th to Nangis and Donnemarie. A body of 30,000 men had ventured to advance as far as Fontainebleau. A mistake on the part of Marshal Victor, who was several hours late in arriving at Montereau, allowed them to escape. Their rear-guard only was destroyed there on the 18th, and another check at Méry-sur-Seine on the 22nd precipitated their retreat. In eight days the Austrians had lost fifty leagues and the French army returned in triumph to Troyes.

But unfortunately this pursuit of the Austrians on the upper reaches of the Seine left the approaches to Paris on the north-east unguarded. Blücher, who had reformed his army, marched a second time on Paris by the Marne; Napoleon rushed at him and threw him in disorder on Soissons. Blücher appeared to be

lost ; Soissons opened its gates to him and saved him. The town was taken by the army of the north: the Prussians took refuge there and doubled their forces. They were beaten none the less at Craonne, but they concentrated their forces near Laon to the number of 100,000 men and held this strong position in spite of all the efforts of the emperor to dislodge them (March 10). Napoleon then turned against the Russians and drove them from Reims (March 13). Schwartzberg, who during the absence of the little French army had advanced as far as Provins, two days' march from Paris, was alarmed on seeing the French return on his flank ; he stopped and recoiled ; the approaches of Paris were once more freed from the enemy.

And so in one month Napoleon had fought fourteen battles, achieved twelve victories, and defended the approaches of his capital against three great enemy armies. The allies, perturbed for a moment, had accepted the overture of a congress at Chatillon without any serious desire to bring this great struggle to an end. As for Napoleon, he had already said : " I have sworn to maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic ; if the allies persist in desiring to dismember France, I desire only three things : to conquer, to die, or to abdicate." The congress was broken off (March 10).

The struggle became more and more unequal. The defection of Murat, who thought in that way to save his crown, delivered Italy to the Austrians. Augereau after simulating battle opened the gates of Lyons, the second town of France, to the Austrians. General Maison evacuated Belgium. Finally the English under Wellington, whose advance Soult had been powerless to arrest, carried Bordeaux, where Louis XVIII. was proclaimed king (March 12). In the interior the royalists were stirring up agitation. " You could do everything, and you dare nothing," wrote Talleyrand to the kings of the allies ; " dare therefore once more."

The czar wished to bring this struggle, which astonished the world and which was a last affront to the coalition, to an end. He commanded Blücher and Schwartzberg to unite their forces and to march together on Paris. Napoleon tried in vain to prevent this union : the sanguinary battle of Arcis-sur-Aube was indecisive (March 20 and 21). He made the bold resolution to leave the way to Paris open, to march with 50,000 men to St. Dizier on the rear of the allies. There he would cut their communications, excite the courage of those provinces which remained patriotic, but which had paid no attention to the decree

of March 5 ordering a levy *en masse*, enlarge his army with part of the garrisons of the towns on the Moselle and the forces of the insurrection, then return and overwhelm the enemy by some terrible blow. Paris must defend herself, but not one foreigner would recross the Rhine. "I shall be nearer Munich," said Napoleon, "than they near Paris."

But Paris offered no defence. Had all available resources been utilised, an army of 70,000 combatants could have been collected. There were 8000 men in the dépôts of the guard and of the line; more than 20,000 conscripts or soldiers in the barracks of the surrounding districts; 2000 officers without commissions; and 12,000 National Guards. And Marmont and Mortier were under the walls of Paris with 13,000 men of the active army. Twenty thousand labourers, for the most part old soldiers, pressed on the doors of the mayoralties demanding arms; they were sent away. The arsenals contained 400 cannon, 20,000 new muskets, and 5,000,000 cartridges. Grenelle alone possessed 300 milliers of powder and the military authorities manufactured every day 60,000 rations. They were allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy while the French lacked munitions, lacked bread. Four cannon were placed on the rising ground at Chaumont, six on Montmartre, and only 22,000 men took part in the Battle of Paris at the villages of Pantin, La Villette, Belleville, Romainville, and at the barrier of Clichy, against the 80,000 Austrians of Schwartzemberg and the 100,000 Prussians of Blücher (March 30). The resistance was as heroic as it was useless. "They are too many!" cried the soldiers as they fell. The allies lost 18,000 men, nearly as many as the French possessed altogether. Marshal Marmont signed an armistice and a capitulation to save Paris the horrors of capture by assault (March 31).

Abdication of the Emperor (April 6, 1814).—Astonished by such a victory, the foreigners entered into the great city with respectful fear. They showed the greatest moderation. The czar protested that the nation had only to state its wishes and he was ready to accept them. The people showed a sombre resignation; but the senate, convoked and directed by Talleyrand, named on April 1st a provisional government. On the 3rd it pronounced the disinheritance of Napoleon; on the 6th it adopted a new constitution and called a prince unknown to the nation to the throne; a prince of whom the allies had only heard in the last few days, Louis XVIII., a brother of Louis XVI.

Napoleon still had imposing forces at Fontainebleau : with the armies of Eugène, of Suchet, and of Soult, who had engaged Wellington in the heroic Battle of Toulouse, Napoleon could muster 140,000 tried soldiers behind the Loire. For an instant he had thoughts of fighting, but his generals were war-weary : Marmont betrayed him by the capitulation of Essonne ; Ney and Berthier deserted him. Then he abdicated. Nine days later he said farewell to his old guard in the court of the *Cheval Blanc*, and left for the island of Elba (April 20). An island of a few thousand square yards was now the whole empire of a man who for fifteen years had reigned over half of Europe. A small number of his faithful servitors followed him into his exile : Bertrand, Drouot, Cambronne, and about 400 men of the old guard.

And so the fight to the death which England had undertaken against France was finished : English gold had won.

Napoleon had thought that his hatred against the aristocracy of Britain was shared by Europe ; he had taken the empire of the earth in order to fight against the mistress of the seas. In the midst of this gigantic struggle, the question of the public liberty of France, of the rights of sovereigns, and the independence of nations had disappeared.

For ten years Napoleon had gone from victory to victory—to Milan, to Vienna, to Berlin, to Lisbon ; but the unassailable enemy had always escaped him. Then he conceived the mad idea of going yet as far as Moscow, and that while his best troops were far away in Spain and while German soil, deeply undermined, trembled beneath his steps. On the return journey winter had killed his great army. Then the peoples which France had crushed rose against her ; in France herself the liberals refused their support. The Colossus fell ; and in his fall he seemed to drag the country down along with him. But she pardoned him everything, for she owed to him her incomparable glory.

She owed him victories gained by superiority of genius instead of superiority of numbers ; she owed him the accomplishment of immense public works ; she owed him awakened industry ; agriculture encouraged by the security given to those who had acquired national property ; enlightened administration, vigilant and rapid ; the consolidated unity of the country, its greatness surpassing all dreams—all these plead for Napoleon to posterity and to the heart of France.

Besides all that, in spite of his kingly court, his nobility, and in

some respects in spite of himself, Napoleon remained always for France the representative, and for Europe the armed soldier, of the Revolution. He had upheld civil institutions, "the grand social result," as he said, "which was worth all that he had suffered for it," and which was one day to bring back to its true path the liberty he had pushed aside. He had spread that spirit wherever he had led his armies. In crowning commoners and parvenus, in forcing the kings and emperors of the old dynasties to become the courtiers of his plebeian fortunes, he had destroyed the old prestige of the "monarchy by divine right."

Spain, Italy, Germany, emerged trembling from his hands ; in order to overthrow him, kings were compelled to proclaim the rights of peoples. He himself always recognised his true origin in the great moments of his destiny : "They wish," he said one day in speaking of an attempt on his life by the royalists, "they wish to destroy the Revolution in attacking my person ; I defend it for I am the Revolution." In the midst of the unheard-of splendours of Dresden and Erfurt, kings and princes listened in surprise and embarrassment to his recollections of his life as a second-lieutenant of artillery. When in 1814 the deputies, mistaking the spirit of the age, bargained for authority with him who alone could save France, he invoked again for himself the right of representing the people, that is to say, of defending them. Led by their fine instinct, the people were never deceived : they who had paid with their blood for all the victories of the emperor, they loved, they regretted Napoleon.

And now this powerful warrior and administrator, the greatest figure of military history, had left France smaller than he found her, without men or money, deprived of eighteen departments which the republic had given her and which she had still possessed on the 18th Brumaire under the protection of the victories of Zürich and Bergen. Faults of policy had been the undoing of this invincible general. It is often questioned whether France did not pay too dear for this ephemeral power. History may perhaps find in this marvellous but terrible epic one of the most memorable examples of the expiation which always follows great mistakes. The disasters claimed two victims, but both were equally guilty, the emperor and France. The one ten years after the Revolution reconstituted the ancient regime on the old lines and precipitated himself into the abyss, because he refused to curb either his ambition or his genius. The other merited its misfortunes in throwing itself, like a lost child, into the arms of a young and glorious general ; in order to escape at last when

tired of his government, it allowed that which it had cast down to rise again. Former generations have their share of responsibility for the misfortunes of France, for in making Napoleon omnipotent they gave him the dangerous stimulant of absolute power.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE FIRST RESTORATION AND THE HUNDRED DAYS (1814-1815)

The First Restoration (April 6, 1814, to March 20, 1815).—While the great exile was travelling through France exposed to an attempt at assassination, and, in the south, to insults, M. de Talleyrand, the real head of the provisional government, signed on April 23 a disastrous convention which reduced the frontiers of France to those of January 1, 1792, and ceded to the allies fifty-three strongholds, thirteen thousand cannon, thirty vessels, and twelve frigates.

On the very day on which Napoleon left Fontainebleau, Louis XVIII. quitted his residence, Hartwell, near London, and on April 24 embarked for Calais. The words put into the mouth of the Count of Artois, "Gentlemen, there is in France but one more Frenchman," should have been the sentiment of all the Bourbons, since it was necessary at all costs to secure a measure of popularity for these princes who had during twenty-four years been strangers to the country, who owed their gains to the losses of France and their power to her enemies. But the new monarch, who named himself "King by the grace of God" without taking into account the will of the nation; who tore down the tricolour to replace it by the white flag, no longer recognised by the soldiers of France; who, finally, dated his accession from the death of his nephew, Louis XVII., and called 1814 the nineteenth year of his reign, was hardly one to make concessions. The Emperor Alexander disliked the Bourbons and understood then that the revolutions of France would not cease, nor would peace in Europe be assured, except by liberal and strong institutions which would effectually prevent a return to the *ancien régime*. He upheld the constitutional propositions drawn up by M. de Talleyrand and a commission of senators and deputies. On May 2, before entering Paris, the king was obliged to make the declaration of St. Ouen, which promised a representative government and the maintenance of the first conquests of the

Revolution. This declaration was replaced by the constitutional charter which was suspended on May 27 and finally granted on June 4. The following were its principles :

Hereditary royalty.

Two chambers, one elective, the other, the Chamber of Peers, appointed by the king, both having the right to vote upon taxation and to discuss the laws.

Public and individual liberty, liberty of the press and of worship.

The inviolability of property, even that acquired as a result of confiscation.

Responsibility of the ministers.

The immovability of judges.

The security of the public debt ; the maintenance of pensions, grades, military honours of the old and new nobility, of the Legion of Honour, the cross of which was to be stamped with the likeness of Henry IV. instead of that of Napoleon.

The free admittance of all Frenchmen to all civil and military appointments.

The maintenance of the great institutions of the emperor : the Council of State, the Court of Cassation, the Court of Accounts, and the University.

The Emperor Alexander would not assent to the evacuation of France until the Constitutional Charter had been drawn up. On its acceptance, however, he and his allies signed the peace on the basis adopted by M. Talleyrand on April 23, and the evacuation of France by enemy troops began on May 30.

The charter satisfied the middle class. As the empire had fallen it was consoled for the loss of glory and power by the hope of having at least found repose and liberty. But the Bourbons had brought back with them the emigrants who threatened the new interests created by the Revolution. They disturbed the possessors of confiscated property. They respected neither freedom of worship nor religious toleration ; they elected as minister of war General Dupont, who was known as the author of the first French reverse, the capitulation of Baylen ; they distributed public honours in the name of Georges Cadoudal and Moreau, who were notoriously guilty, one of attempt at assassination and the other of treason. The king signed his ordinances with the old formula of Louis XIV. : " for such is our pleasure." Titles and honours were lavished on the emigrants, while fourteen thousand officers who had won their epaulettes in battle against the enemy were retired on half pay. Soldiers of Condé's army,

many of whom had never wielded a sword, became generals. Naval officers received the rank next superior to that which they had held previous to their emigration; those who had served in the British fleet retained the rank bestowed upon them by English admirals. Campaigns in which they had fought against France counted towards their pension. In ten months the government of Louis XVIII. had exhausted its credit.

Return from the Island of Elba (March 20, 1815).—Meanwhile, from the island of Elba Napoleon listened to all the rumours which came from France. He saw the mistakes of the Bourbons accumulate, their unpopularity increase. Threatened with removal from his island and with being placed on some still more solitary rock, he resolved once more to try his fortune. He embarked with some hundreds of men and landed near Cannes in the department of Var on March 1. "Frenchmen," he said in a proclamation, "raised to the throne by your choice, everything that has been done without your sanction is unlawful. Soldiers, all those whom we have seen during the last twenty-five years labouring to stir up enemies against us all over Europe, who have spent their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies—are they to be allowed to enchain our eagles? Come! take your stand beneath the banners of your chief; he has no existence but in you; his rights are but those of the people and yourselves; his interest, his honour, and his glory are but your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory will follow in the wake of our charge, the eagle with the national colours, the eagle will fly from pinnacle to pinnacle until, finally, it will float from the towers of Notre-Dame."

From Cannes to Grenoble the little troop met with no obstacle. "Citizens," said the emperor to the peasants, "I count on the people because I am a man of the people." He frankly acknowledged that he had been mistaken in wishing to give France the empire of the world, he spoke only of peace and liberty; he promised a constitution and guarantees.

Near Grenoble he met the first troops which had been sent against him. He went forward alone and said, "Is there a man among you who would slay your emperor?" The soldiers dropped their arms and answered by one great shout of "Vive l'empereur!" Labédoyère brought over to him the seventh regiment of the line; each soldier had resumed his tricolour cockade which had been religiously preserved at the bottom of his knapsack. After that the journey was a complete triumph. At Grenoble, the inhabitants themselves broke down the gates

of their town to gain him admittance; at Lyons, where he arrived on the tenth of the month, he had a similar welcome. He remained there until the thirteenth, exercising once more his sovereign power; Ney, who had left Paris a devoted servant of the king, saw his regiments yield to the universal impulse and came himself to rejoin his old chief at Auxerre. On the 20th of March, Napoleon re-entered the Tuileries, which Louis XVIII. had quitted the day before. Not a gun was fired in the defence of the Bourbons; it was not necessary to shed a drop of blood to bring about the re-establishment of the empire; an evidence that this unheard-of revolution was the result not of conspiracy but of universal desire.

The Hundred Days (March 20 to June 22).—The events which had taken place during the last year had taught Napoleon that he had left out of his government one of the active forces of France—the spirit of liberty. This force he now endeavoured to win, and in order to please the liberals he confided the ministry of the interior to Carnot, an upright republican. At the same time he suppressed the titles of the feudal nobility, broke down the trammels of the press, made the office of mayor once more elective, and said to Benjamin Constant, “I am not only, as they say, the emperor of the soldiers; I am also the emperor of the peasants, of the plebeians of France. In spite of all that has passed, you see how the people return to me. There is sympathy between us because I am risen from the ranks; I am different to the privileged classes. But I do not intend to be the king of a *jacquerie*. If there are ways of governing with a constitution, so much the better! See what can be done; bring me your ideas. Public discussions, free elections, responsible ministers, the liberty of the press—I want all these things—I do not hate liberty. I kept her at a distance when she barred my way; but I was brought up with her sentiments; I am growing old. At forty-five a man is not what he was at thirty. The ease of a constitutional king may suit me; it would most certainly suit my son.”

L'Acte additionnel, a new constitution containing the principal provisions of the charter—two chambers, one hereditary, one elective, the liberty of the press, etc.—was promulgated in the solemn assembly of the *Champ de Mai* (May 26). Submitted to the people it was adopted by 1,500,000 votes to 4206.

Nevertheless, he had all Europe to fight against and, in addition to foreign war, he had civil war, the royalists having taken up arms in La Vendée. The allied sovereigns, then assembled

in congress at Vienna to divide the nations among them, declared that "Napoleon had placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations and that as the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world he was delivered over to international justice." Thus the emperor was placed beyond the law, and not only the emperor, but France. "Let us set forth," they said, "to partition this ungodly land. We must exterminate this band of brigands which men call the French army. The world will never be able to rest in peace as long as there exists a French people. It must be converted into the people of Burgundy, Neustria, Aquitaine, etc. They will rend each other, but the world will have peace during many centuries." And Blücher promised the Prussian students that he would have Napoleon hanged.

These were the words of Brunswick at the time of the first coalition, and they excited in the eastern provinces an ardour almost equal to that of 1792. Burghers, artisans, peasants offered their aid. Federations were formed in several provinces. Brittany gave the signal. The confederates placed themselves at the disposition of the government ; but Napoleon, the genius of order, did not approve of revolutionary forces. Those who were willing to join the regiments and place themselves under military law were accepted ; the rest were meagrely provided with arms. But there was also in a section of the community an extreme weariness, and in the official quarters much distrust. The Chamber of Representatives evinced an opposition which cut Napoleon to the quick. "They wish," said he, "to bind the old arms of the emperor ; to drive me into ways which are not my ways." He became conscious of a feeling of depression ; he no longer believed in his good fortune : "I had," said he, "a presentiment of misfortune." Nevertheless, he employed all his energy ; he worked sixteen hours out of the twenty-four. In fifty days a regular army of 182,000 men was organised. Another of 200,000 National Guards was prepared for the defence of the fortresses and as a reserve for the active army.

Such efforts were unnecessary for the allies ; their troops were in readiness to enter the campaign. Austria sent towards the Rhine and the Alps 300,000 Germans ; 170,000 Russians were due at Nuremberg towards the middle of June and at Mainz on July 1. In Belgium there were already 95,000 English and Dutch under Wellington, a methodical general who lacked great inspirations, but who left nothing to chance, and 124,000 Prussians under Blücher, an impetuous old man who was named

by his soldiers " Marshal Forward " (Marschall Vorwärts). He had often led them to the rear, but he had just brought them from the Oder to the Seine and he now undertook to repeat the exploit. The arrival of the Russians was awaited in order to commence operations.

Battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815).—The emperor decided to anticipate the enemy's attack, the offensive seemed to him more in keeping with the spirit of his nation, and he was especially loath to deliver up to the horrors of rapine the provinces of the north and east which had proved themselves so devoted to his cause and such ardent patriots. Besides, a great victory in Belgium might change many things.

"Soldiers!" said he at the climax of his proclamation to the troops, "for all Frenchmen of spirit, the moment has come to vanquish or to die," and he crossed the Sambre with 124,000 men and 350 cannon (June 15). He expected to surprise the Prussians, but Lieutenant-General Bourmont went over to the enemy, and Blücher, warned of the danger, had time to concentrate his forces at Ligny. The French advanced divided in three bodies: the right wing, 48,000 strong, under Grouchy; the centre, 28,000 strong, under the personal command of Napoleon; the left wing, 48,000 strong, under Marshal Ney. The right and the centre were to confront the Prussians; the left was to seize upon Quatre-Bras and arrest the progress of the English who could only debouch from that quarter, then to fall back upon the Prussians and complete their rout. But this plan was only half successful. The English, who were to have been forestalled at Quatre-Bras, had time to establish themselves in force, and Ney, fully occupied on his side, was unable to co-operate in the attack against the Prussians. The emperor had had a terrible engagement with the latter at Ligny which was twice taken and retaken. General Gerard, one of Grouchy's lieutenants, held his ground, however, and the enemy was put to flight after suffering considerable losses. But they were not destroyed as they might have been if the Count of Erlon, who commanded under Ney, deceived by inconsistent orders, had not marched his 20,000 men between Quatre-Bras and Ligny, and thus rendered them equally useless to both battles (June 16).

The Prussians seemed for the moment to be thrown back upon Namur; it was time to turn his attention to the English. Napoleon marched on them on the 17th. Wellington, surprised on the 16th, in the midst of a ball, by the news of the French approach, remained quite cool and made good his short-sighted-

ness by speedy action. That very night he collected 32,000 men at Quatre-Bras ; within a few hours on the following day he assembled 70,000 before the village of Waterloo, on the plateau of Mont St. Jean. He had long studied this position. He had marked it out a year before in his despatches as an excellent method of covering Brussels on the side of the Sambre, the two roads of Nivelles and Charleroi joining at the foot of this plateau. He was determined to defend himself there to the last extremity.

Napoleon left Grouchy 34,000 men with orders to follow the Prussians towards Namur. He himself, with the rest of his forces, joined Ney in order to attack the English. The French army numbered only 72,000 men, but was full of enthusiasm. Wellington, with his back against the forest of Soignes, having only one road upon which to retreat, would be lost unless he conquered. Blücher and he had agreed that the one who was attacked should make a desperate resistance in order to allow time for the other to come to the rescue. Wellington only half kept his word during the day of Ligny ; Blücher, unfortunately, kept his fully on the day of Waterloo. The English general sent word to Blücher to send him two of his corps ; he replied that he would come with all. Wellington counted therefore on the Prussians, but Napoleon hoped that the Prussians, pushed towards the Meuse or held back by Grouchy, would not arrive.

The rain which had fallen in torrents on the 17th and during the ensuing night had made the ground an expanse of mire. The artillery could only be moved with difficulty. At length, on the 18th, about eleven o'clock, the sun appeared between the clouds and the battle began. Napoleon first attacked the château of Goumont, on which Wellington's right rested, intending to draw off the principal forces of the enemy from that side and thin out its centre ; then he would pierce the centre at the plateau of Mont St. Jean, the principal outlet of the forest of Soignes, to cut off the English from Brussels and throw their defeated right wing towards a roadless country which would lead them to Flanders, far from the Prussians and far from Antwerp, their base of operations. Wellington in fact brought the best of his troops to the defence of Goumont, and an appalling struggle raged there for four hours ; the English held the position.

During this feint attack, Napoleon collected a powerful battery of seventy-eight pieces and directed a tremendous fire upon Mont St. Jean, then threw Ney upon La Haie Sainte, a hamlet which was situated at the foot of the hill. This move at first succeeded. The heavy artillery of the marshal made

frightful ravages in the English ranks. For a moment they seemed disconcerted, a few fled ; Wellington was obliged to hasten to them and rally them to the fight. At this moment, Ney decided to profit by the panic which he observed in certain sections of the English army. He took up a part of his artillery to place it on the enemy's own positions ; these, when the firing ceased, closed up their lines. There was a ravine to cross ; the heavy pieces became entangled in it and were with difficulty dragged up the opposite slope ; a regiment went to protect it, but before it had time to form up, Wellington hurled two regiments of dragoons at full tilt into the valley. They cut the traces, killed the horses, and sabred the artillerymen. They in their turn were charged and cut down by the French cavalry ; but a terrible disorder had been produced.

Ney, however, continually advancing, finally reached La Haie Sainte and took possession of it. The English army was a second time thrown into confusion ; the fugitives carried the rumour of Wellington's defeat as far as Brussels. To turn this confusion into a rout, Napoleon was about to charge with his guard. Suddenly, the roar of cannon was heard behind the French lines. " Is it Grouchy ? " was heard on all sides.

It was Bülow who was debouching on the right of the French army with thirty thousand Prussians, brought up through Wavres when they were believed to be near Namur, and they sent their shells to the very foot of the hillock on which Napoleon was stationed. The emperor was forced to send Lobau's corps against them as well as the guard which had been destined to support Ney. Wellington recognised the promised aid ; he took the offensive on the side towards La Haie Sainte. But the French infantry drove back his columns, their cuirassiers struck them down, crossing a steep slope and arriving in the midst of the English position. Seeing this, Ney, who had been ordered by Napoleon to stand on the defensive, was unable to resist the ardour of his men. The whole French cavalry, even the reserves, rushed confusedly over the fatal plateau to cut down the enemy's cavalry. The latter, opening to right and left, unmasked sixty pieces of cannon which vomited death, and the whole of Wellington's infantry formed in squares. The French cavalry charged the English lines ; eleven times they charged and sabred them ; several were broken, but they formed anew. If the French infantry of the reserve had then been disengaged, the English army would have had no chance. Unfortunately, however, this infantry was with Lobau to hold Bülow. At seven o'clock the

French cavalry were thrown back from the plateau ; they had occupied it for two hours.

By this time, Napoleon was able to form a column of four battalions of the guard ; but he was too late ; the English army had reappeared at the crest of the plateau and battered in the column with cannon fire. The French advanced calmly with shouldered arms and refrained from firing a shot. Twice the English artillery thundered, twice the ranks formed up again and the column continued its march. At the third only it crumpled up ; two battalions had been entirely destroyed by the shells. Napoleon then summoned the troops which were occupying Goumont, joined them to those of Ney, inspired them by a few words, and ordered a general attack. It was eight o'clock in the evening. The French soldiers charged the enemy with admirable enthusiasm ; several of the English squares were broken through and cut to pieces ; Wellington was in the thick of the fray. " What are your orders ? " they asked him. " None. " " But you may be killed, and it is important that he who takes your place should know your ideas. " " My ideas ! I have none except to hold on here as long as I may. " If Wellington was not that day a great tactician, he certainly deserved his nickname, " The Iron Duke. "

Suddenly a tremendous cannonade was heard on the extreme right of the French army. " It is Grouchy ! " the soldiers again cried out. " It can be none other than Grouchy, " thought Napoleon. But it was a third enemy ; it was Blücher who, at the head of 36,000 Prussians, was coming up after Bülow on the right flank of the French. Then the French soldiers believed they were betrayed. Some raised the cry of "*Sauve qui peut !* " and the last army of France, pressed in front by all that remained of Wellington's 70,000 men, on the right by the 66,000 Prussians of Blücher and Bülow, was dashed together, the ranks all in disorder ; soon there was nothing but a dreadful confusion.

Napoleon, in desperation, drew his sword and was about to rush into the midst of the enemy ; he wished to perish with his fortunes. His generals surrounded him and dragged him on the road to Genappe. It was after nine o'clock ; night had fallen on this terrible battlefield and still the struggle continued. The old guard formed six squares ; five were successively destroyed by an enemy thirty times its number ; one only still remained for a time, that of Cambronne. These brave men refused to put down their arms ; their chief answered to a summons by a valiant phrase which has become a by-word : " The guard dies, it does

not surrender." Alone against a whole army they charged it with their bayonets to gain time for their beloved chief to escape. Their sacrifice was rewarded and won them immortal glory.

The Battle of Waterloo lasted ten hours: "a day of giants," which cost the French 30,000 men killed, wounded, or prisoners, and the victors 22,000 men. Seventy-two thousand French struggled there against an enemy 115,000 strong and twice beheld victory slipping from their grasp.

So ended this four days' campaign.

But for the delays on the 15th and the deserters who gave warning to Blücher, the allies, surprised, would have suffered an irremediable disaster. If, on the 16th, Erlon's corps had been able to go into action, the Prussians would have been defeated at Ligny or the English at Quatre-Bras.

If, on the 18th, the Prussians had been unable to join Wellington, the English would have been crushed at Waterloo.

Second Abdication of the Emperor (June 23, 1815).—The retreat was disastrous, like that of Leipzig and Moscow; no preparations had been made for a reverse: all material was lost. From Laon, where the army began to rally, Napoleon set out for Paris. He entered the capital at midnight and established himself at the Elysée. He counted on the patriotism of the chambers. "Let them stand by me," said he, "and nothing is lost." But Fouché, minister of the police, started a rumour that the emperor was meditating an 18th Brumaire, and the Chamber of Representatives, at the motion of La Fayette, proclaimed the country in danger, summoned the National Guard to defend it, and declared guilty of treason any one who should attempt to dissolve it.

Napoleon, amazed by this attack, attempted to reassure the deputies and made an appeal for unity. "I only see one man between us and peace," said La Fayette, "we have done enough for him; our duty is to save the fatherland." A message was sent to the emperor demanding his abdication. Napoleon resigned himself to his fate. "Frenchmen," said he, "I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France; my political life is at an end: I proclaim my son Napoleon II., Emperor of the French."

The assembly accepted this declaration. The liberals hoped to save the country without the emperor's assistance. They appointed a provisional government and a special commission was charged to negotiate with the allies. But they refused all

offers of peace. Wellington and Blücher marched directly on Paris, an imprudent step. The débris of Waterloo and Grouchy's intact corps had concentrated near the capital where, joined by numerous reinforcements, they numbered 100,000 men. More than 60,000 National Guards and artisans defended the city which had been fortified on the north side. The allied army found themselves outnumbered by the French; but Fouché, president of the provisional government, wished to place the younger branch of the Bourbons on the throne or, if he could not succeed in this design, to revert to the elder branch.

When Napoleon offered to place himself at the head of troops, pointing out how easy it would be to crush at any rate this first enemy, not only did Fouché answer by a refusal, but he compelled the emperor to quit La Malmaison, where he had retired.

St. Helena.—Threatened with being delivered up to the enemy, Napoleon departed for Rochefort, thinking of seeking an asylum in the United States. But all ways of escape were guarded; after much uncertainty he went on board an English vessel, the *Bellerophon*, and wrote to the English regent that admirable letter: "Your royal highness, exposed to the factions which divide my country and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have ended my political career and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself at the hearth of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of her laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." The English government treated the man who so nobly claimed her hospitality as a prisoner of war. The emperor was taken to St. Helena, an island in the midst of the Atlantic under a burning sun, five hundred leagues from any land. From the deck of the *Bellerophon* Napoleon watched the French coast fade from his view and cried, "Farewell, land of the brave! Farewell, dear France! A few traitors less and thou shouldst once more be a great nation, mistress of the world!"

Not considering that the deadly climate and the weariness of solitude and inaction were sufficient suffering for the ardent genius who for fifteen years had astonished the world, the English ministry seemed determined to kill their immortal captive slowly, by dint of insults. Napoleon endured these tortures with calm and dignity. His one thought was for posterity and he occupied the mournful leisure of his captivity in dictating the history of his campaigns. After six years of moral suffering and material privation, he died at Longwood

at four a.m. on May 5th, 1821, wrapped in his military cloak, whilst a tropical hurricane swept over the island and tore up by the roots some of the largest trees, "as if the spirit of the storms, borne on the wings of the wind, was hastening to inform the world that a mighty spirit had just descended into the dark abysses of nature."

The long martyrdom of Napoleon at St. Helena exalted him yet more, giving to him the only consecration which he had lacked, that of misfortune. This rock became a shrine where the hero was a demigod. His name became immensely popular, even among the most distant nations. On learning of his death, Lord Holland cried in the midst of the English parliament: "The universe mourns a hero." He had himself foreseen the influence which, as a captive of kings, he would gain among the people. "If I die on the cross," said he, "and my son lives, he will achieve a great destiny."

Treaties of 1815.—In the wreck of the empire France barely escaped destruction. Neither the chamber nor the government knew how to defend Paris. Davout, the Minister of War, came to an understanding with Fouché, the spirit of intrigue personified. The hero of Auerstadt capitulated to Blücher despite a vigorous address by seventeen generals who were desirous of continuing the struggle and despite the ardour of troops who still wished to fight. He signed a convention by which the French army was to retire beyond the Loire without firing a shot. The allies took possession of Paris as of a conquered city. Blücher proposed to blow up the Bridge of Jena and overturn the column of the Grand Army. The intervention of the King of Prussia, however, saved these monuments. The museum of the Louvre was despoiled of the masterpieces which had been transported thither, and the French library and valuable collections were pillaged. But the whole of France was not enough for the 1,200,000 foreigners who had hastened to their quarry.

The Chamber of Deputies had thought they would have charge of the negotiations, but the allies closed their hall and restored Louis XVIII. to his throne. This second restoration cost France dear. First of all it was compelled to pay the allies 100 millions, then another war indemnity of 70 millions, and yet another 370 millions of special claims. This was not all; 150,000 foreign soldiers remained for three years on French soil, maintained and fed at French expense to act as the police of Europe in France. Finally, the Treaty of Paris took from France Philippeville, Marienbourg, the duchy of Bouillon, Saarlouis and the course

of the Saar, Landau, several communes of the country of Gex and Savoy, which the treaty of 1814 had left her ; in all, 534,000 inhabitants. They were deprived of the right of keeping a garrison in the principality of Monaco, before the Var, and the fortifications of Huningen were to be destroyed for ever. This town had merited her fate by the heroic defence made by a garrison of 135 men on June 25th and on August 27th. Auxonne also held out until that date—fifty-five days after the second capitulation of Paris.

Thus, after twenty-five years of victories, the national territory found itself less extensive in certain directions than it had been a century before at the end of the reign of Louis XIV.; and during that century the other powers had all vastly increased their strength. Prussia had become, from a simple electorate, a great monarchy ; Russia, at that time hardly born, was a colossus ; England had acquired a hundred million subjects in India and had seized the empire of the ocean : France was thus not only enfeebled by her own losses, but also by the gains of her rivals.

Moreover, the treaties of 1815 had perfidiously exposed the frontiers of France ; Philippeville, Marienbourg, and Bouillon covered the outlets of the Ardenne : Rocroy was all that was left to France on that side ; Saarlouis covered the large gap between the Moselle and the Vosges ; Landau prevented the circuit of these mountains and defended the approaches to Strasburg : all these roads were open. Huningen, laid low, could no longer threaten Basle with its cannon and block the bridge of that town on the Rhine ; Savoy, delivered to Piedmont, removed France further from the Alps, her natural frontier. Bavaria, her old ally in Germany, was placed at her gates, in the palatinate, to become her enemy ; Prussia was established in the valley of the Moselle to bar the way should she attempt to break through by way of Metz and Thionville ; the kingdom of the Netherlands was created to bar France from the mouths of the Meuse and Scheldt ; and the gift of the kingdom of Lombardy to Austria restored in the Italian peninsula the ascendancy of the house of Habsburg at the expense of France which was excluded from Italy. Finally, by the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, Europe, which Napoleon had wished to unite under his authority, was indeed united, but this union, which lasted for forty years, was directed against France.

Fortunately for France, she preserved those advantages which could not be taken from her : her splendid position between two

seas and in the true centre of Europe ; her wonderful unity, her national spirit, the memory of a hundred victories, a certain pledge of new triumphs, should they be necessary, and the principles of 1789 which are still the foundation of the political system of France. Thus, despite the defeats of France and despite their millions of soldiers, the continental powers always feared those who in 1815 had been so glorious in defeat.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS FROM 1815 TO 1871

I

THE RESTORATION

Royalist Reaction.—The royalists avenged themselves cruelly for their second exile. Marshal Ney, Generals Labédoyère, Faucher, Mouton-Duvernety Chartrand, and Bonnaire were shot ; others were condemned to death for contumacy. “Soldiers, straight at the heart!” cried the hero of Moskwa, in directing the firing party. Marshal Brune, Generals Ramel and Lagarde were assassinated and a sanguinary reaction broke out in the south against those suspected of regretting the imperial regime. Religious hatred was added to political hatred, and many Protestants perished. Finally a law of December 4, 1815, instituted *provosts’ courts* of three years’ duration which came to merit a sinister renown. And so the restored monarchy had its massacres and its Terror, which was called the White Terror ; Tresaillon was its hero.

The *introuvables* who composed the Chamber of Deputies had undertaken to suppress the Charter of Liberties and to undo the social work of the Revolution in giving again to the clergy and the aristocracy the political freedom they had enjoyed in the ancient regime. Louis XVIII. was obliged to dispense with some of his too devoted servitors (November 5, 1816) and a new and more moderate chamber commenced the era of representative government in France. This chamber adopted an electoral law which fixed the *cens*¹ of the electors at 300 francs, that of the eligibles at 1000 francs, with one electoral college in each department. It also decreed the military law of Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, which ensured the recruiting of the army by conscription limited to six years’ service, reserving a third of the grades to non-commissioned officers.

Thanks to the Duke of Richelieu and the generosity of the czar the occupation of French territory by the foreign armies

¹ An annual tax formerly paid to a lord of the manor.

ceased two years earlier than the time fixed by the treaties. The chambers recognised this service of the Duke of Richelieu, inscribing him, by way of national recompense, in the *Grand Livre* for a yearly income of 50,000 francs. He was poor, but he refused this reward in order not to aggravate the already overburdened charges on the country ; such noble disinterestedness has not always been imitated.

Assassination of the Duke of Berri.—Until 1819 the progress of the liberal party was slow but continuous ; it was already in the majority in the chamber as in the country, till the king, alarmed by the election of the Abbé Gregoire, an old constitutional bishop, thought he had gone too far in that direction and attached himself to the opposite party. This *système de bascule*, the balance system, as it was called, did not please either party. The assassination of the Duke of Berri destroyed the equilibrium to the advantage of the royalists. On the 13th February, 1820, the duke was at the opera : at ten o'clock, as he was conducting the duchess to her carriage, a miserable creature called Louvel stabbed him. The assassin insisted even on the scaffold that he had no accomplices. But liberal ideas were generally held responsible for the crime, and the new ministry which was then formed launched the government on that fatal path on which it came to grief in 1830.

Alliance between the Altar and the Throne.—Individual liberty was suspended, the censorship of the press re-established, and the double vote instituted in order that political influence should pass into the hands of the great proprietors who voted both at the college of the department and the college of the district. The birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, the posthumous son of the Duke of Berri (September 29, 1820), and the death of Napoleon (May 5, 1821) added to the joy and to the hopes of the ultra-royalists, who achieved the inclusion of MM. de Villèle and Corbière in the ministry. The restoration of the ancient prerogatives of the Church and the monarchy was now openly spoken of. The Jesuits, who had returned to France, charged themselves with converting the country to these ideas of a regime which had disappeared. They aimed a blow at their most important adversary, the University, in causing the lectures of M. Cousin and M. Guizot to be suppressed (1822), and in order to intimidate the press the *procès de tendance* was instituted, whereby accusation did not follow special faults, but was aimed rather at the general tendency given by the editor to his paper.

Secret Societies.—The liberals protested, after the manner of the suppressed, by conspiracies. At the *congrégation*, formed by the ultra-royalists under the direction of the Jesuits and which numbered 50,000 members, they opposed the *Charbonnerie* which was recruited chiefly from the schools, the bar, and the army. Carbonarisme extended its ramifications all over France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. It attempted several insurrections in the main army. In 1820 Captain Nantil (who later became General Berton), Colonel Caron, Captain Vallé, and four non-commissioned officers of La Rochelle were condemned and executed, all except Nantil, who escaped.

Expedition into Spain.—The conquerors of 1814 and 1815, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had formed a *Holy Alliance* to extinguish, for their own benefit, the ideas of liberty which the Revolution had launched on the world and which fermented all over Europe. These ideas were violently repressed in Germany, at Naples, and in Piedmont, and the French government, which tried to prevent their recrudescence by laws and penalties, was ordered by the Congress of Verona (1822) to fight them in Spain. Chateaubriant, at that time Minister for Foreign Affairs, hoped that a successful expedition might give the Bourbons some military prestige. The army which entered Spain on April 7, 1823, found little opportunity for fighting, and met with serious resistance only at Cadiz, which it besieged. On August 31, French troops seized the strong position of Trocadero, which determined the surrender of that town. This expedition, without glory, was also without profit. Re-established by the arms of France in his position of absolute power, the King of Spain would not listen to the counsels of moderation which France gave him, and the French liberals held their government responsible for the outrages committed by Ferdinand VII. The ministry and the *congrégation*, on the contrary, deceived by this easy success, fell into a fatal confidence, which the elections increased, for they admitted only nineteen liberal deputies to the chamber.

Courier, Béranger.—But behind them and with them was the majority of the country who applauded the arrests of the magistracy which had become liberal since the *congrégation* had become threatening. The people read the pamphlets of Paul Louis Courier and the songs of Béranger with avidity. Béranger continued, even in prison, to attack this dangerous union of the throne and the altar, and he raised up against the kings, established by foreign influence, the glorious memories of

the empire. When he died, in 1857, the Emperor Napoleon III. paid the expenses of the funeral of this popular poet who had preserved and extended the worship of the first Napoleon.

Charles X.: M. de Villèle.—The death of Louis XVIII., a prudent and moderate king, seemed to assure the triumph of the ultra-royalists in giving the power to the Count of Artois (September 16, 1824). In 1789 this prince had given the signal for emigration; he had learnt nothing, forgotten nothing, and had not listened to his brother (Louis XVIII.) who on his death-bed had said to him, putting his hand on the head of the Duke of Bordeaux: "Charles X. must take care of this child's crown." He thought himself called to revive the ancient monarchy. "In France," he said, "the king consults the chambers; he gives deep consideration to their advice and remonstrances; but when the king is not convinced that they are right, his will must be carried out." These words were already the denial of the Charter of Liberties, and it caused no astonishment that he ended in violating it. From the first days of his reign, he demanded from the chambers, through M. de Villèle, an indemnity of one milliard for the emigrants, the re-establishment of convents for women, of the birthright, and a law of extreme severity against faults committed in the churches (the law of sacrilege). The deputies conceded all his demands; there was no resistance save in the Chamber of Peers, which by this opposition gained some days of public favour.

The ancient ceremony of consecration was revived in May, 1825, in honour of the king. Popular sentiment responded to this royal festival. One of the leaders of the liberal party, General Foy, had just died; 20,000 people followed his funeral procession and a national subscription assured the future of his children.

Liberal opinion gained ground every day. Literature and art were marked by a great revival, and this movement was towards liberty because it went against the traditions and the discipline of the schools. Men of authority or talent in parliament, Chateaubriant, Royer-Collard, De Broglie, Pasquier, De Barante, etc., worked in the interests of public liberty; the serious journals, the *Globe*, the *Censeur*, the *Débats*, the *Constitutionnel*, and the *Courrier Français* which now constituted a new power in the state—that of the press—openly defended public liberty; the more advanced teaching popularised it in the schools; the *Académie Française* itself protested against a proposed law which would have suppressed all liberty in periodical literature. The

great towns were in the opposition ; Paris most of all. At a review of the National Guard which the king inspected in April, 1827, the cry, " Down with the ministers !" was heard from all ranks. That same evening the National Guard was disbanded, it was a necessary measure after that protestation under arms, but it led to the estrangement of the bourgeoisie and the court. The ministry of Villèle survived for eight months longer. In order to overcome the opposition of the Upper Chamber, he made a batch of seventy-six peers ; but the general election which he imprudently provoked sent a liberal majority to the chamber under which he fell from power (December, 1827). Royer-Collard was elected by seven colleges.

Battle of Navarino: Expedition of Morea.—All parties manifested their sympathy with the Greeks who sought by their heroism to recover their independence. Byron, the great English poet, went to devote his life to their cause. They were about to succumb in their unequal struggle against the Turks when England, France, and Russia united to save them (July 5, 1827). The three allied fleets destroyed the Turkish navy at Navarino (September 20, 1827). France sent a force under General Maison to Morea and all the towns taken by the Turks were soon recovered. Greece was delivered.

Moderation of M. de Martignac.—A new cabinet was formed on January 4, 1828. It was known by the name of its most influential minister, M. de Martignac. His intentions were both honest and liberal and his acts were generally approved. He abolished the censorship of the press, tried to prevent electoral frauds, placed those educational establishments directed by ecclesiastics under the common law, and reconciled France little by little to the Bourbons. But unfortunately Charles X. was given over to the counsels of the *congrégation* ; he supported his minister without liking him. After eighteen months, he found his patience at an end, and on the 8th of August, 1829, profiting by a check imprudently inflicted by the chamber on these ministers, he replaced them by MM. de Polignac, De Labourdonnaie, and Bourmont.

The Polignac Ministry.—This choice was a declaration of war from the monarchy to the country ; a crisis was inevitable. For ten months the press of the opposition warned the government that it would be compelled to come to an end by a stroke of great policy and the deputies declared in their reply to the king's speech that the ministry had not their confidence. The chamber was dissolved, but the 208 signatories to the address

were re-elected, and the monarchy, defeated in the elections, decided to have an 18th Brumaire, that is to say, a revolution.

The Capture of Algiers.—It was encouraged by a military success, the expedition of Algiers, undertaken to avenge an affront offered to the French consul. An army of 37,000 men, commanded by the Count of Bourmont, embarked at Toulon and landed on the African coast on June 13, 1830. The Algerians were beaten and dispersed among the mountains, the town was attacked, and on July 4 the French troops seized the fort called the Château de l'Empereur, which, dominating Algiers, assured the position to the French. The treasure amassed by the Dey (head of the government of Tunis) paid the costs of this expedition which planted the French flag on African soil, whence it has never been removed.

The Revolution of 1830.—On the 26th of July, the ordinances appeared which suppressed the liberty of the press, annulled the last elections, and created a new electoral system. It was a stroke of policy against public liberty and against the charter which had been the condition of the return of the Bourbons to the throne of their fathers. The magistracy declared the ordinances illegal (judgment of the Tribunal of the First Instance) and Paris replied to this provocation of the court by the three days of the 27th, 28th, and 29th July, 1830. It was legitimate resistance this time, for the bourgeoisie and the people fought against those who had violated the constitution. In spite of the bravery of the Royal Guard and of the Swiss soldiers, Charles X. was defeated. When he abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, he was greeted by a saying of the revolutions, "It is too late": he had to follow the road to exile. Six thousand victims had fallen, killed or wounded. On the 9th of August, the Chamber of Deputies raised the Duke of Orleans, the head of the younger branch of the Bourbons, to the throne. He took the name of Louis-Philippe I.

France welcomed this separation from the men of 1815 with practically unanimous acclamation. In taking again the flag of 1789, she seemed to have taken possession of herself and of her liberties.

II

THE GOVERNMENT OF JULY (AUGUST 9, 1830, TO
FEBRUARY 24, 1848)

Louis-Philippe.—In showing the Duke of Orleans to the people at the Hôtel de Ville, La Fayette had said: "Here is the best republic!" Many people shared his opinion. The private virtues of this prince, his good family, his ancient relations with the leaders of the liberal party, the carefully revived memories of Jemappes and Valmy, his bourgeois habits, the popular education given to his son in the public schools—all these led to high hopes for the success of his reign.

The Duke of Orleans, head of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, was proclaimed king on the 9th of August after having taken his oath to observe the revised Charter of Liberties. The changes made at that time on the constitutional agreement, or in the following months on the existing laws, were of little importance. They comprised the abolition of heredity of the peerage; the abolition of the censorship of the press; the fixing of the tax for eligibility at 500 francs, and the electoral tax at 200 francs, which ensured property the possession of political rights and did not reserve them specially for intelligence; the suppression of the article which recognised the Catholic religion as the religion of the state; the suppression of all peerages created by Charles X. But in 1814 Louis XVIII. had seemed to *concede* to a charter by his good pleasure; in 1830 Louis-Philippe accepted a charter which was *imposed* on him by the deputies. This fact contained all the revolution. It must, however, be averred that the law, violated at first by the monarchy, was subsequently violated by the chamber, seeing that the deputies disposed of the crown and remodelled the constitution without appealing to the country.

Ministry of M. Laffite (1830-1831).—The commotion caused by the fall of the restoration had given an unexpected force to the republican party. It was necessary therefore to take it into consideration. It was sometimes flattered in the persons of two men whom the republicans respected, General la Fayette, who had been made commander of all the National Guards of France; and M. Laffite, who was called to the ministry. The popularity of the first was easily exploited after the lawsuit of the ministers

of Charles X. ; that of the second up to the moment when he had to give definite pronouncements on external policy.

France had the distinguished honour of fixing on herself the attention of the world. The commotion of the downfall of the throne at Paris on July 29, 1830, had alarmed all crowned heads and compromised all unpopular powers. In Switzerland the government of the aristocracy fell ; in Germany liberal innovations were introduced. Italy was quaking, Spain was on the brink of a revolution ; Belgium separated herself from Holland ; England, moved and agitated, extorted from the Tories the Reform Bill. Peace had been more profitable than this war of liberty. Ideas repaired the conquest lost by arms.

But was it necessary for France to constitute herself the champion of all the insurrections of Europe at the risk of causing a universal war, of causing rivers of blood to flow ? The new king did not think so. Belgium, having separated herself from Holland, now offered herself to France ; she was repulsed in order not to excite the jealousy of England. The Spanish refugees wished to attempt a revolution in their own country ; they were stopped on the frontier in order not to violate international law, even in the face of a prince who was a secret enemy.

Poland, delivered for a short time by heroic efforts, appealed to France. Was it possible to save her by arms ? As she said herself at the time of her greatest misfortunes, " God is too high above : France is too far away." Only isolated relief was sent to her ; it did not prevent the fall of Warsaw. That fall re-echoed sorrowfully in the heart of France.

Italy, in the toils of Austria, tried to break her chains. M. Laffite wished to help her. The king refused to follow him so far, and called Casimir-Perrier to the presidency of the council.

Ministry of Casimir-Perrier (1831-1832).—This policy was thought to be over-prudent. Casimir-Perrier lent it one moment of greatness by the energy which he put at the service of this moderation. He declared two things clearly : that he wanted law and order ; that in consequence he would fight the republicans and the legitimists to the death ; that he would not lead France in a universal war ; for that reason he would make all sacrifices compatible with the honour of the country, for the sake of the peace of the world. These words sounded audacious ; his acts bore them out.

The Occupation of Ancona.—Don Miguel had treated two Frenchmen outrageously in Portugal. A fleet forced the rapids

of the Tagus, reputed impassable, and cast anchor 300 fathoms from the quays of Lisbon. The Portuguese ministers humiliated themselves : a legitimate reparation was accorded. The Dutch had invaded Belgium ; 50,000 French soldiers marched into Belgium and the Dutch retreated. The Austrians who had once already retired from the papal states, returned to them ; Casimir-Perrier, resolved to make the principle of non-intervention respected, sent a flotilla to the Adriatic, and the troops who were disembarked seized Ancona. The sudden appearance of the tricolour in the centre of Italy was almost a declaration of war to Austria. She did not accept it and withdrew her troops.

Insurrection at Lyons : Plots at Paris.—The President of Council followed the same line of conduct which he had marked out for himself in the interior. The legitimists agitated the western departments ; mobile columns quelled the revolt. The workers of Lyons, roused by cruel miseries and also by their leaders, had risen. They inscribed on their banner these sorrowful and sinister words : “ Live working or die fighting.” After a terrible battle in the streets they were disarmed and order seemed on the surface to be re-established. Grenoble in its turn was stained with blood. At Paris the plots of “ the towers of Notre-Dame ” and of the “ rue des Prouvaires ” were discovered.

Such was the ministry of Casimir-Perrier ; an energetic warfare in which his strong will never gave way, in the cause of order, before any obstacle. Colleagues, the chamber, the king himself—he mastered them all. But such a life had exhausted his forces, and when cholera came to the town in 1832 it carried him off on May 16.

Ministry of October 11, 1832: MM. de Broglie, Guizot, and Thiers: Insurrection of 5th and 6th June at Paris.—Society was troubled in its most intimate depths by the partisans of St. Simon and De Fourier who demanded a new social order. These men now only played the rôle of apostles of peace ; the insurrection of Lyons had shown in the proletariats an army ready to apply their doctrines. The National Guard defended the monarchy energetically until after the funeral ceremonies of General Lamarque ; the republicans engaged in the battle of the 5th and 6th of June behind the barricades of St. Méry. This check broke down their party for some time. A month later the death of Napoleon’s son, the Duke of Reichstadt, disembarassed the Orleans dynasty from a redoubtable rival. At the same

time the house of Orleans seemed to gain support in the marriage of the Princess Louise to the King of the Belgians.

Arrest of the Duchess of Berri.—Another pretender also lost her cause. The Duchess of Berri, secretly disembarked on the coast of Provence with the title of regent, had come in the name of her son Henry V. to set a match to a civil war in the west. But the soldiers of this war were only Vendéans and *Chouans*. The new ideas had penetrated there as elsewhere, perhaps more than elsewhere. "These people are patriots and republicans!" said an officer ordered to fight them. Some gentlemen, a few refractories, and fewer peasants responded to the appeal. The country, covered with troops, was soon pacified, and the duchess, having for many weeks wandered from farm to farm, entered Nantes disguised as a peasant woman. This rash adventuress showed the weakness of the legitimist party. In order to compass its ruin, M. Thiers, minister at that time, caused an active search to be made for the duchess. Discovered on November 7th and imprisoned at Blaye, she was forced to avow a secret marriage which rendered any subsequent attempts on account of her son impossible.

Success Abroad.—The capture by French soldiers of the citadel of Antwerp, which the Dutch had refused to give up to the Belgians, put an end to a critical situation which at any moment might have developed into war (December 23, 1832). The occupation of Arzew, Mostaganem, and Bougie firmly established the French hold on Algiers, and the expeditions on the banks of the Scheldt and the shores of the Mediterranean shed glory on her arms.

In the East French diplomacy intervened between the sultan and his victorious vassal, the Pasha of Egypt. The Treaty of Kutayeh, which left Syria to Méhémet-Ali, did not make the Sultan weaker than he had been before, but it fortified the viceroy of Egypt, the guardian for France and for Europe of those two great commercial routes by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf which England longed to possess.

In Portugal Don Miguel, an absolutist prince, was overthrown in favour of Donna Maria, who gave her people a constitutional charter. In Spain Ferdinand VII. died, excluding his brother Don Carlos, who supported the retrogressive party, from the throne by the Salic Law, with the result that the whole peninsula escaped at the same time from absolutism.

The Quadruple Alliance.—The Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, signed on April 22, 1834, between the courts of Paris,

London, Lisbon, and Madrid, promised the new Spanish and Portuguese governments the efficacious support of these constitutional countries against the evil intentions of the northern courts.

These promises were followed by natural consequences in France. In order to sustain—should need arise—the young Queen Isabella against the Spanish legitimists, the natural allies of the French legitimists, an army corps of 50,000 men was formed at the foot of the Pyrenees.

In the interior the chambers had adopted a law which at last organised primary education in France (1833). In parliament the majority on all serious questions had been secured by the ministry. If the jury often acquitted political offenders, the army was faithful, and the magistracy showed a severity against the republicans which reassured the court.

A first attempt on the life of the king caused the monarchy to profit by the horror always inspired by such crimes. "Well, well!" said the king, "they have aimed at me." "Sire," replied Dupin, "they have aimed at themselves."

The insurrections of April, 1834, at Lyons and at Paris, and the dramatic incidents of legal proceedings begun against 164 republicans before the house of peers, led to the imprisonment or the flight of almost all the republican leaders and the momentary ruin of that party as a militant faction.

Attempt on the Life of the King.—But the violent members of the party turned again to thoughts of assassination. At a review on July 28, 1835, a man called Fieschi, who had already been arrested for a criminal offence and for forgery, directed an infernal machine against the king. It spread death around the monarch, killing Marshal Mortier, one of the glories of the empire and but lately president of council; one general, two colonels, one old man, two women, one young girl, and many of the National Guard; in all eighteen persons were killed and twenty-two wounded, of whom five were generals. This dreadful occurrence alarmed society, still nervous from the effects of the recent civil war and the violent turns of fortune occasioned by the lawsuits of April. The ministry made use of the universal indignation to introduce the laws of September to the Courts of Assize, the jury, and the press. They were calculated to render criminal justice more severe and more prompt; they forbade all discussion on the principles of government and raised the cautions of the newspapers from 48,000 to 100,000 francs.

External Policy.—Up to this time the cause of order had been energetically pursued in the interior; now that it was triumphant

M. Thiers, president of the council of ministers since February 22, 1836, wished to take up the rôle of Casimir-Perrier abroad.

The Spanish Carlists were making alarming progress in the peninsula ; M. Thiers decided to intervene ; England herself demanded that he should. Thus his action was at the same time a means of bringing France and England nearer together, and of defending the ideas of liberty in Europe with a high hand. The recollection of the unfortunate intervention of 1823 was thus gloriously effaced.

The same ministry had conceived and prepared another expedition. Since the conquest of Algiers, France had made little progress in the ancient regency. Some towns had been taken on the coast, and a few battles had been fought in the interior. M. Thiers charged Marshal Clausel to attack Constantine, the strongest place in the whole of Africa, at the same time he counted on General Bugeaud entering Spain at the head of 12,000 men. Thus the government which had put down the troubles in the interior were about to open up abroad an outlet for the activities of France. She wished to add glory to the order she had achieved. The king, who was alarmed at all great movements, gave his consent to the expedition against Constantine, because shots fired in Africa, he said, would not be heard in Europe ; but he refused his consent to the proposed intervention in Spain. Rather than give in, M. Thiers left the ministry, where M. Molé replaced him as president of council (September 6, 1836).

Ministry of Molé (1836-1839).—The first part of the ministry of M. Molé was marked by unfortunate events. Marshal Clausel failed in the expedition against Constantine for want of sufficient forces. Prince Louis, a nephew of Napoleon, attempted to cause an insurrection in the garrison of Strasburg (October 30, 1836). He was arrested and conducted out of the kingdom, but his accomplices were tried before a jury ; they were released and acquitted because their leader had escaped. This verdict did not satisfy the court, and the ministry presented the *law of separation* which violated the principle of equality before justice, in submitting to two different jurisdictions the citizens and the military accused of the same crimes. The chamber refused this measure.

These checks were made good in the following years by successes. The Treaty of Tafna, of which the imprudence was not realised till later, pacified the province of Oran. At the other extremity of the Algerian possessions, the army finally planted its flag on the walls of Constantine (1837), and to terminate the

long series of quarrels with Mexico, an expedition was sent there which seized St. John Ulloa, and thus gave France Vera Cruz and the principal customs house of the country. Mexico paid an indemnity of war. The Prince of Joinville was now serving with the fleet ; he showed the same courage which his brothers had many times displayed in Africa at the head of the French army. The birth of a son to the Duke of Orleans (August 24, 1838), called by the king Count of Paris, seemed to secure the dynasty.

Parliamentary Coalition (1838).—But already violent attacks on the ministers were preparing in parliament. M. Molé had, according to the terms of the treaty of 1832, recalled the French troops from Ancona ; the Austrians claimed to have defeated the tricolour at Ancona, in order to lower the prestige of France in Europe and to cause her to renounce a valuable pawn which she held against Austria. French diplomacy did not seem happier in its management of Dutch-Belgian affairs. The revolution of Brussels sought to separate two peoples, divided by language, by religion, and by interests. But the treaty of twenty-four articles accepted by the French ministry ceded to the King of Holland the Belgian population which had fought against him. Europe had not wished to allow the province of Luxemburg to fall into the friendly hands of France ; that province would have covered one of the most vulnerable points on her frontiers.

With more regard for national honour, it was said, with more confidence in the strength of the country, these useless concessions to the system of peace at any price might have been spared. But the real pretext of these attacks was what was called the insufficiency of the ministry. A coalition was formed to recall the device of 1830 : "The king reigns but does not govern." This coalition was composed of M. Guizot, the leader of the *doctrinaires*, the least numerous party, but one full of talent and ambition ; M. Thiers, leader of the Left Centre, where personal government was hotly condemned ; M. Odilon Barrot, leader of the deputies opposed to the policy but devoted to the person of the king.

The ministry wished to retire on January 22, 1839. The king, who was ignorant of the real situation, refused the resignations and made an appeal to the country in pronouncing the dissolution of the chamber. The ministry threw itself energetically into the electoral campaign ; it was defeated and fell. Rivalry broke out when the portfolios were distributed ; the coalition

broke up on the day following its triumph. Inextricable difficulties in the way of forming a new ministry held Paris for a whole month in suspense. The occasion seemed favourable to those republicans who still believed more in the efficacy of musket-shots than in the propaganda of ideas. Their leaders, Barbès and Blanqui, born conspirators of gloomy disposition, attempted a revolution. They did not even achieve an insurrection (May 12).

Ministry of Marshal Soult.—This reawakening of violent passions precipitated a ministerial crisis. On the same day a cabinet was constituted under the presidency of Marshal Soult. None of the leaders of the coalition took part in it. It could be nothing but an interim ministry ; it lasted only for ten months, from May 12, 1839, till March 1, 1840.

Iron Gates or Biban's Pass: Mazagran.—Under this government, Abd-el-Kader in Africa broke the Treaty of Tafna and proclaimed a holy war ; success attended the efforts of this rising. Marshal Valée and the Duke of Orleans crossed the dangerous pass of the Iron Gates or Biban's Pass and two months later the regular infantry of the emir was utterly crushed at the Battle of the Chiffa. A success which moved the country more was the heroic resistance offered for forty days by 120 men who opposed thousands of Arabs in the fort of Mazagran.

The Question of the East.—The chief question dealt with by this cabinet was that of the East. The sultan had wished to take back Syria from the Pasha of Egypt, and Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Méhémet-Ali, assisted by many French officers who had long since passed into his service, had conquered the Turks in the fighting at Nezib. This victory opened to him the way to Constantinople. But if he marched on that town, the Russians would enter it on pretext of defending it ; once within its walls, they might never leave it. France by her intervention stopped this victorious Ibrahim.

Constantinople was saved, but Alexander of Russia was compromised. England, sure that for a time the Russians would not come to the Dardanelles, wished to prevent a return of these fears which she had entertained for a moment. The most certain way of securing this seemed to her to deprive Méhémet-Ali of Syria. England would be doubly repaid by this move ; the Ottoman Empire would be strengthened and Egypt would be weakened. France had identical interests with Great Britain at Constantinople ; in Egypt the two interests appeared to be contrary. But in protecting Constantinople, the

ministry had made no stipulations in favour of Méhémet-Ali ; it accepted for the settlement of this affair a European congress, at which it could count beforehand on four votes in its favour and five against.

Ministry of the 1st of March.—This mistake weighed heavily on the following ministry, that of March 1, 1840, which was constituted under the presidency of M. Thiers, when Marshal Soult and his colleagues were overthrown by a vote they had provoked on the principle of endowment.

Ten years of peace and material well-being had developed new needs. As at the end of the Restoration, the country was prosperous ; but as at that period also, it was in a state of unrest and fermentation.

The ministry tried to achieve popularity by one of those acts which weaken respect for the law and for the magistracy, without disarming parties or diminishing passions : it promulgated an ordinance for amnesty which completed that brought forward in May 8, 1837. It was to give the leaders over to the republicans. At the same time the government augmented the forces of the new party which was forming itself round the representative of the dynasty of Napoleon. It satisfied one of the most noble vows of the country, which was indignant that the mortal remains of the emperor should rest forgotten and without honour in the hands of those who had caused his death ; the ministry obtained the restitution of these glorious remains from England. The Prince of Joinville, sent to St. Helena to bring back the body of the emperor, acquitted himself nobly of this mission. On the return journey an English attack was feared and he made his attendants swear that they would blow up their precious burden rather than surrender it.

Treaty of London.—But grave events were preparing in the East. France liked the conqueror of Nezib, this Ibrahim who was never tired of listening in his tent to stories of the victories of France, and France liked Méhémet-Ali, the old Pasha of Egypt, that barbarian of genius who bridled the ambitions of England, who gave France in sympathy for her customs and her power that which France gave him in esteem. Europe, and above all England, resolved to break this bond of sympathy which put Toulon, Algiers, Alexandria, Beyrouth, and the fleets of France, Egypt, and Turkey under the same hand and assured France the preponderance in the Mediterranean. On July 15 England, Russia, and the two powers which they dragged along with them signed, without the participation of France, the

Treaty of London, which was to deprive the Pasha of Egypt of Syria.

And so France was banished from Europe ; the coalition against her was renewed. All the sacrifices made for the peace of the world, all the advances made to absolutist monarchs had been useless. At this news a wave of anger swept over the whole country ; the government seemed to associate itself with this legitimate explosion of national sentiment, and France put her hand to the hilt of her sword . . . but she did not draw it. The French fleet in the Levant, which—as the English themselves allowed—could have annihilated the British fleet, returned to Toulon, and the bombardment of Beyrouth, the fall of Egyptian power in Syria, was an affront to France and a check to her policy.

Should she fight ?—No. She was alone at that time against the world, and the courts would have known well how to turn the peoples against her, in putting before their eyes the phantom of French ambition, in reviving the hateful memories of 1813. Already Germany was crying with all its might : “ No, you shall not have our German Rhine ! ”

While not accepting war under the disadvantageous conditions which existed, the ministry wanted at least to give France a firm and dignified position. It ordered the fortification of Paris to act as a shield for the heart of France ; it armed the strongholds, it enlarged the army, and as the powers had isolated France, the ministry accepted this isolation which gave her liberty of movement and the facility of choosing her alliances with kings or peoples at her own time and in her own way.

This situation had its dangers. The king was alarmed. He abandoned the ministry he had followed up till now ; M. Thiers gave way to M. Guizot (October 29, 1840).

Ministry of the 29th of October.—M. Guizot did not lay much weight on public opinion or on national sentiment. He hastened to stretch out a friendly hand to England and those other powers which had wounded France to the quick. On July 13, 1841, he signed the treaty of *detroits*, which caused the return of France to what was called the Concert of European powers, that is to say, France was admitted to that pentarchy of five great powers which the treaties of 1815 had constituted under the name of the Holy Alliance.

This was equivalent to a treaty of peace. The army was demobilised and reduced and France, which had all but entered on war, was thrown back into the peaceful paths of commerce

and industry by the vote of a legal process connected with the railways. The activity of commercial transactions showed with what confidence the merchants regarded the duration of this ministry which in some sort was the personification of peace.

Death of the Duke of Orleans.—On July 13, 1842, an unfortunate occurrence threw the whole country without distinction of party into mourning. The Duke of Orleans, an agreeable and justly loved prince, fell from his carriage and was killed. His rights passed to his son, the Count of Paris; a child of four years old was heir to the most weighty crown he could have had to support. From that day hope sprang up once more among the legitimists; the liberals and the republicans hoped for the triumph of their ideas during the weakness of a regency.

The Regency.—The chambers were soon convoked. They were presented with a law which named the Duke of Nemours in advance as the regent for his nephew. This prince had neither the brilliant reputation of the Duke of Orleans nor the popularity which had been already accorded to the Prince of Joinville for his services before St. John Ulloa, nor the reputation which the Duke of Aumale had won by the carrying off of the *smala* of Abd-el-Kader. The law passed, but without obtaining the general assent of the public.

The Affair of Tahiti.—National sentiment was profoundly wounded by the events of 1840. M. Guizot sought a compensation to restore national pride. He caused the Marquesas, barren rocky islands in the Pacific Ocean, to be occupied (May, 1842). New Zealand would have been better; France was about to invade it when England, forewarned, took possession and began to show jealous susceptibilities. A French officer planted the French flag on the large oceanic island of New Caledonia. The states of the Honduras and Nicaragua reclaimed the protectorate of France, Haïti did the same; it was refused, and England seems to have imposed this refusal. In the Society Islands, which France also took, the commercial interests she had in these seas were unfortunately not large enough to require a costly establishment. The acquisition of Mayotte (1843) was a better piece of business, because that island offered French ships a refuge and a naval station in the vicinity of Madagascar. In the Society Islands, at Tahiti, an English missionary, Pritchard, excited the natives against the French. The indignant agent of the London mission was driven from the island (1844), but his outcry resounded in the English parliament and the French cabinet committed the fault of asking the chambers to give an

indemnity to the man who had caused the blood of her soldiers to flow. The denial of Rear-Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, who had tried to give more serious proportions to the French establishment in Oceania, increased public irritation ; a new proof of the weakness of France against England was demonstrated.

The Right of Visit.—A more serious concession was made to our jealous neighbours in the Right of Visit allowed to England in 1841 for the repression of trade. But this time the opposition of the country was so acute that the chamber forced the ministry to destroy the treaty and by a new agreement to place the mercantile marine of France under the exclusive protection of the national flag (May, 1845).

Defeat of Abd-el-Kader.—The chamber, forced into this path by public opinion, had not wished to continue with the conquest of Algeria. The ministry had the merit of choosing an energetic and able man, General Bugeaud, who knew how to inspire at the same time the respect and the fear of the Arabs. Abd-el-Kader had violated the Treaty of Tafna, preached the Holy War, and by the rapidity of his movements spread consternation in the province of Oran, and inquietude even to the gates of Algiers. General Bugeaud followed him without delay into the mountains of Ouarensenis, pacified that difficult region, and threw the enemy back on the desert.

It was in this flight towards the Sahara that the emir, overtaken by the Duke of Aumale, lost his *smala* (his family and his troops, May, 1843).

Bombardment of Tangier and Mogador: Capture of Abd-el-Kader.—A refugee in Morocco, the emir enlisted the sympathies of the emperor. England was no stranger to this resolution. French territory was violated, some of her territory was taken, and an army which seemed formidable was mobilised on the banks of the Moulouiah. France replied to these provocations by the bombardment of Tangier and Mogador, carried out by the Prince of Joinville under the eyes of the English fleet ; also by the victory of Isly, which General Bugeaud gained with 8500 men and 1400 horses over 25,000 horsemen (August 14, 1844). The emperor, thus rudely punished, signed a peace which France made easy for him because she was rich enough, as her ministry said, to pay for her glory. The principal article of the treaty was that Abd-el-Kader should be imprisoned in the west ; it was for long unfulfilled ; but after a new and futile attempt on Algeria the emir set to work to form a party in the empire itself. Abd-er-Rhaman, this time directly threatened, remem-

bered the treaty made between France and Abd-el-Kader; thrown back on the French outposts, he was reduced to give himself up to General Lamoricière (November 23, 1847).

Marriage of the Duke of Montpensier.—In Morocco, as at Tahiti, the French had found the English against them. And so the English alliance, too greedily sought after, was nothing but an embarrassment to France. But it assured, it was said, the peace of the world. A marriage failed to break it, that of the Duke of Montpensier with the sister of the Queen of Spain. The younger branch of the Bourbons was trying to restore the fortunes of the elder branch in the peninsula, and to deprive a Prince of Coburg, the English candidate, of his expectations of the crown of Spain—as if the times had not done away with nearly all the political importance of such princely unions. England showed profound displeasure at the haste with which this marriage had been contracted. As she drew away from France, the ministry, alarmed at the thought of the isolation to which France seemed about to return, approached Austria in spite of her suppression of the last remains of Poland, the state of Cracow; in order to gain Austria, France sacrificed Switzerland and Italy.

Switzerland wished to reform her constitution in such a way as to give more authority to central power. France had a serious interest in this change, because a strong Switzerland covered her frontiers better than a divided Switzerland. But it was the liberal party which was anxious for this reform. M. Guizot resisted it and favoured the *Sonderbund* (the separatists, 1847).

On the banks of the Po, the Austrians had occupied Ferrara; the pope, Pius IX., who was reawakening Italy from her torpor, protested but was ill-supported (1847). At Milan the Austrian garrison committed horrible atrocities (February, 1848). M. Guizot contented himself with negotiating in favour of the victims.

Thus France became allied with an empire which at that time supported itself by oppressing—the one by the other—the various peoples which it had enslaved.

Internal Policy.—For several years the country had enjoyed a remarkable prosperity which was attested by a budget showing receipts of 1500 millions. Popular education was developing; the penal code had been mitigated; lotteries had been suppressed; the law of judicial dispossession for the furtherance of works of utility permitted that works undertaken in the general interest should not be hindered by particular interests. Industry took a great leap forward by the introduction of machinery

and commerce expanded. The coasts were lit by lighthouses, the roads improved, and a vast network of railways decreed. But this plan once conceived, instead of concentrating all the forces of France on the great artery of the country, the railway from Boulogne to Marseilles, efforts were spread over all lines at once, with the intention of satisfying every locality and thus preparing for elections favourable to the government.

These enterprises, as often happens, gave rise to immoderate gambling and stockjobbing. The evil went to great lengths, for one of the king's ministers was condemned for having sold his signature, a peer of France for having bought it.

Political Banquets.—The elections of 1846, carefully prepared and conducted by the administration, gave it the majority. But the number of functionaries sent to the chamber was considerable. It became evident, that in the *legal* country, that is to say, in the small class formed by the electors, the political sense was disappearing, calculation was taking the place of patriotism: the electors sold their votes to the deputy; those elected sold their suffrage to the ministers; the representative regime was vitiated at its source. This occasioned the deceitful policy—fatal to everybody—of a minister repulsed by opinion but retained by an artificial majority. The President of Council, who thought himself in a strong position because he counted on a chamber composed after his own taste, dealt in a high-handed way with the parliamentary opposition, the only opposition with which he consented to occupy himself. He had said at the time of the elections: "Every policy promises progress; but conservative policy alone gives it." In the meantime he refused everything, under the pretext that nothing must be forced or hurried. The deputies of the Left Centre and of the Left dynasty, directed by M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot, demanded that the ministry should redeem its promises. They demanded the rearrangement of certain taxes; electoral and parliamentary reform, which had been vainly proposed at each session since 1842. The ministry repulsed these offensive claims and jeered at the opposition for its futile efforts to make the country shake off its political torpor. To this defiance, the opposition replied by seventy reunions or banquets in the most important towns. They spoke to the people of the grievances of the country; of the abasement of France abroad, a France which had no longer her necessary influence in Europe; a France which at home was refused the most legitimate reforms; they condemned what

they called the equivocal policy of the government, electoral and parliamentary corruption.

Resistance of the Ministry.—Paris, which from instinct and from tradition liked to criticise, since it had nothing to fear, went over entirely to the opposition. In recent municipal elections in the poor quarters of the town, and consequently the most essentially moderate quarters, not one ministerial candidate had been elected. A paper founded by the conservatives had not been able to survive. But even in the midst of the conservative party disaffection began to appear. Many influential members of the majority went over to the opposition. The Prince of Joinville showed marked disapprobation and exiled himself in Algiers, near his brother the Duke of Aumale. In the ministry itself some members repudiated this “no surrender” policy. M. de Salvandy, who at the department of public instruction had undertaken numerous and liberal reforms, was only induced to stay at his post by his desire to defend the proposed laws he had presented. But the chief minister caused the struggle to become acute in making the king announce at the opening of the session of 1848 a discourse which declared one hundred deputies to be the enemies of the throne.

Acrimonious debates kept public opinion in anxiety for six weeks. External events, the victory of the Swiss liberal party, the movements of Italy which attempted to escape from the restraint of Austria, reacted on France. The opposition tried a last manifestation, the banquet or reunion of the twelfth district. The republicans, who had long given way to discouragement, began to hope again; they allowed things to proceed, but they held themselves ready. “If the ministry,” said one of their leaders of February 20, “authorise the banquet, the ministry will fall. If they forbid it, revolution will break out.” The Left dynasty made a last effort to prevent an explosion: on the 21st, M. Odilon Barrot laid on the desk of the chamber an accusation against the ministry.

Revolution of February 24, 1848.—The ministry forbade the reunion, and at once immense crowds gathered; here and there conflicts ensued. But on the evening of February 23, the opposition had gained its cause; a liberal ministry was named under the presidency of M. Thiers. But those who had so well commenced the movement had prepared nothing to arrest it once it had obtained a majority in the country. Men of attack rather than of resistance, of criticism rather than of action, they saw in a few hours the direction of the movement

escape from them, to pass to a party of conspirators who had done some public service, or to veterans of the barricades, men of combat who threw themselves into the crowds by which the boulevards, brilliantly illuminated and full of gaiety, were filled. At a shot fired at the office for foreign affairs, the crowd replied by a volley which brought fifty innocent people to the ground. At the sight of their bodies being carried away into the town the cry, "They are assassinating our brothers! Vengeance!" was raised and the people of the faubourgs rushed to arms. The king could rely on his army, commanded by General Bugeaud. This energetic man had already laid his plans for repressing the rising, when on the night of the 23rd he was commanded by the new minister to withdraw his troops to the Tuileries. Rather than obey this foolish order he resigned his command; the resistance was paralysed. As for the National Guard, hastily assembled, and thinking that everything would be put right by a change of ministers, they let the reform pass, the revolution followed it. For some weeks they tried to destroy that which in this moment, without knowing it, they had helped to build up: but for them, too, it was too late: the 24th of February was the moral death of the institution born on July 14, 1789. Abandoned by the Parisian bourgeoisie, Louis-Philippe thought himself abandoned by the whole of France. At midday he abdicated, while fighting was still going on round the Royal Palace; he left Paris protected by several regiments, but he was not followed or molested in any way.

The Duke of Orleans, who had exercised great influence over the army, was dead; the Prince of Joinville and the Duke of Aumale, who enjoyed a popularity as just as it was great, were out of France. There were left only the Duke of Nemours, an unpopular prince, the Duke of Montpensier, who was still too young to be known, the Duchess of Orleans, and the Count of Paris. The duchess was respected for her virtues and her fine spirit, but she was a foreigner, isolated and without force. While the people entered the Tuileries, she went to the chamber, taking the young Count of Paris with her; the insurgents followed and proclaimed a provisory government composed of M. Dupont (de l'Eure), MM. Arago, Lamartine, Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin, and Garnier-Pagès.

And so, owing to the incapacity of the government and the audacity of one of the parties, France had, instead of a regularly accomplished reform, a new insurrection, which stopped all work, ruined thousands, caused rivers of blood to flow, and threw

the country out of the paths of pacific progress. Two men above all others deserve the blame for this useless revolution, for the loss of this dynasty : the one who could have prevented the rising in taking from the people their pretext ; the other who could have stopped it but did not dare.

III

THE REPUBLIC OF 1848

Provisory Government.—On the evening of the 24th the provisory government proclaimed the republic. On the 26th an immense crowd which had gathered in front of the Hôtel de Ville demanded that the red flag should become the symbol of the new power. Lamartine energetically opposed this request. "This flag appeared only at the Champ de Mars and was there trailed through blood ; while the tricolour has flown all over the world proclaiming everywhere the name and the glory of France." He gained his point ; that victory was won by eloquence.

The provinces submitted as usual to the deeds accomplished in the capital and seemed to accept the republic. A festival at the foot of the column of the Bastille celebrated the establishment of the new power ; that festival was repeated in many of the chief towns of departments. What were known as *trees of liberty* were planted on public squares and blessed by the clergy. M. Ledru-Rollin replaced the prefects by commissioners charged with administration in the terms of the new government ; and in order to reassure Europe, Lamartine declared in a manifesto that the republic threatened nobody, but that it would resist every intervention to compromise the legitimate claims of the people. Arago declared the emancipation of the negroes in the French colonies.

Difficulties of the Situation.—Industry and commerce stopped, the revenues of the state were lowered, the abolition of the salt tax and other unpopular taxes diminished it still further. Also the minister of finance was obliged, in order to face ordinary expenditure, to add to the four direct taxes an extraordinary tax of forty-five centimes ; it was a bad beginning for a republican government.

Many manufactories were closed down, thousands of work-people found themselves without bread, exposed to the fate of

becoming dupes of communist doctrines, which, after having deeply undermined society, had suddenly exploded. The provisory government had the imprudence to declare that it would guarantee the *existence of the workman by his work*, that is to say, that it would provide work when there was neither work to do nor money to pay ; the government authorised one of its members, M. Louis Blanc, to open at the Luxemburg, with the delegates of the working classes, deliberations on the subject, so delicate and at that time so little understood ; to establish points of union between the work which produced and the capital which put it in action. Finally in order to occupy the workmen national *ateliers* were set up where dangerous idleness and discouraged honesty met together. Every speech of M. Louis Blanc at the Luxemburg sent more recruits to that army of organised disorder in Paris itself of which the clubs and the newspapers fanned the flame.

Demonstrations of 16th and 17th March.—This antagonism of interests and ideas led to another struggle. On March 16th chosen companies and the former National Guard made a demonstration at the Hôtel de Ville to deploy those forces mustered by the bourgeoisie. The next day, in revenge, the corporations of workmen, the delegates of the Luxemburg, the national *ateliers*, agitated by their leaders who would have liked to push them still further, made a counter-demonstration in favour of the proletariat. The provisory government, of which the members, in spite of internal rivalries, stood firm together, were obliged every day to make speeches and proclamations, which gave Lamartine a growing but ephemeral popularity. In order not to leave the capital defenceless and at the mercy of factions, the provisory government caused some battalions of the army which had left it humiliated to return to Paris on February 23. The youngest and most ardent of these were formed into a body devoted to the republic under the name of the *Garde mobile*.

Opening of the National Assembly: the Executive Commission.—After a fresh socialistic demonstration which overpowered the National Guard (April 16) and a festival of fraternity (April 21) which reconciled nobody, the electoral colleges met on Sunday, April 23. The elections were made for the first time by manhood suffrage. That measure was passed by nine million votes to 220,000 ; a sudden displacement of political life for which nothing had been prepared, and which must inevitably lead to catastrophes. The name of Lamartine, elected by six departments, characterised this period of the revolution. On May 4th

the Constitutional Assembly met, solemnly proclaimed the republic, and in spite of the memories of the weakness of the Directory, imprudently confided the power to an executive commission composed of five members, MM. Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin.

It appeared as if nothing was needed but to make the Constitution. Unfortunately the revolution was differently interpreted every day. Some said it was exclusively political and pretended to confine it to modifications in the form of government ; others wished it to be a social revolution, and looked to it to transform society. Many even spoke already of a return to the monarchy and some saw again the ruin of public authority.

The 25th May.—An attack on the National Assembly was the first step. On May 15th, under pretext of taking the deputies a petition in favour of Poland, a movement against the chamber took place. The mass of the people intended only a pacific demonstration in favour of a people they wished to help. The president, Buchez, had not thought it necessary to take precautions. Lamartine tried in vain to calm the intruders by words ; they crowded into the hall of the sitting to the number of more than two thousand. The bureau and the tribune were invaded ; Blanqui demanded that the assembly should at once declare war on Europe in order to deliver Poland. Barbès demanded that a tax of a milliard should be imposed on the rich. At last the president was driven from his seat and Hubert pronounced the dissolution of the assembly. Happily some battalions of the *Garde mobile* and the National Guard were at hand ; they dispersed the insurgents ; the assembly resumed its sittings. Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin, at the head of the representatives of the National Guard, marched on the Hôtel de Ville, where Marrast, the mayor of Paris, arrested a new provisory government which had wished to install itself ; the agitators were taken to Vincennes.

Troubles in June.—This movement, a sad and senseless parody of the famous days of the first revolution, achieved the result of putting the National Assembly in defiance of the Parisians. It resolved from the disorders of the national *ateliers* an army of 100,000 unemployed with arms, leaders, and discipline. This news excited the anger of those agitators who were still free, and the despair of those workmen deceived by dangerous utopians. On the 22nd barricades were erected with lightning rapidity in the *faubourgs* and soon spread over half of Paris. The executive commission had at its disposal only a twentieth

part of the 1000 soldiers of the line, the *Garde mobile*, and a part of the National Guard. General Cavaignac, Minister of War since the 18th of May, established his forces on all the chief streets between the assembly and the Hôtel de Ville. On the 24th that dreadful battle—in which legions of the National Guard fought against legions of Parisians, in which the *garde mobile* composed of the young sons of the people fought against the workmen—was not yet decided: on both sides there had been cruel losses. The assembly, to augment the government forces and concentrate authority in the hands of one man, obliged the executive commission to resign and made Cavaignac chief of executive power. On the 25th General Bréa was assassinated at the moment when he was treating with the insurgents at a barricade near Fontainebleau; General Damesme was killed in an attack on the Pantheon, General Négrier at an assault on the barricade of the Bastille; two representatives were also killed. Then the insurrection began to abate. The Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Affre, in the hope of shortening the struggle, went towards the Bastille to submit overtures for peace to the *faubourg* St. Antoine; a short truce was made and he gained access to the *faubourg*; but the combat recommenced suddenly, a bullet shot from a window wounded him fatally and he fell, a martyr to his patriotic zeal.

But the insurrection was quelled in the *faubourg* St. Antoine. General Lamoricière ordered the insurgents to lay down their arms, under pain of bombardment. They obeyed him; this four days' battle had cost both sides 5000 killed, among whom were seven generals and two representatives; four other generals and two representatives had been wounded; 12,000 prisoners made during the insurrection or arrested after it were transported to Africa.

The republic emerged singularly weakened from this dreadful affair. The assembly hastened to lay the foundations of a new government; unity of legislative power and its delegation to a special assembly; unity of executive power and its delegation to an elected president. This was to constitute two rival powers, without an intermediary to prevent friction or avert collisions.

There were two possible candidates for the presidency of the republic: General Cavaignac, the head since June 24th of the executive power, and Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the nephew of the emperor, who on two occasions had been elected representative by three and then by five departments. General

Cavaignac, a man of noble character, had 1,448,107 votes against 5,434,226 given in favour of the prince (December 10).

Presidency of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. — Charles Louis Napoleon, born at the Tuileries on April 20, 1808, the third son of Hortense Beauharnais and Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, had taken part in Italy in 1831 in the insurrection of the people of Romagna against the holy see. On two occasions, in 1836 and in 1840, he had tried without success at Strasburg and at Boulogne to reawaken sympathy for the name of Napoleon and the glory of the empire. After the last attempt he was condemned by the Court of Peers and confined in the Castle of Ham, whence he escaped in 1846. The revolution of February reawakened his hopes. An active propaganda promised him many votes ; the faults of the republicans, the powerful magic of his name did the rest.

The national *ateliers*, the invective of the clubs, the battles of June, and the stoppage of commerce had irritated the bourgeoisie ; the tax of forty-five centimes added to the four direct taxes had been the downfall of the republican cause as far as the peasants were concerned. The election of the prince to the presidency was the occasion of a protest against the government which Paris had imposed on France on the 24th of February.

The constitution of November 12, 1848, was not likely to live in the times and conditions in which it was produced. The two powers of execution and deliberation had the same origin ; both proceeded from manhood suffrage, and were both renewable, the one after three, the other after four years in power. But the president had this advantage, that, elected by millions of votes, he seemed to represent the whole country, whilst, in the assembly, the deputies were only elected by some thousands of votes each. Moreover, while constituting an inevitable antagonism, it had been hoped to subordinate the executive to the legislative power. And so the president, appointed to innumerable offices in the administration, negotiated treaties and disposed of the army ; but he was not re-eligible ; he had neither the right to command the troops nor the right to dissolve the assembly nor even to stop a law process which seemed to him destructive. He had either too much or too little. And he had been given, with the temptation of resuming the habitual prerogatives of public authority, the means of forwarding his ends.

The president and the assembly were respected and listened to while they worked for the re-establishment of order and for compromise between the extreme parties. And so on January 29

and June 13, 1849, the army of Paris under their direction triumphed over the insurrection without bloodshed.

An external cause had given rise to the last conflict. European revolutions—incited by the revolution of February but in defiance of France—had been promptly repressed by the kings whom they had alarmed. Already Austria, who, thanks to Russia, had been victorious in Hungary, had defeated Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, at Novars, and Lombardy had fallen again into her power. The republic proclaimed at Rome after the flight of the pope tried in vain to make the walls of the Holy City the last ramparts of independence in the peninsula. When she was for a short time victorious, six months earlier, Italy had not wished the help of France ; now that she was vanquished and threatened by a still heavier yoke policy demanded that the French government should protect the Italian peninsula from Austrian domination. But it was thought that this protection, in order to be efficacious, should be established at Rome to overthrow the republic proclaimed in that town. The prince-president and the assembly sent a French army to Italy under the command of General Oudinot. The republicans of Paris tried to save the republic of Rome by an insurrection. A member of the former provisory government, M. Ledru-Rollin, was with them. A body of troops stopped this movement at its birth on June 13. This tumult cost the party its leaders, who were condemned by the High Court of Versailles, and dispelled the last hopes of Rome. General Oudinot, after having besieged the town with the greatest forethought, entered Rome on July 2, where the pope was reinstated. The legislative assembly which succeeded the constitutional assembly, though far from being unanimous on this question, yet approved the conduct of the president ; it was decided that French troops should remain in Rome for the protection of the Holy Father. From that day, France has always held troops in Italy, to the profit of the ultramontanists, but to the detriment of her general interests.

The Legislative Assembly (1849–1851).—The new assembly (May 28, 1849) contained fewer republicans or socialists and a greater number of members united under that general denomination, the love of order. The Prince Louis Napoleon seemed to sympathise with the legislative power thus constituted. But during the vacation of the assembly, in August and September, 1849, many members of the majority, partisans of the elder branch of the Bourbons, went to Germany to pay homage to the Count of Chambord ; others, partisans of the younger branch,

went to England to the princes of the house of Orleans. The exiled republicans and secret societies on their part launched their diatribes which came in conflict with the manifestations of the monarchy ; while the president travelled across France to exercise on the population the influence of that new power which sheltered under the name of Napoleon.

The session of 1850 was marked by the law of May 31, which erased three million electors from the parliamentary roll, exacting in return for the voting-paper a proof of three years' residence in the electoral canton. In the session of 1851 irritating discussions took the place of business. The prince-president took from General Changarnier the command of the National Guard and the army of Paris because there had been friction between him and the Ministry of War. The chamber, in revenge, refused to discuss with the president the choice of a durable government.

By an annoying coincidence, the powers of the president and those of the assembly terminated the following year, 1852, at three months' interval ; manhood suffrage, which had become a restrained suffrage, was asked to renew the two powers of the republic nearly at the same time. In anxiety as to where this doubtful future might lead the country, petitions which bore 1,500,000 signatures were addressed to the assembly, asking for the revision of the constitution ; eighty general councils and a great number of district councils expressed the same wish.

But the assembly was deeply divided. Many demanded that no change should be made ; those accepted the revision of the article which interdicted the re-election of the president ; the others wished a complete revision which would open the door to one or other of the three decayed monarchies. But in order that the assembly might proceed legally to a revision three-quarters of the votes of the house were necessary ; the requisite number was not obtained. This trouble in the official world found its echo in the disorders of many departments ; those of Cher and Nièvre were put in a state of siege.

The president demanded on the 4th of November, 1851, the re-establishment of manhood suffrage by the repeal of the law of May 31. The assembly, insisting that the wandering and fluctuating crowd should be excluded from the vote, refused the presidential proposition ; but to counterbalance the advantage this proposal would give the prince in the eyes of the people the majority tried to take possession of the army, in limiting the right given the president by the constitution of demanding troops

directly whenever he thought his safety in danger (November 17). This project was also rejected. On the following days acrimonious debates made the situation still more difficult; some spoke of sending the prince to Vincennes. But an assembly is always too feeble to take action. In this assembly, at any rate, there was no dominating party; important propositions could only pass by the vote of the majority. The prince, on the other hand, had on his side the army, part of the population of Paris, and nearly all France which was tired of this moral disorder. He had also the unity of command; he could thus await the attack; but he preferred to forestall it; France counted one day of conflict the more.

The Ten Years' Presidency.—On the morning of December 2 the leaders of the different parties of the assembly were arrested in their homes, the palace of the assembly was occupied by an armed force, and some of the representatives who had gathered together in mayoralities were seized or dispersed.

At the same time the president declared by a decree that the assembly was dissolved, that manhood suffrage was re-established, and proposed to the people the basis of a new constitution with a responsible leader elected for ten years. "I have forsaken lawful means," said the prince, "in order to return to the law." On the 3rd and 4th resistance was attempted in the centre of Paris and on the boulevards, but without the support of the population. The army remained after a short struggle in command of the streets; attempts at insurrection in different parts of the country were soon repressed. Those departments in which trouble had broken out were put in a state of siege; those malefactors who had broken the law were transported to Cayenne; members of secret societies were transported to Algeria: these measures promptly reduced the country to order. The parties understood that they had to deal this time with a resolute power. The country by 7,437,216 affirmative against 640,737 negative votes accepted the constitution proposed by the president and conferred the presidency on him for ten years. In this way France, alarmed, gave herself into the hands of Louis Napoleon, and the great current of 1789 deviated once more. For these sixty years, instead of advancing slowly and surely by successive progress, France had proceeded by leaps and bounds, rushing in a few months from one extreme of the political world to the other; yesterday a republic with all its demagogic licence; to-morrow a dictatorship with the grandeur but also with the dangers of personal government.

The decennial presidency was only a step towards the empire. The new constitution, published on January 14, 1852, had borrowed its principles from the consulate and from the empire ; under its pretended liberalism it hid the omnipotence of the prince. The head of the state was responsible and governed with the ministers who depended on him alone. Two assemblies were instituted ; the legislative body, the outcome of universal suffrage, with the vote of laws and taxes ; and a senate composed of celebrities of the country to watch over and develop the constitution. The councillors of state, named like the senators by the prince, prepared the laws, supported them before the legislative body, and examined the amendments. This constitution did not however surround the destinies of the nation by an impassable barrier. It left the way open for improvements which might bring back those liberties which were for the moment set aside.

Before putting the constitution in practice, the president, reverting to the dictatorship, reconsidered and rearranged the administration for four months. One of his first acts was the forced sale of all the personal property of the house of Orleans, with a return to the domains of the state of those which before his accession Louis-Philippe had ceded to his children. The reorganisation of the National Guard, which was limited in its powers and put at the disposal of the ruling power ; the press again put under the jurisdiction of the tribunal courts ; the departmental authority concentrated in the hands of the prefects ; the nomination of mayors reclaimed by the government—these were the principal features of this rearrangement, conceived to fortify the central power.

Order prevailing once more, work recommenced. And the president met with a good reception in a progress through the provinces of the west and south. Leaving Strasburg to the cries of *Vive le President !* he arrived at Bordeaux to the cries of *Vive l'Empereur !* a cry which Paris repeated on October 16. Drawn towards the movement which had attracted her since the first vote in favour of Napoleon in 1848, the nation thought to find repose and order in a hereditary monarchy, the satisfaction of her pride before the world in the Napoleonic dynasty.

IV

THE SECOND EMPIRE

Re-establishment of the Empire (1852).—The deliberations of a consulting senate in the first assembly of the state proposed to the people the re-establishment of imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon, with heredity to his direct descendants, legitimate or adopted ; the people adopted this proposition on the 21st and 22nd of October by 7,839,552 affirmative against 254,501 negative votes, and the empire was solemnly declared on December 2, 1852. And so the nation ratified the events of December 2, 1851, as she had ratified that of the 18th Brumaire ; she voluntarily allied her destinies with those of the Napoleons.

The new emperor took the name of Napoleon III. He had married Eugénie de Guzman, a lady of great heart, who belonged to the high nobility. He had chosen her for the throne regardless of all political calculations. The prince imperial was born of this marriage on March 16, 1856. The empire was immensely popular, the emperor was no idle monarch. He had two ends in view: at home to give satisfaction to the general needs of the country as well as to popular interests ; and abroad to improve the political situation of France, which still laboured under the great reverse of 1815. The progressive development of public liberty by the improvements of the constitution would follow.

Benevolent Institutions.—The workman who lived on his wage is often threatened, on arriving at old age, with having no resources for his latter days. The savings bank had already, under the Restoration, put foresight and economy within the reach of small purses. The bank of the *Retraites* for old age, founded in 1849, reorganised in 1851, now went forward with rapid strides. In the year 1863 alone it showed 200,000 deposits. The decree of March 26, 1852, organised and generalised on a new basis the admirable institution of societies for mutual help.

In order that the poor might be sure of justice, and that the sick poor in remote districts should not feel themselves abandoned, an organisation to supply judicial help and medical services for such cases was founded.

The law for the purification of unhealthy dwellings and the encouragement given by the personal actions of the emperor to the construction of workmen's houses led to the establishment

in certain towns of more healthy dwellings without increase of rent. Convalescence, being neither the illness which opens the doors of the hospital nor the health which leads to the workshop, is often dangerous and painful for the worker. Three establishments were founded at Vincennes, at Vésinet, and at Longchène, near Lyons, for men and women convalescents who had just left hospital. Things went even further : an act was presented to the legislative body in 1867 to organise in favour of those workmen who had been mutilated at their work a bank for disabled workmen—or their widows—which assured pensions for life as well as temporary help, thus combining forethought with assistance. Finally the *Orphanage of the Prince Imperial* received at Paris many children left without their natural guardians.

Impulse was given to public work ; encouragement to agriculture, industry, and art. The prodigious development of industry, in concentrating the population at certain points, had caused the accommodation of certain towns to become too restricted ; communication between the different parts of the country seemed too slow, and agriculture had not profited by the advance of science as much as it should have done.

The government showed such activity in public works that in ten years nearly all the large towns had been remodelled. But this prosperity had also excited speculation and brought on disasters. Paris was rebuilt on a new and majestic plan by M. Haussmann, the prefect of the Seine ; Lyons and Marseilles followed this example, which decided the municipalities of the smaller cities to allow air, light, and health to enter into the old quarters of their towns. Work on the Louvre at Paris, which had been long suspended, was now taken up and completed ; the *boulevards* were opened up, the old quarters purified, new quarters created ; schools, mayoralities, and churches built in every district ; in the centre of the town the *Halles*—the Louvre of the people—were constructed after an original style ; everywhere were gardens and promenades planted with rare trees and beautiful flowers ; finally at the two extremities of the town the magnificent woods of Boulogne and of Vincennes. At Marseilles a mountain was cut away to make room for a new town ; two ports were excavated to shelter the innumerable ships which began to trade with the Queen of the Mediterranean. The railways, the building of which had up till now proceeded so slowly, extended in a few years from the centre of the country to its utmost extremities, from Paris to Strasburg, Bordeaux, Besançon, Marseilles, and so on, not to mention the vast net-

work of secondary lines. Immense works were carried out in the construction of canals, roads, ports, and the restoration of churches.

The organisation of chambers of agriculture, the establishment of agricultural meetings and conferences, contributed to spread new and better methods among the agriculturalists, while an insurance society protected the work of the fields from bad fortune or uncertain seasons, and a *society of credit* offered the loan of capital at a small rate of interest. Many special laws permitted the commencement of the re-forestation of the mountains of France, whose increasing bareness led to disasters of inundation; forests situated in the plains were cleared away that the ground might be put to utilitarian purposes, that lost communal property might add to the general prosperity. And finally a subvention of 100 millions was voted to facilitate by loans the employment of drainage; those parts of the country which had hitherto been unprofitable in cultivation it was sought to make productive. The emperor gave the example by work undertaken at his expense in Sologne, Champagne, and Gascony.

The agriculture of France was hampered by ignorance and by the want of means of communication; a law was drawn up for the construction of local railways, and elementary instruction in agriculture was prescribed in the schools to spread over all the country the conquests of science and of experience.

Institutions of Credit: Commercial Liberty.—Credit, which made advances to acknowledged capacity and honest work, and liberty, the soil in which they flourish most freely, were developed. The *Credit Foncier* (credit advanced on security of land) permitted proprietors to free themselves more easily from mortgages and to improve their lands; the *Credit Mobilier* made the fiduciary values circulate more rapidly, too rapidly in fact, for it resulted sometimes in catastrophes. A society called the *prêt de l'enfance au travail* tried to make credit available even to the poorest, on the sole condition that they were industrious and honest. And finally, in case the state should be obliged to face the expenses of a war, to contract loans, it tried to ensure that the smallest holders of capital should participate; instead of addressing itself solely to the bankers, the state wished all citizens to take part in this operation by direct subscriptions.

Economic science had established the fact that it was necessary to multiply means of exchange in order that commerce should flourish; that without competition industry would remain stationary, or would produce at prices so high that they would

hinder consumption ; in fact, that without a prosperous agriculture industry must languish.

The example of England, which had successively suppressed the hindrances put in the way of commerce and industry by ancient privileges, and the sad experiences acquired during two years of want, decided the government to let France pass from the regime of protection of industry by magnified duties to that of commercial liberty. The *échelle mobile*, which was only an inconvenience to the wheat trade, was abolished ; reductions of duties were successively decreed ; finally, from the end of 1860 commercial treaties, which the legislative body did not unfortunately discuss, were signed with England, Belgium, Italy, Turkey, and other countries. In the terms of the treaty with England—the model of all the others—the English government admitted freely at the end of two years the manufactured goods of France, and diminished considerably the duty on French importations of wine, alcohol, and paper goods. In return, the French government removed the embargo on many goods of British origin or manufacture, and diminished progressively the duties on importation of coal, coke, iron, cast metal, steel, and all metal goods.

A humanitarian law abolished the writ to arrest and diminished the duration of preventative arrests.

In order to stimulate industrial activity, the emperor had again taken up the idea of a universal exhibition, an idea of French origin though realised for the first time by England. The emperor, in 1855, proposed an exhibition in which the industries of different peoples would be compared ; the winners in these pacific contests would receive prizes which would excite the emulation of the vanquished. The universal exhibition of 1867, which showed the industrial and artistic power of France, was of an exceptional character. An important place was reserved in it for questions and products of interest to the workers ; two juries were set to judge the conditions of the workers, an inquiry of which the consequences were to be considerable ; prizes were awarded for *social harmony*. The workmen delegates invited to the exhibition were called to consider the reports and to express the feelings of their constituents.

Thanks to the facility of relations established by railways, steam navigation, and telegraphy, there was a more constant interchange of interests and ideas, which tended to render the destiny of France more assured. The government seconded this movement in favouring the establishment of new steamship lines

between French ocean ports and America and between French Mediterranean ports and the coasts of Asia, to increase the trade of France with distant countries. In 1862 already one could see the effects of many ably calculated measures on the commerce of France. The number of annual imports and exports had tripled in twelve years ; it ultimately rose to the value of six milliards.

The same liberal spirit was found in the *law of coalitions*, passed in 1864, which consecrated, under a new form, the liberty of work : allowing the workmen to discuss among themselves the conditions under which they would sell their time, their strength, and their powers of mind. Another and less efficacious law on co-operative societies offered workmen the possibility of putting their savings together in order to form industrial establishments (1867).

Pauperism, attacked by benevolent measures, as well as by the renewed activity of work, led fewer homeless people to the temptations of misery. The progressive diminution of crime, stated year by year in judicial statistics, bore testimony to the general progress of public morality. From 1848 to 1861 the number accused diminished by more than half. But wild dreamers continued to propagate their dangerous utopias in the shadows.

Public Instruction: Advanced Studies.—The new conditions of industry and commerce made it necessary—even for the workmen—to be able to read and write. In fifteen years the number of children receiving primary instruction increased by one million ; schools were multiplied and the position of the masters improved.

But although it was good to teach the people to read, it was better to put good books in their hands ; in a few years 13,000 scholastic libraries were established.

The law of April 10, 1867, which improved the general circumstances of popular instruction, organised also girls schools, developed free education, and sanctioned adult schools, of which the 30,000 opened in 1867 received 830,000 pupils.

In secondary education, classical studies, which had been for a short time set aside, were again taken up ; a law of June 21, 1865, organised specialised secondary education to which various branches of professional and technical education were attached. The normal school at Cluny was established to train teachers for this higher education. French industry thus obtained her special system of instruction, just as the liberal professions had found theirs for centuries in classical studies. The creation of a

general congress for the whole of France gave these two branches of education the stimulus of emulation and competition.

The sciences and higher branches of intellectual learning were also encouraged by the foundation of important prizes in the five sections of the institute ; by the impetus given to the learned societies of the departments, and by the numerous scientific expeditions sent to Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, the sources of the Nile, and so on. Finally by the side of the great professional schools which produced advocates, doctors, engineers, officers, and professors, schools were created for the theoretical advancement of science and letters. These gave every eminent man the means of adding to his discoveries, of educating his successors, and of constituting around him a scientific family.

External Policy: Wars.—Before being crowned, Napoleon III. had said : “ *L'Empire ; c'est la paix.* ” It was a fine formula—if it could have been applied. But France did not want peace at any price. There were therefore wars in this reign which France accepted as the necessities of her traditions of national policy and military honour. There were also unfortunately wars of which she disapproved ; the second empire fell through engaging in a war which was inevitable, but for which nothing had been prepared.

The conquest of Kabylie and the Algerian Sahara was a necessary operation ; but France was to expiate cruelly, by the neutrality or the secret hostility of Russia, the glory gained at Sebastopol.

The Crimean War: Treaty of Paris (1854–56).—Since the treaties of 1815, Russia had exercised a threatening preponderance in Europe. The Czar Nicholas had become the personification of a redoubtable system of suppression and conquest. He had never pardoned the monarchy of July for having gone out by a legitimate movement ; in Germany he had supported the kings in their resistance to the wishes of the people. He had done everything in his power to denationalise Poland, of which the treaties of 1815 recognised his possession, on condition that he would assure to that unhappy country a constitutional government. Astonished for a moment by the revolution of 1848, the czar soon returned to his old ambition. After having saved Austria in subduing the Hungarians who had revolted against her, he thought that the presence of a Napoleon on the throne of France would guarantee to Russia an alliance with England, and he thought the moment had arrived to seize that object of eternal Muscovite desire—Constantinople. On every occasion he affected

a haughty protectorate of the Christian subjects of the Turkish empire. He ended by trying to come to an understanding with England for the division between them of the spoils of the sultan. In 1853 he had the principalities of the Danube occupied, and armed an apparently formidable fleet at Sebastopol. The Emperor Napoleon gave the first sign of resistance in boldly sending the French Mediterranean fleet to Salamis to be within reach of Constantinople and the Black Sea. He drew England—hesitating at first—into his alliance and assured the neutrality of Austria and Prussia. The destruction by the Russians of a Turkish fleet at Sinope was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. The Anglo-French fleet entered the Black Sea, while an army sent from French and British ports assembled under the walls of Constantinople. On September 14, 1854, the allies, to the strength of 70,000 men, disembarked on the Crimea. The victory of Alma allowed the commencement of the siege of Sebastopol—that formidable fortress which it was necessary to destroy in order to ensure the protection of Constantinople.

This siege, the most terrible in the annals of modern history, lasted for nearly a year. Continual battles took place; two victories, those of Inkermann and Traktir, won the soldiers less glory than their indomitable courage against a terrible climate and an enemy who received constant reinforcements. At last, on September 8, 1855, after miracles of endurance, the fury of the French and the solidity of the English had their reward; the tower of Malakoff was carried, the town was taken. Some months before the Emperor Nicholas had died foreseeing the ruin of his vast designs.

The Anglo-French fleet in the Baltic had destroyed Bomarsund, the bulwark advanced by Russia against Sweden; in the Black Sea the fortress of Kinburn was forced to surrender, which opened southern Russia to attack; an allied squadron had already taken Petropaulosk in the Pacific Ocean. At last French diplomacy had brought the Kings of Sweden and of Sardinia into the league against Russia; she might perhaps be able to induce Austria to join it also. The czar, Alexander II., the successor of Nicholas, demanded peace; it was concluded at Paris under the supervision of the sovereign of that country which had played the most glorious part in this war. This peace (March 30, 1856) neutralised the Black Sea and thus prevented Russia from having a fleet of warships; took from her certain parts of Bessarabia; ensured free navigation of the Danube; and proclaimed in the name of liberty the rights of neutrals

during naval wars. Russia recoiled ; the rights of nations had taken a step forward, and France had recovered her influence in Europe. The visits of the Queen of England, the King of Portugal, the King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, and other sovereigns to Emperor Napoleon III. were a striking testimony to the greatness France had again attained. But this glory was all the profit she derived from a war in which much blood had been spilled, much money spent. France had made sentiment her policy in the Crimea and England reaped the benefit. When misfortune came to France, the Russians, remembering Sebastopol, allowed her to be overwhelmed ; England forgot her ally of the Crimea and did not even offer her a helping hand.

War in Italy: Peace of Villafranca and the Treaty of Zürich (1859).—After Russia, Austria was the power most opposed to modern ideas ; as the first oppressed Turkey, the second oppressed Italy. Austria had played an equivocal rôle during the Crimean War, while the King of Sardinia had not been afraid to join his young army to the Anglo-French troops. This circumstance had made France the natural protector of Piedmont and consequently of Italy, of which Piedmont was the last citadel. So that when Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Austria, in spite of the efforts of European diplomacy, crossed the Ticino on April 29 (just as the Emperor Nicholas had crossed the Pruth) France again found herself fighting an aggressor on behalf of the oppressed.

The Emperor Napoleon resumed in this war the secular policy of France beyond the Alps, a policy which consisted in not suffering the preponderance of Austria or Germany in Italy, that is to say, on the south-west frontier of France. If he had, as president of the republic, contributed to the return of the pope to Rome, it was not in order to perpetuate Austrian oppression or general servitude in the peninsula. The unexpected apparition of a French army on that soil where for three centuries France had left so many glorious memories caused profound surprise. Europe was startled to attention ; England looked on benevolently ; Russia and Prussia were astonished observers ; Austria and France were left alone to fight it out. The war lasted barely two months.

After the brilliant affair of Montebello which frustrated an attempted surprise by the Austrians (May 20), the Franco-Piedmontese army was concentrated round Alessandria ; then by a bold and cleverly executed movement it turned the right of the Austrians who had already crossed the Ticino and obliged

them to cross back over that river. Caught between the army corps of General Macmahon and the guard of Magenta, the Austrians lost 7000 killed or wounded and 8000 prisoners (June 4). Two days later French regiments marched into Milan.

The enemy, astonished by this rude shock, abandoned his first line of defence, where he had long since accumulated powerful means of action and of resistance. He retired on the Adda, having vainly tried to hold the famous position of Marignano, then on the Mincio, behind the celebrated plains of Castiglione, between the two fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua. There he found himself protected by the impregnable support of the great city of Verona. The Emperor of Austria, with a new general and considerable reinforcements, had come to wait for the French army. The Austrians had for long studied this field of battle; there were 160,000 men arranged in ranks on the heights above the village of Solferino, who would be able to outflank the French on the plain. Napoleon III. had barely 140,000 men under his command and was obliged to fight on a line five leagues in extent. While the right wing engaged the enemy in the plain in order not to allow itself to be turned and while Victor Emmanuel with his Piedmontese soldiers offered a brave resistance on the left, the French centre pushed a vigorous attack, and after a heroic fight carried successively Monte Fenile, Monte Cyprés, and finally the village of Solferino. The enemy line was broken; his reserves were wiped out without having been engaged by the fire of the new French cannon. The enemy fled in a confused medley; but a terrible thunderstorm, accompanied by hail and torrential rain, stopped the victors and permitted the Austrians to recross the Mincio; they left 25,000 men *hors-de-combat*. That night the Emperor Napoleon's headquarters were in the same room which had been occupied by Francis Joseph in the morning (June 24).

Twice victorious, the emperor at once offered peace to his enemy. Italy was delivered, even if a small part of Italian territory—Venetia—still rested in the hands of the Austrians. Europe, astounded by these rapid victories, allowed all her jealousies to be reawakened.

Prussia especially strove to arouse Germany and to send an army to the Rhine. The Emperor Napoleon thought he had done enough in throwing back Austria—so lately established on the banks of the Ticino—behind the Mincio, and on July 8 he signed with Francis Joseph at Villafranca a peace the principal conditions of which were confirmed at the end of the year by

the Treaty of Zürich. Austria abandoned Lombardy, which France ceded to Piedmont, and accepted the Mincio as her frontier in the peninsula; the various states of Italy were to form a confederation under the presidency of the pope. But all those interested rebelled against this arrangement and a revolutionary movement continued. The emperor restrained himself from preventing the intervention of Austria. And thus all the governments which since 1814 had been nothing but lieutenantancies of Austria were seen to be crumbling down; Italy consisted of only one kingdom, with the exception of Venice and Rome, when the emperor thought it advisable to take the necessary precautions for the safety of France: he claimed the price of the assistance which he had given and demanded that Savoy and Nice should be ceded to him by the Treaty of Turin (March 24, 1860). This enlarged France by three departments and carried her southern frontier over the crest of the Alps. For the first time since 1815 France crossed the natural boundaries traced around her at the period of her reverses—not by force or by surprises, but as a natural result of great services rendered to a friendly nation, by pacific agreement, and by a solemn vote on the part of the population of the departments in question. Europe did not dare to protest.

Expeditions of War outside of Europe, in Syria, China, Cochin China, and Mexico.—Europe was no longer isolated from the other continents; with the progress of civilisation, of commerce, and of the general relations of peoples, it was necessary for France, the second maritime power, to go beyond the seas and especially where her honour and her interests might be engaged. It was the first time which—either with or without the support of England, often under her jealous eye—France had acted with such firmness and independence.

The massacre of the Maronite Christians by the Druses of Syria demonstrated anew the powerlessness of the Ottoman empire to protect its subjects and excited the interested complaints of Russia. France, who had made the first move, had the honour of being charged by the great powers to send and maintain a body of troops in Syria to help the Turkish government to punish the aggressors. The following year a diplomatic conference met at Constantinople and regulated the government of Liban in order to prevent the return of such deplorable catastrophes.

The appearance of the French flag in the East was not without its uses in the pursuit of a great enterprise commenced by

M. de Lesseps under the auspices of the French government: the construction through the isthmus of Suez of a canal which would unite the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and put Europe in direct communication with the extreme east.

The same year France and England had been obliged to undertake at the other extremity of Asia an expedition against China, who had violated the conditions of a treaty previously entered into with her. In less than six months the allied fleets transported 15,000 men and an immense amount of military equipment 6000 leagues from the French coasts to the banks of the Pei-Ho. The Emperor of China sent 70,000 men to meet these troops whom he called *barbarians*. This army and the forts erected along the road to Peking could not stand before the little European force commanded by General Cousin-Montauban. The mouths of the river were forced, the forts which defended them were carried by a sharp and brilliant attack, after which the allies marched resolutely on Peking. The Chinese court tried to deceive them by false negotiations, of which some of the allied envoys were victims, and to surprise the troops, who, however, gained the Battle of Palikao. The town of Peking, now uncovered, was about to be bombarded; already the summer palace had been seized and pillaged. Prince Kong, the brother of the emperor, then decided to treat seriously (October 25, 1860). The allied armies entered Peking to receive the ratifications of the treaty, in virtue of which the Chinese government engaged to admit English and French ambassadors to the capital, to pay an indemnity of 120 millions, to open the port of Tien-Tsin, to guarantee advantageous commercial conditions to the victors, and to restore to France the churches and cemeteries belonging to the Christians. The celestial empire was opened up, and in consequence the empire of Japan, which had in 1858 made commercial treaties with the principal European states, was disposed, for fear of a similar lesson, to respect those treaties more carefully.

The French government profited from its force in these coasts to carry out against the empire of Annam in Cochin China an expedition begun two years earlier in conjunction with Spain. It was impossible to obtain security for French missionaries or French commerce from the government of Annam. France had resolved to found a settlement at the mouth of the great river Cambodge, and had seized Saïgon, which it proposed to make the capital of the new colony. But there were continual disturbances there. On their return from China the French troops defied the Annamites, seized Mytho,

Bien-Hoa, and imposed a peace on the Emperor Tu-Duc (1863) which stipulated that respect was to be shown to missionaries, secured an advantageous commercial treaty, and the possession of three provinces surrounding the mouths of the Cambodge in an admirably fertile country between the Indies and China and within reach of the Philippines and the Moluccas. "The settlement of Saigon," said an English traveller, "could change the direction of commerce and become the centre of an empire equal one day perhaps to that of India."

And so France, which had been regarded as above all a continental power, carried her activities to the most remote shores of the ocean. She was soon called to the other end of the world. For a long time France, England, and Spain had had injuries to avenge and claims to make against the anarchical government of Mexico. In the beginning of the year 1862 the three powers came to an understanding to proceed together in that country. The expedition was in course of preparation when the cabinets of London and Madrid, following misunderstandings, renounced the enterprise. France, left alone, persisted in avenging the common injuries. A rebuff had compromised the honour of the flag; a fault had been committed in declaring that France would not treat with President Jurez, which forced France either to import a foreign government into that country or to conquer these immense wastes. It was necessary to send, instead of the 6000 men already on the way, as many as 35,000 soldiers. Puebla offered a heroic resistance; but it was the key of Mexico; the army took it (May 18, 1863). Some days later (June 10) the army entered Mexico and the population proclaimed an Austrian prince, the Archduke Maximilian, emperor, on the advice of France. After the departure of the French troops in 1867 this unhappy prince was shot by the republicans after a trial which was nothing but a mockery. This imprudent and ill-conceived expedition was a grave check to the policy and the finance of France.

Transformation of the Authoritative Empire into the Liberal Empire.—Thus in a few years France had given security to the Turkish empire; unity to the Roman provinces; independence to Italy; guarantees of existence to the Christians of Syria; and the entry of Christianity, of commerce, and of influence into China, Cochin China, and Japan.

At home numbers of towns had been transformed; the country was covered with an immense network of railways; agriculture had changed the face of many provinces; industry held its own

with that of England ; and commerce transported produce to the value of six milliards. The labouring classes had found in the benefits of work, which was everywhere developed, an increasing well-being, and in the benevolent institutions multiplied by the spirit of charity relief for their miseries. In the towns, it is true, the workmen were always agitated by social questions and by recollections of the republic ; but the country people, content to sell their produce every year to better advantage, asked nothing but the continuation of these prosperous times.

As for the bourgeoisie, enriched by an industry whose remarkable expansion was due to the liberty of work and of commerce, they claimed for public life the liberties and guarantees for which they had developed both the taste and the need in dealing with their own special affairs ; and which they had momentarily sacrificed in 1852 for fear of civil disorder. They hoped for the suppression of official candidates, to free the country from its leading-strings, to arrive at a sincere representation of the national will ; they intended that in conformity with the ideas of 1789 the state should be conducted like a great industrial society, with economy and prudence, to the sole profit and by the sole action of those interested.

In these days, the dictatorship could only be temporary ; Napoleon III. knew that, and at the very moment when he took possession of the throne he had promised that liberty should one day crown the new political edifice. After Solferino he longed to bring liberty into all French institutions.

He commenced this work by the decree of November 24, 1860, which associated the legislative body more directly with the policy of the government. He continued it by the consulting senate of December 2, 1861, which deprived the emperor of the right of decreeing extraordinary credits in the interval of the sessions ; by the letter of January 19, 1867, which gave the ministers free entry to the chambers so that they could at any moment give an account of their proceedings to the country ; by the laws in connection with the press, now replaced under the common law ; and the laws on reunions, of which few proved useful while many proved disastrous (May 11 and June 6, 1868). Finally, when the unfortunate issue of the Mexican expedition, the threatening position taken up by Prussia in Germany after the victory of Sadowa over the Austrians ; when at home the progress of public opinion, favoured by the general prosperity—when all these quickened the desire for liberty, which the elections of 1869 testified, the emperor renounced his personal

power, and by the consulting senate of April 20, 1870, proposed to the French people the transformation of the authoritative empire into the liberal empire. On the 8th of May 7,300,000 citizens answered this question in the affirmative, against 1,500,000 in the negative.

To put the organisation of the country in touch with the new constitution, great reforms were necessary. For a long time, in consequence of an excessive centralisation, France had resembled an inverted pyramid; the head supported everything. It was necessary to reverse the pyramid and place it on its base, that is to say, it was necessary to base the institutions of the *state* on the more numerous institutions of the *commune*, of the *département*, even in certain things of the *province*, where men of whom the state had need were preparing themselves and who would at the same time prevent excess of liberty and excess of power. It was also necessary to simplify and rejuvenate the administration, to instruct and prepare the people, to make citizens by the practice of an austere liberty, and to make patriots by a moral and national education of the whole people. But for this great movement the time and the men were lacking.

War with Prussia (July, 1870, to February, 1871).—A great mistake had been made before Sadowa. In the thought that the unity of Germany was possible with and by Austria, France had allowed that power to be crushed. The danger for France was not at Vienna but at Berlin. Prussia, which since Frederic the Great dreamt of reconstituting the German empire, knew very well that she could not compass that result, threatening for Europe, till after a military humiliation of France; she prepared the means to this end with an indefatigable perseverance. She intoxicated by history, by poetry, and by science the patriotism of the Germans against those whom she caused to be called in her papers the "hereditary enemy." She armed all her male population from twenty to sixty years of age; she exacted the most detailed instruction from her officers, and from the soldiers the severest discipline. And by an organisation which left no fraction of the national forces inactive, by a foresight which utilised all the resources of industry and science, she concentrated in the centre of Europe the most formidable machine for war which the world had ever seen: 1,500,000 men, disciplined and armed; every man was a soldier. And this terrifying machine she confided to men whom no scruples could arrest; they said themselves, "Force excels law," and they acted accordingly.

France saw nothing or would see nothing of these immense preparations, which were finished on her own territory by the minute and secret study of all her means of action or resistance. Ideas of peace and of economy dominated the legislative body ; a blind confidence in the military superiority of France, a like defiance against the armament of the country, prevented the adjustment of the French forces to the greatness of the approaching struggle, and by the incapacity of men and the insufficiency of administration, those which did exist were not put to their best uses.

As a last master-stroke, Prussia caused that war for which she had been ardently longing, for which she had been preparing for fifteen years, to be declared against her.

To the 500,000 soldiers sent in fifteen days to the French frontier and concentrated in a small space, between Treves and Landau, France could oppose only 240,000 men scattered along a line of seventy-five leagues. They were overwhelmed in detachments at Weissembourg, Reischoffen, and Forbach by an enemy three or four times superior in number; they were defeated from afar, covered by an innumerable artillery which could carry further than the French cannon (August 4 and 6). The emperor capitulated at Sedan (September 2) ; Marshal Bazaine at Metz (October 27). Strasburg, where nothing had been prepared for a siege, succumbed after a bombardment which set the library and the museum on fire and threatened to ruin the cathedral. At Paris on September 4 a tumult had broken out in the chamber and overthrown the government in the face of the enemy, that is to say, it had destroyed the only power which existed to make resistance more efficacious or peace terms less heavy. Fifteen days later, the invested capital delivered its first battle, that of Châtillon. In holding the principal Prussian forces outside her walls for four months (September 18 to January 27) she gave France time to rouse herself. All the regular army, with the exception of four African regiments, was imprisoned in Germany ; it was necessary therefore to improvise soldiers, officers, cannon, muskets, command. Miracles were accomplished. But war had become too scientific to allow youths fresh from their villages to cope—in spite of their courage—with disciplined and victorious soldiers. The provincial armies were crushed, and when after a siege of 131 days, after a month's bombardment, famine forced Paris to let down her drawbridges and forsake her forts, nothing remained but to submit to the law of the victor.

For the first time for four centuries France retreated. In 1815 she had at least nearly kept the frontiers which were given her by her ancient monarchy ; by the treaty of February 26, 1871, she was injured by a wound which will never heal, the taking from her of two of her provinces, and these the most fundamentally French—Alsace and a part of Lorraine.

Strasburg was voluntarily given to Louis XIV. in 1681 and Metz to Henry II. in 1552. If historical fact has any weight, it is to be found on the side of France. And the Prussians did not dare to consult the populations of these provinces to know whether they wished to become German or to remain French.

After having treated a population of 1,600,000 souls like a herd of cattle, it was hoped to exhaust France for a long time to come in exacting an indemnity of five milliards.

But who can estimate the tens of millions extorted under pretext of contributions of war ; requisitions imposed on the communes, ransoms levied in particular cases ; thefts of furniture, silver, books, artistic and scientific valuables sent beyond the Rhine ; the complete destruction of houses and of châteaux, of farms and villages, uselessly and for no military purpose ; cold-blooded murders, or death sentences carried out against the rights of nations ; plunder under all sorts of pretexts ; violence under all names ; outrages of every kind, of which Germany, in her inveterate jealousy against France, rendered herself guilty during this six months' war, a war which by its methodical devastation recalled the most dreadful days of the ancient barbaric wars ?

France holds the undying remembrance of much suffering caused by hypocritical ambition, of many affronts inflicted by a scientific barbarism, of 20 milliards lost to works of peace, of science, and of civilisation. But by arms or by ideas she will avenge herself, if she is wise enough to give to the world the infectious example of a society which regenerates itself in misfortune, which fortifies itself in the midst of liberty, inspiring all its children to forget former discord and reunite for one single purpose—the sentiment of duty which constitutes the greatness of the individual ; the sentiment of discipline which makes the force of the people ; the love of country which makes every devotion, every sacrifice easy.

As we write these lines — March 10, 1871 — it seems that such disasters must surely have exhausted all possible misfortune ; but it remains to add the shame of civil war ; to

show the world the monuments of our national glory thrown down by the hands of Frenchmen, our noblest citizens assassinated, our palace in flames, the whole of Paris threatened with destruction, under the watchful eyes of the Prussians, the masters in eighteen departments, who from the height of the forts joyfully contemplate the conflagration.

It was the work of the *Commune* and the *Internationale*, the one sheltering the other. The first excused itself under the pretext of restoring to Paris her legitimate rights, and giving her the right to elect her municipal officers. The second, which wished to enrol all the workmen of the country, inflamed their minds with hatred and with error. It represented patriotism as an obsolete fashion; propriety as an injustice; capital as theft; society as a detestable machine of which it was necessary to break all the springs. Those who listened to this doctrine did not see that they would be the first to be crushed under the ruins. To the women it promised that the commune would nourish, clothe, and bring up their children, that is to say, that the duties of the family would be suppressed; to the men it said that all belonged to all, as if society could subsist without the formation—continually accruing under conditions of morality—of that capital which represented only for honest people the slowly accumulated rewards of work, of intelligence, and of economy.

At first there was a hideous confusion of ignorance and perversity, of covetousness and hatred, of brutal passions and over-excited desires, from which proceeded no new ideas, no general sentiment, and which broke out in a formidable insurrection in the midst of which the reprobates of the country ran like wolves to a carcass: "Armed with blindness," said a Parisian schoolmaster obliged to live in the midst of them, "armed with blindness and led by lunatics."

But the national assembly met at Bordeaux, then at Versailles, and refused to decree a new constitution or to make an appeal to the people before the territory of France was freed from the invader. Confining the government to carry out the already established laws, it had on February 18, 1871, elected a chief of executive power, M. Thiers, who was afterwards (August 31) called President of the Republic.

The French army, reconstituted at Versailles, was obliged to make a second siege of Paris (April 2 to May 21), to force the ramparts, and sustain a deadly combat for seven days in the streets (May 21-28). As they retired the *communards* set fire

with the aid of petrol to the finest buildings and houses. The Tuileries, the Hôtel de Ville, the Palace of the Legion of Honour and the Council of State, the library of the Louvre and its 80,000 volumes, the Ministry of Finance, where they thought to destroy the titles of the national riches. Twenty other buildings, 200 houses were ruined by the flames. The Museum of the Louvre, with its treasures of art, the most precious treasures of the human race, the Palace of the Institute with its magnificent library, only escaped by the arrival of the troops.

France sustained two all but mortal wounds in two months ; they caused her blood to flow and they emptied her treasury. Gold can be replaced by work. But how can the soul of the country be reanimated?—By the ever-present thought of her humiliation and her misfortunes ; by the firm determination to make men and citizens ; by manfully and stoutly putting things in their proper places : duty above law ; responsibility beside liberty ; discipline above all ; discipline in the family, the city, and the state. May that be accomplished ; may we be able to repeat the last words spoken by a famous German on his deathbed : he spoke of France, vanquished and despoiled, and he said : “ The future lies still before her.”

APPENDIX

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE FROM 1870-1914¹

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

Situation in France before the Franco-Prussian War: Causes which led to it.—The appropriation by Germany of the Danish provinces of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 had led France to look with alarm at her own outlying provinces. And after Sadowa (1866), when the Prussians inflicted an overwhelming defeat on Austria, France was startled into grave anxiety.

From this time collision between the two nations was inevitable, both Napoleon III. and Bismarck were engaged in secret plotting and Napoleon had no chance against the Man of Iron. He not only wanted war, he wanted France to declare it. He set about his preparations with elaborate attention to every detail. He secured the allegiance to the King of Prussia of the three independent states of South Germany, Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg, and he writes of this transaction in his *Reflections and Reminiscences*: "I felt convinced that the gulf which diverse dynastic and family influences and different habits of life had, in the course of history, created between the south and north of the Fatherland could not be more effectually bridged over than by a joint national war against the neighbour who had been aggressive for many centuries." Bismarck also arranged that France should stand alone in Europe at the declaration of war. South Germany was newly allied to the King of Prussia; Austria was powerless with Russia ready to descend on her should she move on Prussia, and she therefore declared her neutrality and added insult to injury by asserting that she considered France to be in the wrong. Russia hoped to avenge her defeats in the Crimea, while France was engaged elsewhere, and therefore declared her neutrality. Italy was engaged at home, and would not in any case have come to the

¹ M. Duruy, writing his final sentences in 1871—in the midst of the upheaval and chaos consequent on the war and the insurrection—did not enter fully into the events leading up to the war, nor into its outstanding features. We have therefore thought it better to indulge in slight recapitulation than to sacrifice the clearness of the narrative.

help of France, for the Empress Eugénie had urged Napoleon III. to take up arms in favour of the Catholic party in Italy and against the former allies of France. Napoleon's forces—Catholic forces—had defeated the troops of Garibaldi at Mentana in 1867. As for England, after the outbreak of war Lord Granville was instrumental in establishing a league of neutrals who bound themselves not to interfere.

There was therefore no help for France abroad. At home the emperor and indeed the whole imperial policy seemed to have lost the confidence of the country. Republican feeling was growing, reactionary and socialistic principles were rife. The emperor appealed to the nation for a vote of confidence. It was given by 7,358,786 affirmative to 1,571,939 negative votes. In spite of this there was discord at the heart of the nation. There was jealousy of the empress, who was of Spanish blood and was held to have the interests of Spain nearer her heart than those of her adopted country. There were two parties at court, one exclusively national, the other devoted to the empress, whose brilliant qualities added much to the court of the Tuileries. The emperor was now past the zenith of his powers; he had little or no control over the fortunes of France, and in his irresolution, born of increasing age and the knowledge that he could do nothing to avert the impending disaster, he fell into the power of the Bonaparte faction who, in conjunction with the empress, desired war to secure the accession of the prince imperial and to champion the Catholic cause in Europe. Although both Bismarck and the Bonaparte faction desired war, the final determining cause was the proposal to give the crown of Spain to a German prince. It was offered to him by the provisional government of Spain; France was not consulted and felt herself slighted because the prince in question, Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, was connected with Napoleon through two families, those of Beauharnais and Murat. This event was fastened upon as the *casus belli*, although relations between France and Germany had already become strained to breaking-point. The blame of the war has too often been laid exclusively on Napoleon III.; it belongs as much to France; a France who, although she saw war coming, yet refused to take it seriously or to prepare for it, who preferred rather to walk the streets shouting *À Berlin!* than to learn how to fire a gun; a France who regarded the advice of Marshal Niel, one of her military experts, much as Great Britain regarded the words of Lord Roberts before the Great War. Both Victor Duruy and

Marshal Niel had pleaded for the introduction of a system of military training into the schools of France that the youth of the country might learn the use of fire-arms and might be instructed in the principles of military drill and discipline in order that they could be rapidly prepared to defend their country should need arise. Marshal Niel, after urging this scheme in the chamber year after year, at last became bitter with the members of that body who would have none of it. "You are afraid of turning the country into a camp," he burst out, "take care that you do not turn it into a cemetery."

The Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen had declined the Spanish throne on learning of the agitation the proposal had caused in France. But France refused to be mollified. The Duke of Gramont declared in the assembly that France would never tolerate the establishment of a Hohenzollern or any other German prince on the throne of Spain. France even demanded assurances from the King of Prussia that he would never assist a German prince to that throne. But it was a subtlety of German diplomacy—of Bismarck's diplomacy—to reply to this demand in such insulting terms that France could with honour do nothing but declare war and to have arranged matters so that no European power would help her.

The Bonapartists and the empress in their desire for war had overwhelmed the Liberal party under the leadership of Thiers ; in some strange way they deceived themselves into thinking that France was ready for war ; Ollivier, head of the Liberal ministry, is said to have declared that he "accepted it with a light heart." This famous saying of his he has since repudiated, declaring that he was all along opposed to the Duke of Gramont's demand for guarantees from Germany. He asserts that Bismarck's policy had forced France into a situation from which she could not extricate herself with honour save by a declaration of war. In any case France accepted the war without fear, but it was only in the adventurous spirit of the knights and cavaliers of old that she was ready for it. She had no conception of the thorough, relentless war-machine Germany had been preparing for fifteen years, a machine which was to roll over her by force of numbers, of disciplined training, of superiority of artillery, equipment, and transport.

Outbreak of War.—Napoleon himself assumed command of the French armies, while the Empress Eugénie was given the powers of the regency in Paris. Lebœuf was the military advisor—Lebœuf who had declared his army ready for war "down to

the last gaiter-button." The French generals were a set of gallant and fearless men. But they knew nothing of strategy ; they had no war-maps ; they had not studied how to utilise the railways to best advantage, how to prevent blocking and confusion in moving great forces along the comparatively few roads ; both roads and railways were hopelessly inadequate for the needs of rapid transport. The French army ranged itself on a line which extended roughly from Strasburg to Metz, where Napoleon took up his headquarters. The first collision of the armies took place on August 2nd at Saarbrücken, where the French had the advantage and where the prince imperial received his baptism of fire. But it was a small advantage ; it was one of the very few that fell to the French armies. Defeats came thick and fast ; it was one long tale of defeats, Wissembourg, Forbach, Froeschweiler, Wörth, Colombières. The emperor, bewildered by the haste with which disasters rushed to meet him, gave over the command of the armies to Marshal Bazaine. But in Napoleon's retreat through Metz to Châlons the paraphernalia and equipages of his court blocked the roads for the urgently necessary movements of troops and artillery. Battles followed each other in quick succession, the French sometimes won small local successes, but the Germans were rapidly overrunning France. It was not a war, it was a conquest. Borny, Gravelotte, Noisseville, St. Privat, Vionville, Mars-le-Tours followed within a few days of each other, always driving the French further back. Trochu was the military governor of Paris, where the Empress Eugénie reigned supreme. She conceived the idea of turning the German right and ordered Marshal Macmahon to advance on the Belgian frontier, to attack the Germans on the flank, and thus relieve the pressure on the forces of Marshal Bazaine at Metz. This movement, which might have been successful with a large and victorious army, was impossible to the dispirited French soldiers under the command of "an honest man" who was, however, no strategist. The disaster of Sedan took place on September 1st, 1870 ; the French were hemmed in on a line resting on the Meuse ; they were surrounded by the Prussian infantry whose artillery fired on them from the surrounding heights. By the next morning Napoleon and 80,000 men were the prisoners of the King of Prussia.

The Third Republic.—At midnight on September 4th Jules Favre, Minister for Foreign Affairs, rose in the assembly and solemnly demanded the abdication of Napoleon. Thiers proposed a provisional government. But Paris had heard of the

disaster of Sedan. An excited and angry crowd burst into the assembly and in response to their demands Favre and Gambetta, the leader of the republicans, proclaimed a republic. The scene can be imagined—the excitement and agitation consequent on a change of government, the Prussian enemy at the gate, the sense of disaster heavy on all.

The leaders of the third republic were Thiers, Gambetta, Simon, and Favre with General Trochu as military adviser. Garibaldi, fresh from his efforts in the cause of republicanism in Italy, hastened to place his experience and his sword at the service of this weak and struggling republic. For a short time he commanded a body of troops in Burgundy and in the Vosges, but he was unsuccessful and he was deeply wounded by the French criticism of his efforts; criticism which was indeed unworthy towards one who had placed his life at the service of France which so lately as 1867 had fought and defeated him at Mentana. The emperor was a prisoner in Germany; the empress fled to England with the prince imperial, after fruitless negotiations with Bismarck. The republicans held that Germany was fighting with Napoleon; now that the empire had fallen, they argued, Germany might be willing to enter into peace negotiations. But Germany was out for spoil; monarchy or republic, it was all one to her. The German troops advanced swiftly; by September 19th they were at Paris, and the first siege of Paris had begun. The republican government had been given power on the distinct understanding that it was not to cede an inch of French soil to Germany. And in spite of the overwhelming disasters of the last weeks the natural buoyancy of the French nature asserted itself. "The Prussians cannot get food," it argued: "by the time their supplies are exhausted our new armies will be ready; they will come and crush the invaders. All our disasters were due to Napoleon and the imperial policy. With our new government all will yet be well." And so Gambetta left Paris by balloon on October 7th, determined not to be confined by the power of the enemy while there was work to be done for France.

Leon Gambetta (1838–1882) had first appeared in Paris as a "raw young barrister." He rapidly came to the front and was returned to the assembly of 1869 as a republican of extreme views, belonging to the party known as the *irreconcilables*. At Tours, to which he made his way, he assumed practically dictatorial powers. There he raised new armies, infecting all around him with his own burning enthusiasm. His plan was to raise

four armies, which when ready would march on Paris from different sides, and utterly destroy the starving Prussians. But in the meantime Metz, which had been besieged under General Bazaine, capitulated. This not only released the German army which had held it, but lost to France the last divisions of her regular army, who were now prisoners in German hands. Gambetta declared a levy *en masse*, but in spite of the brave fight shown by the French from October till January, their attempts to oust the foreigner from their land were all doomed to failure. Then Gambetta conceived the idea of drawing off the enemy by invading Germany. General Bourbaki was to attempt the relief of Belfort then enduring a siege at the hands of the German General Werder. But it was a vain attempt. Bourbaki and his brave men fought many battles, but after repeated defeats they were obliged to fall back on the Swiss frontier; once over the border they had to lay down their arms. They arrived in Switzerland half-starved and frozen, presenting the same pitiable spectacle as the soldiers of the great Napoleon had done on their return from Moscow.

Favre and Bismarck now met for a second time at Versailles—the first meeting had been futile because Favre was not in a position to treat on the basis of territorial concessions which Bismarck demanded. Now, however, an armistice was signed to leave the way open for the election of a national assembly which would discuss peace terms. Gambetta, an out and out republican, who had no use for compromise, wished to prevent all those who had held public office in the imperial government from exercising the franchise. This would not have suited Bismarck, who foresaw that by having the new assembly composed of fundamentally opposite elements, he would secure a weak and comparatively powerless body; whereas if Gambetta carried his scheme and had a majority of red-hot republicans, the assembly would be a powerful and determined adversary. Bismarck desired the resignation of Gambetta, which the latter gave in on his own account when his colleagues entered into peace negotiations. For Gambetta belonged to the *No Surrender* or *À Outrance* party; the clergy, the peasants, and the bourgeoisie, who were all for peace, opposed him and leagued themselves together under the *liste de la paix*. Though Gambetta may in a sense be called the founder of the republic, it was to Thiers—statesman and historian—a cautious and sound politician, that France owed her reorganisation. He was already an old man in his seventy-fourth year; he had been premier of

France as early as 1836 ; he had been banished by the emperor in 1851 for opposing the imperial policy ; and after his return to France he had devoted himself to writing his *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*. He did not re-enter political life till 1862.

Since the outbreak of war Thiers had travelled all over Europe, trying vainly to enlist the sympathy of the courts and to secure support for peace terms such as France could accept. The *Treaty of Frankfort*, signed on May 10, 1871, decreed that Alsace and a large part of Lorraine should be given to Germany, France to retain the fortress of Belfort. It may be said here that this appropriation on the part of Germany determined from that day another war between these two countries. For Alsace and Lorraine belonged to France by natural ties of blood, of character, of spirit, and even to a large extent of language—while even the German-speaking Alsatians were French at heart. Germany has tried in vain to force the French-speaking population to speak German ; the official papers and correspondence of the French-speaking communes had to be written in German, only German plays were allowed in the theatres. It was all to no purpose ; no man-made laws can change the spirit of patriotism which is as much a part of a man's being as the members of his body. France, though it was a wound too deep for speech, could never forget this rending from her of two of her provinces. It was Gambetta who said, " Let us always think of them, but never speak about them." The words of an Alsatian peasant put this more simply and forcibly than the words of any foreigner can do. " You don't know the Alsatian," he says, " he detests gestures and talk. He holds firm. He hides his feelings. He does not show his roots to the world. He is an Alsatian ; that is all. They killed my grandfather at Sedan. And I, I have to serve Germany (as a soldier). But that does not remove the fact that they killed my grandfather. Only it is useless for me to chalk that up on the doors. I know it. That is enough. It will be paid for when the great days come. Meanwhile one tries to live." ¹

As well as this territorial annexation, Germany exacted a huge war indemnity of £200,000,000 in order that she might pay with French gold for the outrages, insults, and brutalities her soldiers had inflicted on France. More than that, German soldiers were to be kept in France till the last franc had been paid. Thiers, who was made president of the republic in 1871—he was supposed by the Orleanists to be of their camp—by his

¹ From *On Changerait Plutôt le Cœur de Place*, by Benjamin Vallotton. Quoted from the review of this book in the *Spectator* of August 25, 1917.

skill and energy, aided by the splendid generosity of the French people in subscribing the loans, achieved the evacuation of French territory by the German troops two years before it was expected (July, 1873). The indemnity was paid up too soon for Bismarck, who had hoped to cripple France for many years to come by the raising of this colossal sum.

The Assembly of Bordeaux.—On February 8th, 1871, the elections for a new assembly had taken place. Paris being in a state of tumult, the assembly met at Bordeaux. Although it was composed of distinguished men, the brilliant powers of its individual members had no chance to shine. For the assembly was composed of four different parties, each striving for its own particular ends. Jules Grévy was the president, Grévy who had taken an oath of allegiance to the emperor in order to secure his election. But though the republic had been proclaimed and the assembly met as a republican assembly, we find the strange fact of a nominally republican body having a monarchist majority (400 monarchists against 350 republicans). There were three different parties of monarchists and each was striving for the return of its own particular candidate to the throne of France. The Bonapartists, a small but energetic body, lost no opportunity of furthering the cause of the Napoleonic dynasty; the legitimists supported the white flag of the monarchy-by-divine-right in the person of the Count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X.; the Orleanists supported the tricolour, their "Pretender" being the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis-Philippe. The republicans constituted the fourth party.

Thiers was the head of the executive power; Gambetta was not in office, but was the champion of the republic; Garibaldi had been returned, but declined to take part in the government of a foreign country. It was decided that the assembly should in future hold its meetings at Versailles. But a tumult raged in Paris between the supporters of the government and the revolutionaries, and in the departments between the followers of Gambetta and the coalition of the opposition. Paris had capitulated on March 1st; German troops marched through the Champs Elysées and occupied the city for two days, and the King of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany at Versailles on March 16th. The Commune of Paris was declared on March 18th. That is to say the *communards*, hot-headed revolutionaries who felt that the assembly was composed mostly of monarchists and would be of little use to them, broke into active opposition. Paris, they declared, was to be a free town, governed

by its own citizens. The assembly was already at Versailles ; the regular soldiers freed by the capitulation of Paris followed the government to Versailles, where they were joined by the soldiers of Metz and Sedan, now liberated by the Germans.

Thiers, in the name of the Versailles Assembly, charged Marshal Macmahon to reduce the seething capital to order with these forces. This was the second siege of Paris, which lasted from April 2nd till May 21st, and was followed by the *Bloody Week*, the greatest massacre in the history of the world—a week of street-fighting, of the burning of public buildings, all the dreadful conditions of a blood-thirsty chaos. Thiers by his high-handed management of this affair is held to have been partly responsible for the desperate nature it assumed in its last week. Macmahon had conquered the *communards* and had entered Paris, but in revenge for their defeat they executed their threat of burning all the public offices. Macmahon in his turn took his revenge. At his orders—and he was acting of course under Thiers—17,000 citizens of Paris were shot down and that after his army had accomplished its aim : 51,000 more were arrested and imprisoned, to be shot or transported at a later date. And all this time the Germans, encamped on the heights around Paris, were enjoying the sight of the people they had defeated slaughtering each other by thousands. Is it too much to see in this the influence of Germany ? Is it possible to believe that Bismarck had nothing to do with this insurrection which so greatly strengthened his hand ? It has been ascribed to various causes : some see in it a struggle between capital and labour, some, as has been said, thought it a protest against the reactionary weakness of the Assembly of Versailles. And it is not impossible that smouldering fires were fanned into flame by German intrigue. Whatever its causes, its results were far-reaching and they were both good and evil. It has been asserted that in spite of its cruelty the *Bloody Week* was the means of reducing to submission that Parisian mob which all through the history of France was ready to rise and settle disputes by the shedding of blood. One obvious reason why the massacre effected this change was that thousands had now expiated their own sins and those of their forefathers by their blood : that class was practically wiped out by the slaughter or transportation of 70,000 persons in one week. Whatever may be said for or against the policy of Thiers which led to this massacre, the fact remains that it alienated the French people from their government for many years to come. “No condition of things,” writes

Professor Emile Bourgeois, "could have appeared more hopeless for a nation whose soil was in foreign occupation, whose fortunes were wrecked, on the morrow of a civil war which had brought bereavement and ruin and had left a legacy of bitter animosities."¹

The Assembly of Versailles.—In the feeble and reactionary Assembly of Versailles Gambetta did not allow his political sight to be blinded by his own passionate belief that the future of France lay in republicanism. He saw that his extreme views only weakened Thiers, the president of the republic and leader of the moderate party, and that the monarchists were strengthened in consequence. With the generosity characteristic of wide views, he abandoned what lay nearest his own heart and steered a course for *opportunism*, which has since been the policy of all subsequent government in France. He founded a periodical, the *République Française*, in which he laid this new policy before the public. Gambetta exerted extraordinary power by his eloquence. "His very presence was eloquent, his voice, his gestures, his face, his accent—these were in themselves arguments well-nigh irresistible."² Jules Ferry, who was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1873, was another of the great forces of the republic; he and Gambetta opposed clericalism with equal violence, as we shall see later. Thiers had by this time definitely left the Orleanist party and had come over to Gambetta's *opportunism*; these two worked hand in hand and were the leaders of that period.

The assembly had, as we saw, a decided majority in favour of monarchism, but its division into three parties made it powerless. The death of Napoleon III. at Chislehurst, whither he had gone to rejoin the empress and the prince imperial in 1871, created no feeling one way or the other in France. The power of the Bonapartes had been finally broken at Sedan. The prince imperial entered the English military academy at Woolwich and on the outbreak of the Zulu war he volunteered for active service. He fell in that war in the service of his adopted country (1879).

The assembly had been appointed to deliberate on the question of peace or war, and though it afterwards clung to power, none of the parties in it regarded it as a permanent body. Thiers was forced to resign on May 24th, 1873, by the monarchists, who saw that they could no longer push their views under his increas-

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. xii. p. 92.

² Lavissee et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, vol. xii.: "*La Troisième République*."

ingly republican tendencies. Marshal Macmahon was the second president (1873-1879), "an honest soldier," as he described himself, but certainly not a great statesman. He was probably elected for that reason, because the stronger spirits in the assembly thought they could drive him as they wished. He established a cabinet with a premier, a body which stood and fell together, a contrast to the system under which the president of the republic was prime minister *ex officio*, who could dismiss the ministers individually as they failed to meet his views. This body of six ministers and the prime minister was called the *Septennate*. Broglie and Fourtou were the leaders at this time. Taking advantage of the subjection of the Bonapartists and the repression of the people since the *Bloody Week*, they sought to advance the cause for the monarchy by uniting the Bourbon and Orleanist parties. The Count of Chambord had no children and agreed that the Count of Paris should be regarded as his lawful heir. These negotiations fell through in a curious way, because the representatives of the tricolour and the white flag each refused to adopt the colours of the other. There was now no immediate course to be followed up, and the assembly gave itself over to the formulating of a new constitution. This cabinet, under the leadership of General Cissey, was known as the Business Cabinet.

Constitution of 1875.—The main features of the constitution may be briefly mentioned, as virtually the same constitution prevails to this day.

The president of the republic was to be elected for seven years by the two chambers which were to meet together for that purpose. The president had not much power in those days save that of electing the ministers; if he was supported by the Senate he could dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate was composed of 300 members, one-fourth of whom were elected for life; the other three-fourths were elected for nine years, but not all at one time. Elections took place every three years, when one-fourth of the members were elected, so that every three years a quarter of the senate was replaced by new blood. In the lower chamber the deputies were elected by manhood suffrage as before. The members were paid a salary of about £365 a year; a deputy could not be elected till he was twenty-five years of age, a senator till he was forty. The cabinet was to consist of twelve ministers, appointed by the president; they might be drawn from either chamber, but as a matter of fact the Chamber of Deputies has always been more largely represented in the government. In this constitution the executive body was

entirely subjugated to the legislative body. The first or prime minister had the portfolio of the office which happened to be the most important at the time. The Versailles Assembly was not dissolved till June 25th, 1877. By that time Gambetta and Thiers together had formed the party known as the *Opportunists*, these joined the *irreconcilables* or extremists in opposing the body known as the *party of order*, that is to say, the Orleanists, the legitimists, and the imperialists. The country had grown increasingly republican and in 1877 a republican majority was returned. Thiers had died just before the elections, but the death of this aged statesman was if anything a help to the republican cause, for the people remembered with gratitude all that he had done for France and paid the last respect to his memory in returning to the assembly a republican majority.

The Reconstruction of France: Military Service, Army, and Navy.—The Germans expelled, the indemnity paid, France set to work with incredible energy to the task of building up a ruined country, filling an empty treasury, uniting a nation composed of contrary elements. The devastation caused by the German armies had to be made good, bridges and roads repaired, the ruins of Paris had to be cleared away, and the work of reconstruction begun. Marshal Niel's dreams of reform for the military service at last came true. In 1872 a law was passed decreeing service with the colours for five years for the manhood of France. This law pressed most heavily on the working classes; others were able to escape with one year's service on educational grounds. But heavy as it was the burden was endured without murmuring for the sake of the country. In less than eight years France could hold up her head again as one of the great European powers: in half that time she could have mobilised an army of more than 2,000,000 men. From all her various vicissitudes—and surely no nation has ever experienced so many violent changes of fortune—France had risen again: she never rose more buoyant, more hopeful, more resolute than from the war of 1870.

In July, 1889, a new law was passed reducing the period of service to three years; six years later, in 1905, another law came into force, the *loi de deux ans*, limiting service to two years, but making it compulsory for the manhood of the country with none of the former exemptions, except on medical grounds. France had to try to keep her forces up to something approximating to the number of the German forces; Germany had a much greater population to draw upon and did not require to train all her male population, while in France it was imperative that every

man not medically unfit should be trained to defend his country.

France had to bear heavy taxation to meet this reorganisation of her army and the repayment of the loan so willingly subscribed by the people to pay the indemnity. With the thought of Alsace and Lorraine in their hearts the French were ready for any sacrifice that they might be able some day to reclaim their provinces and to enforce their claim. There was a strong party in France whose watchword was *La Revanche*. Huge fortresses were built as a protection against aggression on her north-east frontier, fortresses which, owing to the heavy artillery of a later day, were destined to be of so little use.

The French army system of the years preceding the Great War prescribed twenty-five years' service for every able-bodied Frenchman. He was called to the colours when he became twenty-one years of age ; after two years' active service he was passed to the active army reserve ; after thirteen years he was passed on to the territorial army, from which he was finally discharged on the day when he had served France for twenty-five years. In addition to her active home army, which included about 55,000 Algerian soldiers, or *Turcos*, and a little over 20,000 Tunisian troops, France had her colonial army in France and her colonial forces overseas. Altogether she could put an active army of about 1,350,000 men in the field, while her forces behind the lines would be about 3,450,000 men. The president of the republic was *ex officio* commander-in-chief of the army, but an Army Council of generals, presided over by a vice-president and under control of the Minister for War, had practical charge of military affairs. The vice-president, in the event of war, was to have control of the armies in the field as commander-in-chief or generalissimo.

The men of the French navy were secured by voluntary enlistment. They became members of the *armée de mer* at the age of twenty and were obliged to serve for seven years, of which two would be passed on furlough. The navy was presided over by a Minister of Marine who was generally a civilian appointed by the president. The Navy Council was also composed of civilians, but an admiral or vice-admiral assisted the Minister of Marine and was responsible for the organisation of the fleets. At the outbreak of the Great War the French navy ranked next in importance after those of Great Britain and Germany.

Religious Difficulties.—The Catholic Church, whose fortunes were inextricably interwoven with those of France, was shaken to its depths by the Franco-Prussian War. France was the

home of Catholicism ; it was stronger there than in any other country, but difficulties between France and Rome had been present all through the history of France. One of the most powerful organisations in the state, governed and owing fealty to an outside power, Catholicism was bound to conflict with the state. With the fall of Napoleon III. and his dynasty, the pope lost a powerful ally, who as late as 1867 had been fighting his battles. Weakened by this cause, the pontiff was compelled to retire to the Vatican, whence he has rarely since emerged. Many of the clergy and members of the religious orders who had been hardly dealt with at an earlier period of French history had gradually come back to France when opposition died down. They had for the most part taken up teaching and educational work, so that in 1870 they exercised great authority in the state. After the war it was natural for France in her distress to turn to the Church for help. Too often where she looked for Christianity she found only politicians seeking to advance the temporal power of the pope. It was against this spirit that Gambetta cried *Le clericalisme ! Voilà l'ennemi !* for clericalism was of course bound up with the Bonapartists. The *coup d'état* known as the *seize Mai*, 1877, was a trial of power between the state and the clerical party. Jules Simon, the prime minister, had been compelled by the assembly to adopt certain moderate measures of legislation against the Church. Macmahon exercised his presidential powers and dismissed Simon. This step was regarded as a reactionary one in favour of the clerical party, and so when a decidedly republican government was returned to the assembly of 1877, war against the clerical party was one of the chief features of its policy. The very schools were infected with the anti-clerical tendency, for Victor Duruy, who had been made Minister of Public Instruction by Napoleon III., had been inclined in that direction. Another force which militated against the churches was freemasonry—*Devil-worship*, as the clerical party called it—which began to take a powerful grip of the country about this time.

It was in 1880 that a measure proposed by Jules Ferry, who succeeded Duruy as Minister of Public Instruction, was passed, expelling from France those of the religious orders which did not conform to certain regulations laid down by the government. This law was aimed at the Jesuits, who were thus expelled from the country. Though it relieved certain abuses it also drove out of the country many noble men and women who were doing good work, and it led those who were left to adopt an uncom-

promisingly anti-clerical attitude lest they should be suspected of secret sympathies with the clerical party. It must be remembered that it was against the clerical party that France waged this war, not against religion and not against individual priests or individual members of the religious orders: it was the system she attacked, not the kernel of Christianity within. Leo XIII. on his accession softened matters a good deal by urging his children in France to forget their political dreams, to make the crucifix the object of their sole desire, "for all civil power," he said, "comes from God." The events which led to the Law of Separation will be considered later.

The Protestants, never a strong body in France, were reduced by half their number when Germany appropriated half of Protestant France. At the present day the country of the Huguenots has only a small body of Protestants in her midst. The Hebrew religion is also recognised by the government and the Jews legally enjoy exactly the same rights as other citizens and are well to the front in the intellectual life of the nation. But the Dreyfus case showed how they had come to be persecuted by a party in the state and by the clerical party; it was this persecution on their part of another religious body which led to the separation of the French Catholic Church from the state. Free-thought was another serious difficulty in the religious life of France. Many of the younger and more thoughtful republicans were steeped in the writings and the thought of Renan, St. Simon, Comte, and others of that school: it was Christianity they wanted, Christianity at its deepest and simplest, not obscured by and mixed up with political motives. There was, therefore, a strong intellectual movement in favour of free-thought and that remains to this day one of the great religious problems of France. The time may come—and many great French writers and thinkers are showing the nation how to bring it nearer—when all who do good work in the world may come to see that all are working for the same ends: that all are travelling towards the same goal although by different paths.

Germany again threatens France: Relations between France and Russia.—In September, 1872, when Germany and Austria seemed about to enter into an alliance against France, the czar, Alexander II., seeing that the friendship of France was necessary to Russia, procured the assistance of England and the danger was averted. Both in 1873 and 1875 the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., had to intervene between Germany

and France to prevent France from being forced into war. Von Moltke and the war party in Germany wanted war and Bismarck was bitterly annoyed with himself that he had not asked for a larger war indemnity from France ; he had meant to paralyse her for years to come, and now when his plans had miscarried he wanted to set on France again and make her a negligible quantity in European politics for the next quarter of a century or perhaps for longer. Von Moltke thought war would be " both agreeable and useful ; it would reduce France to impotence and would give Germany with little effort a new sheaf of laurels." ¹

Another reason for Germany's threatening attitude at that time was that France was passing measures for the building up of her army, a policy which Bismarck of course wished to check. It is interesting to remember that already at that time Edward VII. had shown his powers as mediator and had adopted the course he was to follow as the author of the *Entente Cordiale*. Queen Victoria also helped France at this time (1875) by a " severe " letter she wrote to the German emperor. But in 1878 at the *Congress of Berlin* Bismarck tried to cause trouble between England and France and to lead France to dissipate her strength on eastern conquests instead of devoting all her energies to the building up of the home country. This *Congress of Berlin*, at which all the European powers were represented, was regarded as the last monarchical congress ; the delegates had to report progress to their rulers and not to the people of their countries. Bismarck presided and held all the other members in the hollow of his hand. He pulled the strings. The meetings were held in a richly decorated ballroom, the delegates wore magnificent uniforms and orders blazing with precious stones. Its outward show was as brilliant as its results were futile and insignificant. The delegates were Disraeli and Lord Salisbury from England, Prince Gortschakov from Russia, while Austria, Italy, and France sent their ministers for foreign affairs ; the smaller countries were also represented. What little was accomplished at the congress was accomplished in secret between the individual members, not at the formal meetings. Each minister was busy making secret treaties for his own country, and no one knew what his neighbour was plotting. The resulting *Treaty of Berlin*, while making many unimportant arrangements for the smaller powers, led two years later to the alliance between Germany and Austria, secured by the former not so much for the sake of the friendship of Austria as to ensure that she would

¹ Yves Guyot, *Causes and Consequences of the War*.

not join with France. Bismarck's one ideal was the greatness of Germany, and to accomplish that end he was prepared to employ any means. Disraeli returned to England describing the results of the congress as "Peace with honour." A French writer describes it differently. "The treaty," he says, "is the result of a compromise between English fear of a Slavic advance and everybody else's fear before the threatening war. It is a document of opportunism, the fruit of hostile rivalries."¹

The czar is reported to have said to the French minister as early as 1875: "We have common interests; we should hold together." And although Bismarck succeeded in getting Russia and Austria to sign an agreement—since called the *Dreikaiserbund*—at Skiernowice, to prevent as he hoped the alliance of France and Russia, he failed. The friendly feeling between France and Russia was strengthened in 1893 by a visit of the Russian fleet to Toulon and culminated in 1896 in an agreement signed by President Faure with Nicholas II. A treaty with Italy was concluded in 1900.

France has been led by able politicians and thinkers; we may be allowed to quote a few words by one of them, Etienne Vacherot, who was professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne, but who on refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor was exiled. He subsequently served France as a deputy in the assembly of the third republic. About 1881 he wrote, "The balance of European power is the end towards which our national policy should tend now that France is able to look beyond herself. This policy does not bring a nation glory, but it enables it to live with honour and security. That balance can only be maintained by means of alliances. France can find opportunity to ally herself now with England, now with Russia, now with Italy, and now again with those three powers simultaneously, if a common and compelling interest urges such a coalition in the interest of European equilibrium, threatened by the predominance of Germany, strengthened by Austrian support."²

We see from these words that the thinkers of France were not in any doubt as to the intentions of Germany. Nor could the politicians have been, for speaking of a possible war with France on the question of Alsace, Bismarck had said that if war should come, Germany must crush France so that she would be unable

¹ Bénédict Brunswik, *Le Traité de Berlin*. Quoted from *The Diplomacy of the Great War*, by Alfred Bullard.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. xii. p. 99.

to attack again for at least thirty years. And Germany was constantly increasing her army and trying to become so powerful that all other nations would be afraid to enter into a war against her. The Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy, first entered into in 1882 and renewed in 1901, made it imperative that Russia and France should hold together; the *Entente* between the latter country and England dates from the beginning of the twentieth century.

Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.—The extraordinary recuperative power shown by France after the war of 1870 was due in great part to her hardworking middle-class and peasantry, whose thrifty lives of laborious toil have always been a strength to France. The vast accumulation of wealth in the country may be traced partly to their savings, partly to the rich natural resources of France, partly to the climate. The rapid recovery of the country was also due—perhaps most of all—to the natural buoyancy and hopeful disposition of the race. Agriculture, industry, and commerce took a remarkable leap forward after the war, and trade flourished as it had not done for years. To assist the agriculturists a foreign wheat duty was imposed, sugar-refineries and the making of sugar from beetroot were encouraged, silkworm and silkspinning industries—always among the chief industries of France—were aided by the government; the vine-growers, who were greatly handicapped by disease among their vineyards, were given a large grant to enable them to combat it and stamp it out; the culture of oyster-beds, another great national industry, was encouraged. Peasant proprietors were urged to form what were practically trades unions so that they could improve their land, add to their store of tools and machinery, and improve their buildings. The breeding of horses was subsidised by the government; large loans were made to agriculturists; colleges of agriculture, schools of woods and forests, were established; dairy and cheese farms were set up. The French farmers took up that intensive system of farming now known by their name, enriching their land by the plentiful use of artificial manures; science was brought in where before rule-of-thumb and the mercies of nature had been expected to perform miracles with little help from man. The soil was studied and analysed to ascertain what properties it lacked and these were added by artificial manures. This new system led to heavy and repeated cropping.

France has always been hampered for want of coal. This drawback was greatly mitigated by the sinking of new mines

and the better management of those already in existence. Great factories were established, blast furnaces and all sorts of iron foundries were instituted ; the railway system was extended and the whole country was put in a state of active efficiency. Money and labour seemed of no account so long as the desired result was attained. It must be remembered that the sword was hanging over France ; she had an ever-present menace driving her on to greater efforts.

Leaders of the Country from 1879 to 1899: General Boulanger and his Movement.—Macmahon was succeeded in the presidency by Grévy in 1879. He was not a great man, he had no width of outlook, and he was only re-elected in 1885 because the French people showed signs of impatience at the constant quarrels among their republican leaders and were prepared to go back to the monarchy. In view of this prevailing feeling in the country Grévy, who was a man of colourless political views, was returned in the hope that this continuity of office might make the people believe their government to be strong and united. Grévy was forced to retire in 1887 on account of family troubles. His son-in-law, one of the deputies, was accused of dishonest dealing in decorations, Grévy could get no one to join him in a ministry after this scandal, and had to retire.

Gambetta was the real force of the time. When Macmahon resigned Gambetta became president of the Chamber of Deputies. His personality towered above all the other men of his time ; he should have had a more prominent post in the government, but Grévy was afraid of him. Gambetta's *occult power* was really the guiding power, but Grévy saw in him ominous portents of a dictator and so kept him in the background as long as he could. But he was powerless to stifle Gambetta's influence. In 1881 Grévy could no longer pass him over and he became prime minister, an office which he held unfortunately only for a few weeks, dying in 1882 as the result of an accident. His ministry was called the "great ministry" as a term of derision by those who resented his domination. It was composed of the party who favoured his views, but Gambetta, by his natural forcefulness and masterful ways, had alienated the more moderate republicans from him ; they were afraid to commit themselves to such lengths as they feared he would go ; they were jealous of his powers. Gambetta was only forty-four when he died ; his death was a signal for great manifestations of outward mourning by those politicians who in life had known how to thwart and stand in the way of this great man, the outstanding figure of the

early days of the third republic. The two chief features of Gambetta's policy were his uncompromising warfare against clericalism and his efforts to build up an international league against Germany. The opportunists continued after his death to be the powerful party, but the majorities were so slender that changes in the cabinet and in the ministry were many and followed each other in quick succession.

From 1887 to 1889 a movement against the republic was organised by General Boulanger. He had served France in the Franco-Prussian war; he had taken part in the siege of Metz, whence he had escaped to take part in the siege of Paris. Afterwards he had fought in Algeria and Cochin China. He had been Minister for War in the Freycinet cabinet (1880), but his extreme democracy and his uncompromising ways had led to his forced retirement from that office. He then set about forming a party of his own. His plan was to overthrow the government and substitute for the existing republic a republic more directly governed by the people. He had a great following in the country; the romance of his military exploits, his dashing personality, handsome appearance, and attractive ways made him the idol of the people. He asserted that it was "better to die fighting, than to accept the never-ending sequence of affronts and insults" to which Germany subjected France. He had caught the popular fancy and the more extreme republicans flocked to his banner, as well as those monarchists who held that any change which would overthrow the government might result in their favour. But Boulanger was a creature of impulse, he had no genius for taking pains, he had not sufficient weight to carry through his plan; and with the people behind him, he could easily have overthrown the weak and vacillating government of that time had he organised and persisted in his effort. With all his faults it is impossible not to feel a certain admiration for this picturesque figure—*le brave Général*, beloved of Paris, who returned him to the chamber by an overwhelming majority—whose impetuous ways led him to challenge the prime minister (M. Floquet) to a duel, and who, when fortune had ceased to smile upon him, committed suicide in a cemetery.

The chief measure of Grévy's presidency which calls for mention was that of 1885 excluding members of any royal house which had ruled in France from military or civil positions in the country.

Grévy was succeeded by Sadi Carnot in 1887. Carnot was a

member of the third generation of a family distinguished in the political history of France. His grandfather, General Carnot, had been a member of the national convention; his father was Minister of Public Instruction, but disappeared from public life on his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to Napoleon III. Carnot himself was Minister of Public Works and then of Finance before he became president in 1887. He was in office at the time of the great Paris Exhibition of 1889 when the Eiffel Tower first astonished the world. It was under Carnot's presidency, too, that the Panama scandals occurred. Carnot himself had set a fine example of honest and upright dealing before the republic, and it was to the great loss of the country that he was assassinated by an Italian anarchist in 1894.

The Panama Canal.—The Isthmus of Panama belonged to the republic of Colombia (or New Granada as it was till 1861 called), but that government signed an agreement with a Frenchman, Bonaparte Wyse, giving him the right to construct a canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Ferdinand de Lesseps, the designer of the Suez Canal, had completed the designs for this project in 1879, and a huge company was formed, backed by an enormous capital, subscribed largely by the small French peasant class and the bourgeoisie. This company had armies of workmen and a tremendous equipment of machinery. The canal was begun at both ends simultaneously in 1881. But after several years' work, owing to mismanagement, extravagance, and fraudulent proceedings, the company became bankrupt in 1888. Thousands of working-class families saw their savings, laboriously gathered by years of toil and frugal living, swept away; savings on which they had hoped to spend the tranquil years of their old age. Many parliamentary men were involved in this scandal, which caused a tremendous upheaval of distress and indignation in France, and after which the political life of the country lay for some years under a deep shadow. After long negotiations the United States bought the concessions, the plans, and the work already done from France for £8,000,000: they had also to treat with the government of Colombia for the strip of land across the isthmus through which the canal was to be cut. Many delays occurred, the mosquito was the greatest obstacle—in fact its elimination was the one thing which made the canal possible—but the last land barrier was cut down on October 10, 1913; an explosion of dynamite which broke through this last obstruction was fired from the White House, Washington, by President Wilson depressing a telegraph key. The first steamer passed

through the canal on November 17, 1913, and on August 1, 1914, the first ocean-going steamship made the voyage.

The Dreyfus Case: The Law of Separation.—Casimir-Perrier, who succeeded Carnot, was the candidate of the moderate party. He had left the chamber at the time of the passing of the law against members of the royal families of France holding civil or military positions, and he was therefore suspected for a time of royalist tendencies. But he was returned by the moderate party and occupied the president's chair for nearly a year when he retired. The country was surprised and disappointed, for he was a fine man and lent dignity and strength to the government. He had been bitterly attacked by the socialists, and explained his resignation on the grounds that the president had to shoulder grave responsibilities and that he was not given sufficient power to enable him to discharge these responsibilities in an adequate way.

He was succeeded by Felix Faure, who died four years later. It fell to him to receive the czar in Paris in 1896—the first visit of a ruling sovereign to the republic. Faure returned the visit in the following year, when by his tact and diplomacy he was able to bring to a successful issue the negotiations for a treaty between Russia and France.

The chief event of this period, an event which, though small in itself, had far-reaching consequences, embroiled the whole forces of France, and excited the attention of the world, was the Dreyfus case. The facts were briefly these. Captain Alfred Dreyfus while attending a course at the Staff College in Paris was accused in 1894 of offering to Germany a document containing secret information. His guilt or innocence turned entirely on this one document which was known as the *bordereau*. It was examined by experts who could come to no unanimous finding as to whether it was in the handwriting of Dreyfus or not. But Dreyfus was unpopular; he was a Jew. He was found guilty and sentenced to degradation and imprisonment for life. After his degradation with all its humiliations had been duly carried out, Dreyfus was sent to the Devil's Island to work out his life sentence. But six months later Colonel Picquart became head of the Intelligence Department. He soon found that the enemy was still receiving military secrets from France. Major Esterhazy was now accused, not only of having sold secrets to Germany, but of having forged the *bordereau* whereby Dreyfus had been convicted. Esterhazy was tried in 1898 and acquitted. The government did not wish the question opened up again, and

they sent Colonel Picquart abroad. But some influential men had begun to doubt the guilt of Dreyfus and to see in all this some deeply designed plot. Among the champions of Dreyfus were such big men as Clemenceau, Jaurés, Reinach, Zola, and many more. Zola threw himself heart and soul into the matter; and wrote several pamphlets which were widely circulated in France and other countries. He was arrested for libel, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. But by that time he had already left France and found sanctuary in England. Six months passed. Then Colonel Henry, the new chief of the Intelligence Department, confessed that he had forged the documents which had strengthened the case against Dreyfus. The following day Paris heard that he had shot himself. The Minister for War, Cavaignac, who had been implicated in the case, resigned his office. It was now clearly evident that something more than the trial of a captain for treachery was at the root of all this. In 1898 Dreyfus was brought back to France for a fresh trial. There was some delay before it commenced. Faure was said to be against Dreyfus; he died and President Loubet was elected in his stead, because it was thought that he favoured a speedy settlement of the agitation. When it became known that he thought Dreyfus ought to be set free, he was at once accused of all sorts of infamies, that he was in the pay of the Jews, and so on; France was in a state of hysterical excitement, feeling ran high, and each party would believe any evil thing of the other. Dreyfus was tried at Rennes; the trial lasted for a month, and the least that can be said of it is that it was not creditable to the officers concerned. Dreyfus was again found guilty and this time he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Ten days later he was formally acquitted by the president. The case was finally brought up before a Court of Cassation a year later, and the innocence of Captain Dreyfus was established by law, although neither he nor Colonel Picquart was fully reinstated in the army for seven years (July 13, 1906).

Dreyfus was a Jew and the affair was explained by the growth of the anti-semitic party in France. This anti-semitic agitation was due in some degree to the part played by Jewish financiers in the Panama scandal. Then the clerical party had come to exercise great power in France, and it had been led to believe that the anti-clerical policy of the government was incited by the Jews. More than that, it was asserted that the Jews exerted a powerful influence over the army and that they were attempting to make the military secrets of France known to their

co-religionists in Germany. The Dreyfus affair was used by all parties against its opponents ; the opposition blamed the government, the Church blamed the anti-clerical party, the anti-clerical party blamed the Church, and the socialists blamed the military. It was after the Dreyfus affair that the government began to take severe disciplinary measures against clericalism and the religious orders, which had come to exercise a great influence on the country. This policy was initiated by Waldeck-Rousseau, one of the strongest prime ministers France has had ; he was a disciple of Gambetta, but he did not foresee to what extremes his policy was to be carried. When he retired in 1902 he was succeeded by M. Combes, who in early life had been a priest of the French Catholic Church, but who was now bitterly opposed to it ; his antipathy to the Church and all things savouring of clericalism was almost an obsession, he could not touch any question without giving it an anti-clerical bias, and he openly declared that he had only assumed the premiership in order to be able to legislate against the Church. He dissolved all religious orders which refused to render to the government a complete account of their laws and their finances. This soon led to discord with the Vatican. Pius X. objected to President Loubet's visit to the King of Italy on the ground that the ruler of France, bound by the concordat of the great Napoleon to the See of Rome, should not visit the " person " who, according to the pope, illegally exercised the rights of a sovereign in Rome. But the French government was not inclined to give in ; instead it recalled the representative of France from the papal court. In 1905 the *Law of Separation* was brought forward by Aristide Briand, the Minister of Public Worship. It provided that the state should no longer have a state religion ; that no religious body was to be officially recognised, but it also promised facilities for the free practice of public worship, and assured freedom of conscience to all the citizens of France ; and it provided a system of pensions for aged and infirm priests. Rather than allow the French Catholics to submit to certain regulations of the French government, which provided that all ecclesiastical buildings should be under the jurisdiction of " association of public worship," the pope allowed the property of the Catholic Church in France to fall away from it, which led to the necessity of many religious bodies leaving the country. Not, in most cases, because the government forced them to go, but because of the pope's determination that this government of France which had trodden the concordat under foot should not be obeyed in any respect.

Pius X. overrode the wishes of the French Catholic Church, forbidding it to come to terms with the French government. Thus the Catholic Church has no legal status in France, receives no support from the state, and has no privileges. But this outward schism does not seriously interfere with the inward life of the Church. That is in some ways more fundamentally threatened by the free-thought party. Unity of spirit may one day conquer and heal these grievous divisions.

Increasingly Friendly Relations between England and France:
Fashoda: The Entente Cordiale.—Since 1873 and 1875, when the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.) and Queen Victoria had intervened between France and Germany, relations had become increasingly friendly between the two countries. An agreement had been arrived at in 1898 about Nigerian territory, and in Egypt England and France had to work together to subdue their common adversary, the Khedive. Their interests met all over the globe in connection with their colonies—the French colonial empire is only second to the British—and it was always possible to arrange matters amicably between them. But when the Fashoda incident occurred in 1898 relations were uncomfortably strained for a short time. It happened in this wise.

A French officer, Major Marchand, had been ordered to extend French influence on the Nile, where the English seemed to be acting beyond an agreement they had come to with France. Marchand arrived at Fashoda, a small and unimportant village on the White Nile, with five other Europeans and a body of Senegalese troops. Marchand hoisted the tricolour. Now General Kitchener, then Sirdar of Egypt, had just completed the series of operations which culminated in the taking of Omdurman. He heard of Marchand's being at Fashoda and at once set off to investigate matters. He arrived and caused the Egyptian flag to be hoisted; negotiations were at once entered on between England and France. Kitchener declared that he was opposed to the French holding any territory in that district. The English ultimately insisted on the withdrawal of the French troops, and Marchand was recalled to Europe. Fashoda has now ceased to exist; its name was changed to Kodok in order that the whole incident might be forgotten.

In 1903 King Edward visited M. Loubet in Paris, and a month later, M. Loubet and M. Delcassé, Minister for Foreign Affairs, went over to London to arrange about an agreement with England concerning mutual interests in Egypt, Morocco, Terra-Novo, South Africa, Siam, Madagascar, and the

New Hebrides. This *Treaty of London* (1904) was virtually the beginning of the *Entente Cordiale* of which King Edward was the moving spirit. He again visited M. Loubet in Paris in 1905, and the *Entente Cordiale* has since been one of the chief features of the foreign policy of France. A meeting of the Algeciras Conference in 1906, under the presidency of M. Fallières, consolidated still further the good feeling between France and England. The agreement of that time led to treaties between France, England, Spain, and Russia. One of the points arranged was that the policing of Moroccan waters should be entrusted to Spanish and French fleets, a point which was afterwards to be brought up in connection with the Agadir incident. A convention of 1906 between England, Italy, and France on railway questions led to an understanding between these countries. All these agreements showing the friendly feeling of other nations towards France gave Germany considerable annoyance.

Relations between France and Germany: The Agadir Incident.

—There were even in France some optimistic spirits who declared, like their British *confrères*, that war would never come again, that war on a large scale was impossible in these days of modern armaments and scientific inventions. And yet in other parts of the world wars followed each other in quick succession—China and Japan, Turkey and Greece, Spain and the United States of America, Great Britain and South Africa, Russia and Japan. Germany was visibly annoyed at the growing friendship between France and England which had been firmly cemented and publicly declared by the Treaty of London in 1904. From 1905 till 1911 there was constant friction between France and Germany in connection with the interests of both countries in Morocco. France had decidedly the larger share of these interests. In 1905, the emperor was displeased because M. Delcassé, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, had concluded treaties with Spain and England, relative to Morocco, without consulting Germany. France had also treaties with Russia and Italy, and Germany felt she was being left out. The emperor demanded compensation and the resignation of M. Delcassé. This demand was granted, and M. Delcassé was sacrificed in the interests of peace. In February, 1909, Germany could not but recognise the right of French domination in questions regarding Morocco, and an agreement was signed between France and Germany. But in 1911 came the Agadir incident of sinister foreboding.

The tribes had risen and besieged Fez, the headquarters of French military power and the residence of the European consuls. Reinforcements were sent from western Morocco under General Moinier, who after many skirmishes succeeded in entering Fez on May 21. Now the policing of these waters, as we have seen, had long before been entrusted to the French and Spanish fleets, and the French had given assurances that their action in this affair was only to safeguard the Europeans and that no alteration in the political balance of power in Morocco was intended. They had the situation well in hand when, to their astonishment and the astonishment of the world, the German gunboat *Panther* steamed into the "closed" port of Agadir on July 1 in defiance of the French and in order, so Germany said, "to safeguard the persons and property of German subjects." But there were no German subjects at Agadir, and Kiderlen-Waechter, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, had himself declared in the Reichstag that closed ports could only be opened by the sultan acting in agreement with the other treaty powers. Germany evidently wished to reduce French domination in Morocco. When the *Panther* left, her place was taken by the armed cruiser *Berlin*, a much more formidable vessel. There was at once grave tension between the two countries; war seemed inevitable. France appealed to Russia and to England who promised to defend her rights of treaty. Mr. Asquith declared in the House of Commons that he was "confident diplomatic discussion would find a solution and that in the part Great Britain would take in it she would have due regard to the protection of British interests and the fulfilment of her treaty obligations with France." Germany evidently wanted to claim compensation in order to make her interests in Morocco equal to those of France. Negotiations between M. Jules Cambon, French ambassador at the court of Berlin, and Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter seemed fruitless. France could not agree to the preposterous demands of Germany. Mr. Asquith said that the British government had made it quite clear that failing a settlement, "honourable and satisfactory to both parties, Great Britain must become an active party to the discussion of the situation, in fulfilment of her pledges to France in the Treaty of Algeciras and the agreement of 1904 and in defence of British interests." Mr. Balfour spoke on behalf of the Opposition, saying that if there were "any who supposed that Great Britain was wiped out of the map of Europe because she had her own differences at home, it might be worth while saying, for the benefit of those whom it might

concern, that they had utterly mistaken the temper of the British people and the patriotism of the opposition.”¹ These declarations of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour gave rise to tension between Germany and England. But by the end of August, France and Germany had agreed on terms of settlement; Germany to receive compensation in the French Congo. These treaties were signed in Berlin on November 4, and the *Berlin* left Agadir on November 27.

It has been truly said that whereas other nations are states with armies behind them, Germany is an army with a state behind it. There can be no doubt, even in the minds of the most charitable, that Germany was looking for war with France in 1905, that she deliberately asked for it in 1911 by the Agadir incident, that she only postponed it until her carefully laid plans should be further advanced, till Europe presented more favourable opportunities for the acquisition of world-power by the Hohenzollerns. Kiderlen-Waechter was a disciple of Bismarck. His attempts against France only served to consolidate the French nation and to increase its preparations and its vigilance.

The Colonial Empire of France.—France had to provide an outlet for her capital and the produce of her industry; some of her politicians, notably Jules Ferry, saw in colonial expansion the most direct path for France to regain her place among the great European powers. In the last thirty-five years her colonial empire has expanded to an enormous extent. In the vast territories she now possesses outside of France she rules over more than 54,000,000 people; her colonial empire is second largest in the world, coming after that of Great Britain. Since the Franco-Prussian War she has added to her colonies by the conquest of Tunis (1881), Tongking (1885), Madagascar (1895), Dahomey and the Ivory Coast (1887), French Congo (1893). Ferry was her greatest pioneer of colonial expansion; another was M. Doumer, who was made governor-general of Indo-China in 1896; his great administrative powers soon put the French colonies of that continent on a sound footing. In 1890 England and France signed a treaty assigning Madagascar and the “light soil” of the Sahara to France.

The French colonies at the present day are :—

In *Africa*: Algeria, which forms a protectorate under a governor-general; Tunis, Morocco, French West Africa includ-

¹ These extracts from speeches in the House of Commons are taken from the reports in the *Times*.

ing Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the Algerian Sahara, French Congo, French East Africa (including Madagascar and Somaliland), Kerguelen, Réunion, St. Paul, and Amsterdam.

In *Asia*: Cochin China, Annam (which was formed into a protectorate in 1885), Tongking, Laos, and Cambodia, also French India (including Pondicherry, Mahé, Karikal, Chandernagore), and Kwang-Chow-Wan.

In *Australasia* or *Oceania*: The Society Islands and New Caledonia,

In *America*: Martinique, Guadeloupe, and some smaller islands in the West Indies; Cayenne or French Guiana in South America, and some islands off Newfoundland, St. Pierre, Miquelon, etc.

The French colonies are represented in the Chamber by ten deputies and in the Senate by four senators.

Education.—One of the greatest figures in the educational history of France is Victor Duruy (1811–1894). He was for a time professor of history at the *École Polytechnique* and became Minister for Public Instruction in 1863, when Napoleon III. wrote to him: "Continue to share with me the sacred fire of inspiration for all that is great and noble." In 1867 he presented to the Senate a project for the reorganisation of higher education in the state schools and he demanded free and compulsory education of children from six to thirteen years of age, a measure which, though it was not passed at that time, came into force in 1880 under Jules Ferry. Duruy demanded also that the scholars of the lycées, local colleges, and normal schools should be instructed in the use of firearms, that they should undergo sufficient military training to enable them to be formed quickly into a national *garde mobile*, but this measure, which he advocated along with Marshal Niel, was not carried out.

Duruy also instituted evening classes for adults and lectures on subjects of general interest in the country districts. Altogether he accomplished a great work for the opening up of France to educational enlightenment. He was in power only for six years, a movement against him, instigated by the clerical party who objected to his anti-clerical influence on the schools, drove him from office just before the republic, when under a liberal government he could have carried with ease those reforms which it was the ambition of his life to realise. Owing to the falling birthrate, one of the problems of modern France, Duruy in his

first official address to the University of Paris demanded that the university should make men, not bachelors.

Jules Ferry succeeded Duruy as Minister of Public Instruction and carried on the educational reforms of the republic. But the problem of education in France, as of all public affairs in that country, was the difficulty between the state and the Church. The state schools were the schools of the country, and even though the Catholics did not wish to send their children to them, they had to pay for the upkeep of these schools and so in the majority of cases were obliged to use them. (There were, of course, private Catholic schools as well, though religious orders could no longer engage in teaching after the Separation Law of 1904, and every private school, however small, had to be approved and licensed by the government.) The difficulty was that what the children were taught in the state schools, the way they were taught, the books from which they learnt, all these were often taken exception to by the Catholic parents, and were a constant source of friction between teachers and parents. It must not for a moment be supposed that the schools showed an anti-religious tendency ; the quarrel was with the policy of the Church, not with Christianity. As one of the greatest men of modern France, M. Clemenceau, has said, " Even if we cannot have faith in the Church, we need not despair. We must devote our lives to alleviating distress and to helping others. This course will slay the demon of evil and enrich our own souls."

France is liberally supplied with schools under a comprehensive system of government. The country is divided into sixteen districts or *académies* as they are called, with a local university as the headquarters of educational affairs for each district. The sixteen districts, which each comprise two or three departments, are Paris, Aix, Besançon, Bordeaux, Caen, Chambéry, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Grenoble, Lille, Lyons, Montpellier, Nancy, Poitiers, Rennes, and Toulouse. Education is good and cheap, and the salaries of the teachers have lately been raised, though they do not yet equal the salaries paid in England or Germany.

Education begins at an early age in France ; children from two to six years are received in the *écoles maternelles*. These preparatory schools are followed by the primary elementary schools taking children of from six to thirteen years, and higher primary schools, which offer technical education and instruction in the higher branches of learning. After the elementary schools come the secondary schools, which comprise the lycées, local universities or colleges, and private schools. The University of

France, which is composed of colleges in different parts of the country, grants degrees in five faculties, letters, medicine, law, Protestant theology, and science. The Catholic clergy of France are forbidden to attend civil universities. The Sorbonne attracts to itself more than half of all the students of France; it has more than 100 professorial chairs, more than 17,000 students. For advanced students there are also the Collège de France, the Natural History Museum, the schools of fine arts, of engineering, of modern oriental languages, of scientific research, of political science, the Conservatoire, and three state astronomical institutions. The *Institute de France* for the prosecution of the higher branches of science and literature consists of five *académies*, the *Académie Française*, the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*, the *Académie des Sciences*, the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, and the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. These are select bodies and have comparatively few members, only the authorities on the various subjects. There is also an *Académie de Médecine* on similar lines, but it is not connected with the institute.

Literature in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century.—The period we have to consider, the latter part of the nineteenth century, saw the last days of a great band of contemporary writers. Of the chief of these, Balzac, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and George Sand, it might be a fair generalisation to say that they were famous for what they wrote, while those who came after them were more celebrated for how they wrote.

Balzac (1799–1850) had already passed away at the height of his powers, leaving behind him an immense literary output for a man who had died at the age of fifty-one. The history of his struggles should prove encouraging to young writers, for he had written more than twenty novels before he achieved any success. “If I have not genius,” he declared, “it is all up with me,” and after he found his *métier* he wrote with the utmost enthusiasm, showering forth his novels one after the other in extraordinary profusion, the mere quantity of his work was in itself amazing. His novels cover the whole life of modern France and are classified as the *Comédie Humaine*; *Scènes de la Vie de Province*; *de la Vie Politique*; *de la Vie Parisienne*; *de la Vie Militaire*; *de la Vie de Campagne*; *Études Philosophiques*; *Études Analytiques*, and so on. He had a vivid imagination and his characters stand out in bold relief, drawn in strong, rapid strokes. But the characters he created were real men and women. His greatest

books were *Père Goriot*, *La Peau de Chagrin*, *Eugénie Grandet*, and *Les Parents Pauvres*.

Victor Hugo's greatest days were already past (1802-1885). He had been exiled for attempting to stir up a rising against Napoleon III. ; *Napoléon le Petit*, as he called him in the famous pamphlet attacking him. Hugo only returned to France after the declaration of the third republic ; he wrote a volume of verse about the experiences of Paris during the siege, *L'Année Terrible*, interesting because of its light on the subject, but not approaching his best work. He began his career as a poet, then he turned to dramatic writing, his most important plays being *Cromwell*, *Hernani*, *Marion Delorme*, and *Ruy Blas*. In the first bitterness of his exile he wrote satires, *Les Châtiments* is a work of this nature ; then in his enforced leisure he took up the study of history and produced his great historical study, *La Légende des Siècles*, which is often considered his greatest work. His poetry is finer than his prose, but his novels *Les Misérables* and *Notre-Dame de Paris* are great books, probably as much read to-day as when they were written, and as much in England as in France. Hugo is regarded as the writer who has carried the grand manner of French literature down nearly to the end of the nineteenth century. "This man who was acquainted with all the existing resources of style, language, and rhythm, and who created some for himself, will always appear a marvel as long as the French language exists." ¹

Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870) is said to have modelled his novels on those of Sir Walter Scott. He was a great-hearted, irresponsible, impulsive man, as well as a great genius, and his novels, based on historical plots, are still as eagerly read on this side of the Channel as in France. He was greater even as a playwright than as a novelist ; his chief plays are *Charles VII. chez ses Grands Vassaux*, *La Tour de Nesles*, *Henry III.*, and *Caligula*. Dumas took an active part in the troublous days of the overthrow of the Bourbons, and when the disasters of 1870 fell upon France he lost his reason and died in a few weeks. His adopted son, Dumas fils, made his first hit with a novel, *La Dame aux Camélias*, but afterwards devoted himself to writing for the stage. His chief plays were *Le Père Prodigue*, *Alphonse*, and *La Visite des Noces*, etc. Other dramatists were Victorien Sardou and Rostand, who wrote *Cyrano de Bergerac*.

George Sand (1804-1876) was one of the greatest women novelists of the world. Her real name was Aurore Dudevant ;

¹ Emile Faguet, *Literary History of France*.

she married young, but after nine years of unhappiness procured a separation from her husband. She and Alfred de Musset met some years later and had a short but violent friendship, after which she wrote several novels on the theme of unrequited affection. Her letters to him were published in 1897. She was an extraordinarily prolific writer, producing often three or four novels in one year. She wrote in three distinct styles; romantic at first, her mind was afterwards dominated by political ideas, and she finally turned to themes connected with the country life of France. She was a true lover of nature; she had been brought up in the country, and is at her best in descriptions of rustic life, to which she brought a warm heart and a charming style. These novels have been described as "genuine epic poems." The most famous are *Lélia*, *La Petite Fadette*, *Consuelo*, *Elle et Lui*, *Le Marquis de Villemer*.

We now come to those writers who, while not pouring out such an enormous amount of matter, laid more stress on style and produced nothing but finished work. This is of course a generalisation; there are exceptions on both sides. These later writers seem to lack something of the grand manner, the generosity and warm-hearted impulsiveness of their forerunners.

Théophile Gautier (1811-1872) is easily the first. Though he began his literary life as a poet—"the most perfect poet in point of form that France has produced"—he is also celebrated as a writer of prose. His work is very perfect; his aim was not to part from anything he wrote till he had polished it to the highest point of perfection possible to him, that it might leave his hands as an exquisite cameo. (One of his volumes of verse he called *Émaux et Camées*.) Gautier was at his best in short pieces in which the beauty of style and finished workmanship are unsurpassed. His chief novels are *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, *Le Capitaine Fracasse*, *Les Jeunes Frances*, and the *Paradis des Chats*. Besides poetry, fiction, and archæological novels, Gautier wrote a long series of books on the history and criticism of art.

Pierre Loti (born in 1850), whose real name is Jules Viaud, was an officer in the French navy. His calling took him all over the globe and his writings are unconsciously a tribute to the colonial expansion of France, for they deal with Senegal, Morocco, Tahiti, and so on. Loti possesses the power of putting himself for the time being in the place of those he writes about; whether he writes of peasants, of fishermen, of the bourgeoisie, he adopts their point of view, their nature as his own and writes, as it were, from within their consciousness. He exercises the

highest form of art, for his descriptions are not mere photographic reproductions ; they are enriched by the impress of the mind. His most popular books are *Le Roman d'un Spahi*, *Le Pêcheur d'Islande*, *Le Roman d'un Enfant*, *Japonneries d'Automne*, *Le Désert*, and *Le Galilée*.

Emile Zola (1840-1902) belongs to the realist school. His books are more powerful than pleasant and fall within the category described in England as novels with a purpose. "He had strength," says M. Faguet, "he gave in every volume he wrote the impression of enormous effort and of a vigour consciously equal to the task in hand. He had talents peculiar to himself ; he was able to convey the impression of a whole, of a town, of a coal-field, of a limitless plain, especially of crowds—the stir, the roar, the excitement of the mob swept along by waves of emotion, and carried away by sudden terror."¹ His chief books are *Rome*, *Lourdes*, *L'Assomoir*, *Fécondité*, *Travail*, *Germinal*, and *Le Débâcle*.

Of other modern writers we have only space to mention Edouard and Jules de Goncourt (1822-1896 and 1830-1870) ; Fromentin (1820-1876), who wrote *L'Été dans le Sahara* and *Année dans le Sahel* ; Flaubert (1821-1880), who wrote in two distinct styles, romantic and realistic, the one style alternating with the other in his literary output, and who was a "fanatic in matter of form." His best-known novel was *Madame Bovary*, but he wrote many books on archæological, mediæval, and oriental subjects, as well as novels on the most trivial topics of everyday life ; Alphonse Daudet (1840-1879), the French Dickens, whose wife, son, and brothers were also writers of distinction ; Feuillet (1821-1890), who was at first a follower of Alexandre Dumas, but afterwards came to write on modern social life, whose best-known book is the *Roman d'un Jeune Homme Pauvre* ; Prosper Mérimée (1803-1871), who wrote historical novels as well as romances ; Paul Bourget (born 1852), poet, critic, and novelist, who is best known for his descriptions of his travels, and of these for his *Outre-mer*, dealing with his sojourn in America. The Erckmann-Chatrian partnership was an interesting one. Erckmann was a lawyer, while Chatrian was a glass-blower of Lorraine who became a teacher and then a clerk in a railway office. They wrote chiefly of the campaigns of Napoleon the Great, tales which transport the reader to the hills and valleys of Alsace and Lorraine. *L'Histoire d'un Conscrit* and *L'Ami Fritz* are best known in this country ; they are largely used as school books from the sim-

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 618.

plicity and clearness of their style. Gaboriau (1835-1873) was the French Sherlock Holmes of his day, and Cherbuliez (1829-1899), who was an extraordinarily learned man, is chiefly read on account of the learning diffused through his books. Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893), a disciple of Flaubert, is a writer who reflects all that he meets with in life as in a mirror. He wrote chiefly slight short stories and his charm lies in the extreme simplicity and beauty of his style and the true unadorned picture of everyday life which he gives us. His chief books are *Boule de Suif*, *Mademoiselle Fifi*, *Yvette*, *La petite Roque*, *Bel-Ami*, *Fort comme la Mort*, and *Une Vie*. Coming down to our own time, Anatole France is probably more read in England at the present day than any other French writer. He grew up among books, for his father kept a book-shop on one of the Quays of Paris, and the indescribable sense of the book-lover is discernible in his writing. Even in his lifetime the work of Anatole France is recognised to possess that touch of greatness which makes the classic. "Anatole France," says M. Faguet, "devotes his talent to making us share his own deep and exquisite delight in art in all its forms. An artistic sensation is to him a tangible thing to be handled, kneaded, perfected, refined, and finally presented to us in the frame or setting calculated to insure our acceptance and admiration of it." His chief works are *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, *Thaïs*, *La Rôtisserie de la reine Pédauque*, *Le Lys Rouge*, *L'Île des Pengouins* (a satire on the Dreyfus case), and *Les Dieux ont Soif*. Of the poets we can only mention the names, Leconte de Lisle, Sully-Prudhomme, François Coppée, Beaudelaire, Eugène Manuel, Jean Richepin, José-Maria de Heredia, Paul Verlaine, and of course several of the writers we have dealt with above, Victor Hugo, Gautier, Bourget, and Anatole France.

France has had many great historians in late years. Thierry, the historian of Merovingian times, whose work has been freely quoted in the first volume of this book; Thiers the statesman, whose *Histoire de la Revolution Française* and *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire* are first authorities; Victor Duruy, whose *Histoire Grecque* and *Histoire Romaine* are written in the same vivid enthusiastic style as this *History of France*; Michelet, who wrote a complete *History of France* as well as monographs on particular periods, and who wrote in a style peculiarly his own, making history live again for his readers; Lamartine, who wrote the *Histoire des Girondins*; Auguste Molinier, *Sources de l'Histoire de France*; Lavissee, *L'Histoire de la France*; Taine (1828-1893), who wrote philosophical histories, *Histoire de la*

Littérature Anglaise, Les Origines de la France Contemporaine, Essais de Critique et d'Histoire.

Renan's work was great not only for its scholarship, for the setting forth through his delicate perception and fine historical acumen of the *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, and of the *Histoire des Origines du Christianisme*; he was also the writer of the finest prose of the nineteenth century; even those who disagree with his thought and his conclusions cannot fail to fall under the charm and beauty of his style. His *Vie de Jésus* (a part of his *History of the Origins of Christianity*) raised a storm of indignation not only among the clerical party in France but among the ultra-orthodox all over the world. But it was welcomed by the younger and more thoughtful republicans who saw in it a Christianity freed from political motives, a Christianity to which they could subscribe.

Theology and Philosophy.—In theology the modernist movement has been the most important tendency of recent years. Alfred Loisy, the leader of this movement, Professor of History of Religion at the Collège de France, is a scholar to whom nothing but the truth is of importance; his companion the Abbé Bourrier held and preached that the essential of religion was not to be a Catholic or a Protestant, but to be a Christian—"Where Christ is there is the Church." Some French theologians hold that the salvation of France is to be found in a "fusion of Catholic religion with Protestant thought"; others, notably Germain-Levy, advocate a liberal judaism; others again, Monod, Gounel, and the *Avant-Garde*, believe in an orthodox Protestantism; others, like Sabatier, see in a new Catholicism the only hope for the religious life of France. Catholics and Protestants alike are eagerly pushing forward: to the outsider their aims seem to lie very near one another. Among the great theologians of recent years are Réville, Frommel, Dufourcq, Foucart, Jacquier, Laberthonnière, Le Roy; the Church historians are Duchesne, Luchaire, Bremond; Delacroix writes on mysticism. In philosophy the great names are Renouvier, Hannequin, Sertillanges, H. Poincaré, Simon, Janet, Boutroux, and Bergson, the prophet of idealism.

Music.—Modern France has already given the world classics in music, Berlioz, Gounod, César Franck, and Saint-Saëns have written works that will endure. Other famous composers are David, Bizet, Brassin, Massenet, Chaminade, Godard, Ambroise Thomas, Delibes, Carpentier, Debussy, César Franck's disciple Vincent d'Indy, Maurice Ravel, Widor, Roussel, and Guilmant. In music, as in the other arts, France seems in the last years to

have developed a more serious spirit, even while preserving that delicacy and charm peculiar to the French.

French Art after 1870.¹—During the latter half of the nineteenth century, France was far ahead of the rest of Europe in the quality of her artistic output. Her schools of architecture, painting, and sculpture attracted students from other countries, and the honours awarded at her exhibitions were universally coveted. Yet her famous Barbizon school had scanty public recognition during the best working years of its members. The fame of Rousseau and Diaz (derived from our English Constable, Bonington, and the Norwich school) was chiefly posthumous, Millet died poor, Corot came to affluence when an old man.

Painters more in vogue were Courbet, Cabanel, Couture, Meissonier, Constant, Laurens, Boughereau, Roll, Henner, Breton, Duran, Baudry, Morot, occupied chiefly with classical and historical subjects, cultivating accurate drawing and strong light and shade somewhat at the expense of colour.

Later the plein-air and impressionist school claimed the chief interest. Cazin, Bastien-Lepage, Monet, Degas, Manet, Puvis de Chavannes, Renoir, and others. To many at this period the subject became of minor importance, colour decomposition, tonality, and manner of painting receiving the chief attention.

Recent painters have furnished a remarkable group of experimenters striving for a new technique and a fresh point of view. Pointellistes, Cubists, Vorticists, such artists as Signac, Gauguin, Denis, Bonnard, La Touche, Simon, and others have helped to maintain Paris in her place as the chief art centre.

Notable sculptors of the time are Carpeaux, Barye, Dalou, Fremiet, Bartholomé, Falguière, Rodin; it is no exaggeration to say that in sculpture France has latterly been without a rival.

Science and Invention.—Of modern French scientists, Pasteur must take the first place (1822–1895). By his vaccines he has been able to combat various diseases, his fame resting chiefly on the treatment he discovered for dealing with hydrophobia. Pasteur institutes to carry on his researches and beneficent labours have been established all over the world. And he has not only laboured for the well-being of the human race. He has attacked many problems of industrial life; at the request of the government he undertook researches into the silkworm disease which was causing serious loss to the silk industry of France. He was successful in discovering the cause and in checking it. Another great man, Elie Metchnikoff, although of Russian

¹ We are indebted to Charles Sims, R.A., for this note.

extraction, is a French citizen. He works in the Pasteur Institute at Paris trying to perfect his theory of prolonged life for those who will live according to his directions. He has been called the Apostle of Everlasting Life—not in the sense of Joachim de Flore—but in the sense of this physical body. Madame Curie discovered radium in 1902: in physics Raoul Pictet and Louis Cailletet were the pioneers of modern methods in chemistry for liquefying gases; Becquerel of radio-activity. Among the great names in chemistry are Pierre Bertholet, Sabatier, and Henri Moisson, the pioneer of the electric furnace; in embryology, Yves Delage.

The French have shown their power of invention of recent years nowhere more than in their pioneering work in aviation. On July 25, 1909, M. Louis Bleriot made the first journey by aeroplane from France to England. He was also one of the foremost designers of aeroplanes, and the machine bearing his name was for long one of the chief types. In 1910 France employed aviation for the first time in her military manœuvres, and in 1911 French aviators flew from Paris to Madrid and from Paris to Rome. We have not space to go into all the miracles of French invention; enough has been said to show that in every branch of human activity France is in the advance-guard.

The Leaders of France in 1914.—President Loubet—the author along with King Edward of the *Entente Cordiale*—was succeeded by President Fallières, who held office till 1913, when M. Poincaré was elected. He had begun life as a lawyer and had already served France as Minister of Finance. He had seen the Prussians march through the streets of his home in 1870, and was in no doubt as to the necessity for France to keep herself strong and ready to prevent the recurrence of such a spectacle. It was during his presidency in 1914 that the Three Years' Service Bill came up. The Briand Cabinet had fallen over that and M. Barthou had become Prime Minister, determined to carry the Bill through. The chamber debated the measure for two months. Violent scenes occurred, but M. Poincaré, knowing the passing of the Bill to be of vital importance for France, threatened to dissolve the chamber if the Bill was interfered with in any way. In Raymond Poincaré France has a president of iron will; before he became Minister of Finance he had achieved the distinction of being the most successful lawyer at the French bar. Already he has made the office of president of the French Republic an office in which the president is indeed a power in the land, not merely a figurehead.

M. Théophile Delcassé is another great man. He was for many years Minister for Foreign Affairs and Colonial Minister, when he had to deal with the delicate Fashoda incident, and when he incurred the displeasure of the German emperor over the Moroccan question. Owing to the weakness of Rouvier, the Prime Minister of that time, Delcassé was sacrificed to placate the German emperor. Delcassé then went to Russia as French ambassador. For a time he was at the Ministry of Marine, where he was associated with Admiral Boué de Lapeyrère, who had long been actively engaged in the reorganisation of the French navy and who commanded the French fleets at the outbreak of war in 1914, when M. Delcassé was Foreign Minister in the National Defence Ministry. The foreign policy of France owes much to M. Delcassé who so long presided over the destinies of the Foreign Office and who steered France through many shoals and shallow waters to bring her safe and strong to the great task which confronted her in 1914. Though in his foreign policy Delcassé was sometimes forced to come into conflict with British colonial policy, he has always been a good friend to England and has striven to strengthen the bonds which unite her to France.

M. Georges Clemenceau, politician, philosopher, novelist, and essayist, has had a varied career. Born in La Vendée, he went over to America as a young man and on his return he practised as a doctor in Montmartre before he entered political life. He was a disciple of Gambetta and was a great figure in the early days of the republic. Like Gambetta, even when he was not in office, he exercised enormous power behind the scenes. He was a born orator, and by the biting sarcasm of his invective and the irresistible power of his eloquence he was instrumental in overthrowing so many ministries that he became known as the *Tombeur des Ministères*. He began political life as a deputy in 1876; in 1893 he retired for some years from active political life and took to literature. He wrote on international affairs, on the affairs of France, and everything he touched he illumined with a flood of new light. He is a philosopher too with the broad-minded thought that seems characteristic of the France of to-day, and though he is far from being a churchman he is actuated by the highest ideals and his writings display a broad-minded and sincere feeling for the good of the world: Clemenceau's religion is altruism, "Let us make society profitable to us all," he says, "and not merely profitable to some."¹ In 1894 he took

¹ *La Mêle Sociale*.

up the Dreyfus case and warmly championed the Jewish captain, whom he thought had been ill-treated. In March, 1906, he was called back to political life, being made Minister of the Interior, the first office he had held in all his long connection with the government. Always great as an orator, the "tiger" now dominated the ministry as by far the greatest figure in it. In October of the same year he became Prime Minister. He made Colonel Picquart Minister of War, not only as a recompense for his championship of Dreyfus, which had practically ruined his military career, but because of his administrative powers. From his earliest connection with political life, even before France and England had begun to draw together, Clemenceau had seen that the two countries must be friendly and had repeatedly used his great influence to that end.

Aristide Briand, famous as the promoter of the Separation Bill in 1905, has also been Prime Minister and is one of the great figures in French politics; he is a member of the National Defence Ministry, a socialist, a statesman, and a patriot, whose eloquence in debate is said to be irresistible.

Another great figure in French politics was Jean Jaurès, the socialist, who had been professor of philosophy before he went into politics; he enjoyed a cosmopolitan fame among socialists. He also was a great orator, and although no great policy can be attributed to him, yet he was for many years a force in the government of France. He was one of the victims, the first French victim, of the war; a man of unbalanced mind, agitated by the stress of the time and the excitement of the mobilisation, shot him in a Paris restaurant. The deed was meaningless, though attempts were made to give it political significance. But there was no longer any party in France, Socialist, Liberal, or Nationalist, all were united by the common danger, and no more earnest patriot than Jaurès ever served France.

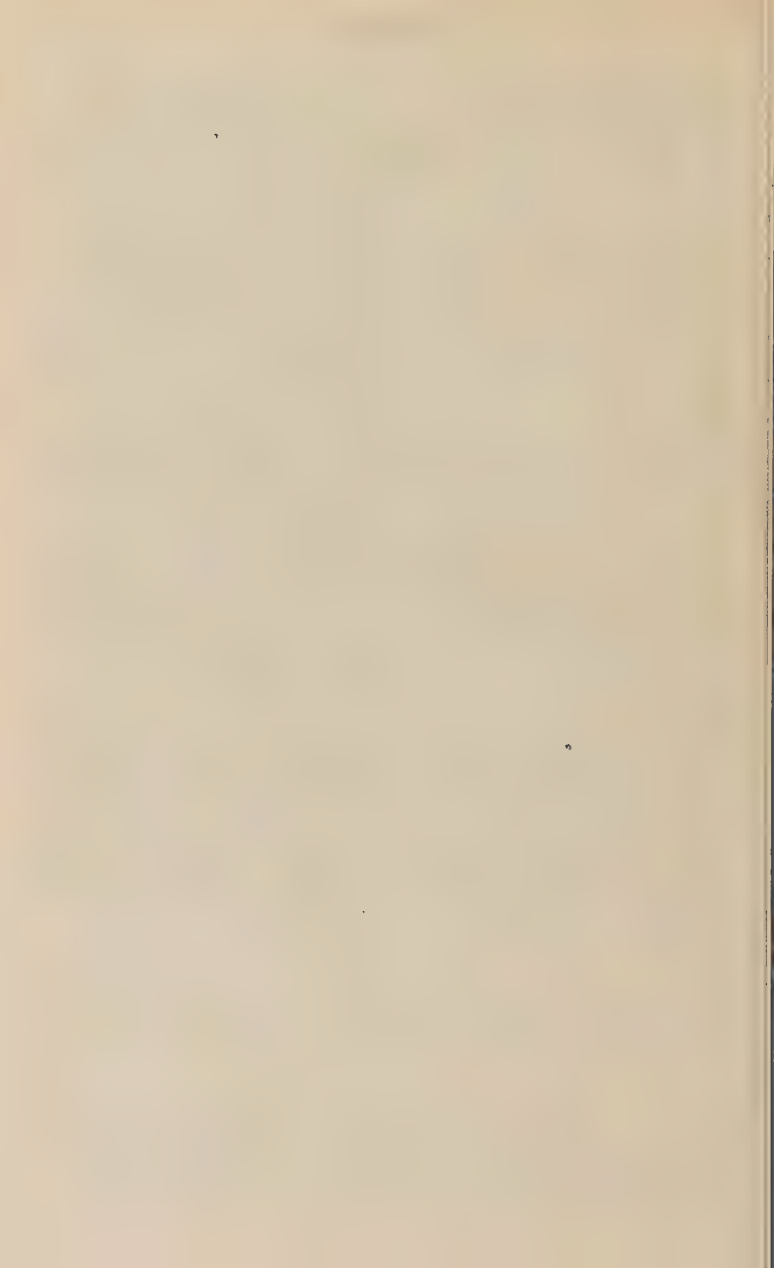
Finally we come to Joffre, who was described for us by Lord Kitchener as not only a great general, but also a great man. Joffre had served in the siege of Paris in 1870; in 1914, he prevented the Germans from again entering his city. Joffre is a great figure—a simple, silent, kind-hearted man who has won the affection of his soldiers and the gratitude of the civilised world.

So much has been written about the period immediately before the outbreak of the war of 1914 that we need not go into it here. We have seen in these pages that it was inevitable. The moment

was probably chosen by Germany because she believed France to be water-logged financially. She may have hoped to break the Franco-Russian Alliance, thinking that France would hardly come into a war about an Austrian archduke ; thinking that after she had finished with Russia she could easily overrun France. For Germany never realised the stubborn defensive France was to offer, very different from that of the unprepared, unorganised, undisciplined army of 1870. Far less did Germany realise the strong offensive France was to assume. The Russian armies, it was well known, were not to be fully mobilised till 1917. Italy belonged to the Triple Alliance, England was on the brink of civil war over the Ulster problem. There are countless other reasons with which Germany no doubt assured herself that August, 1914, was the psychological moment for her to inaugurate her policy of world-power or downfall, for the testing once more of her barbaric formula of 1870, *Force comes before law*. But she had miscalculated, and nowhere more disastrously than in her estimate of the power of France.

One of the happiest reflections that comes from the study of French history is that of the reconciliation—after bitter and age-long enmity and warfare—of France and England, a reconciliation which was effected in time to allow of its being firmly cemented and established before these two countries took their stand shoulder to shoulder against the onslaughts of a common and barbarous foe.

Victor Duruy's words of exhortation to France in 1871 assume an almost prophetic significance in the light of the unity and strength of the France of to-day, and he supplied the answer. "How can the soul of the country be reanimated?" he had asked. "By the firm determination to make men and citizens, by manfully and stoutly putting things in their proper places ; duty above law, responsibility beside liberty, discipline above all, discipline in the family, in the city, in the state."



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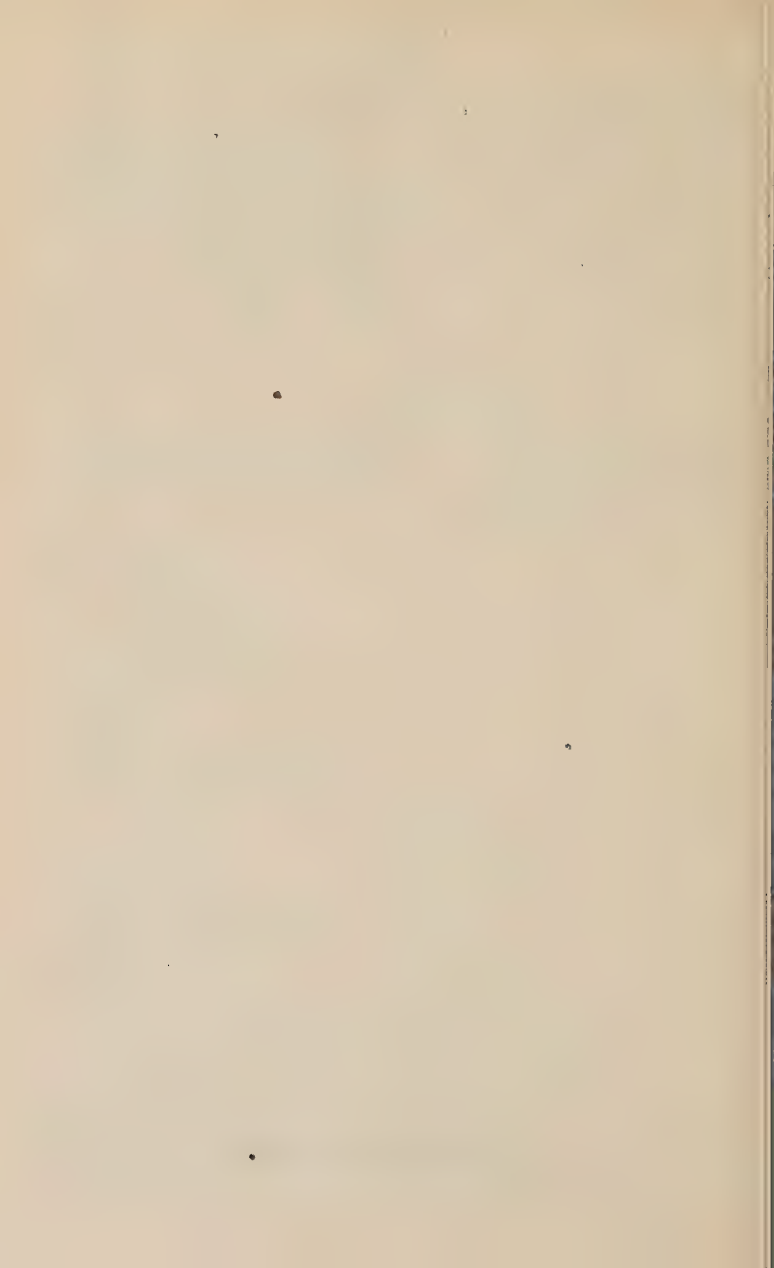
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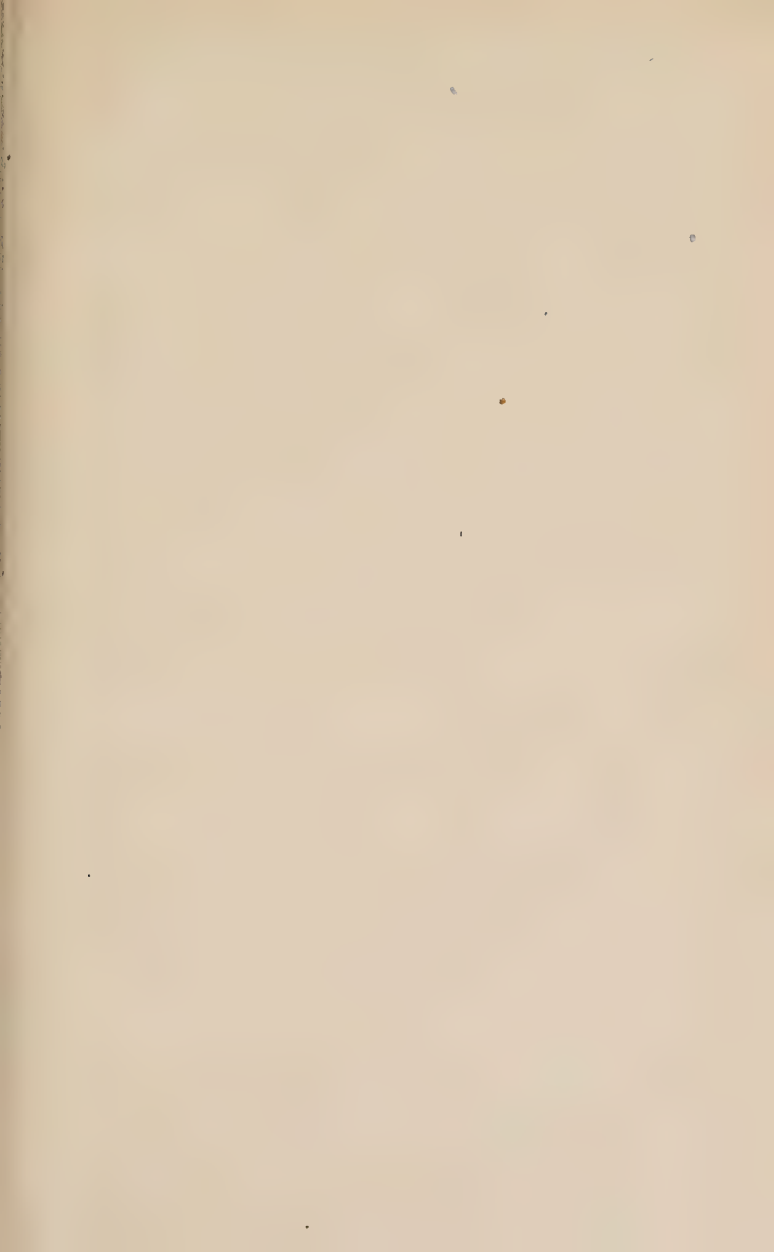
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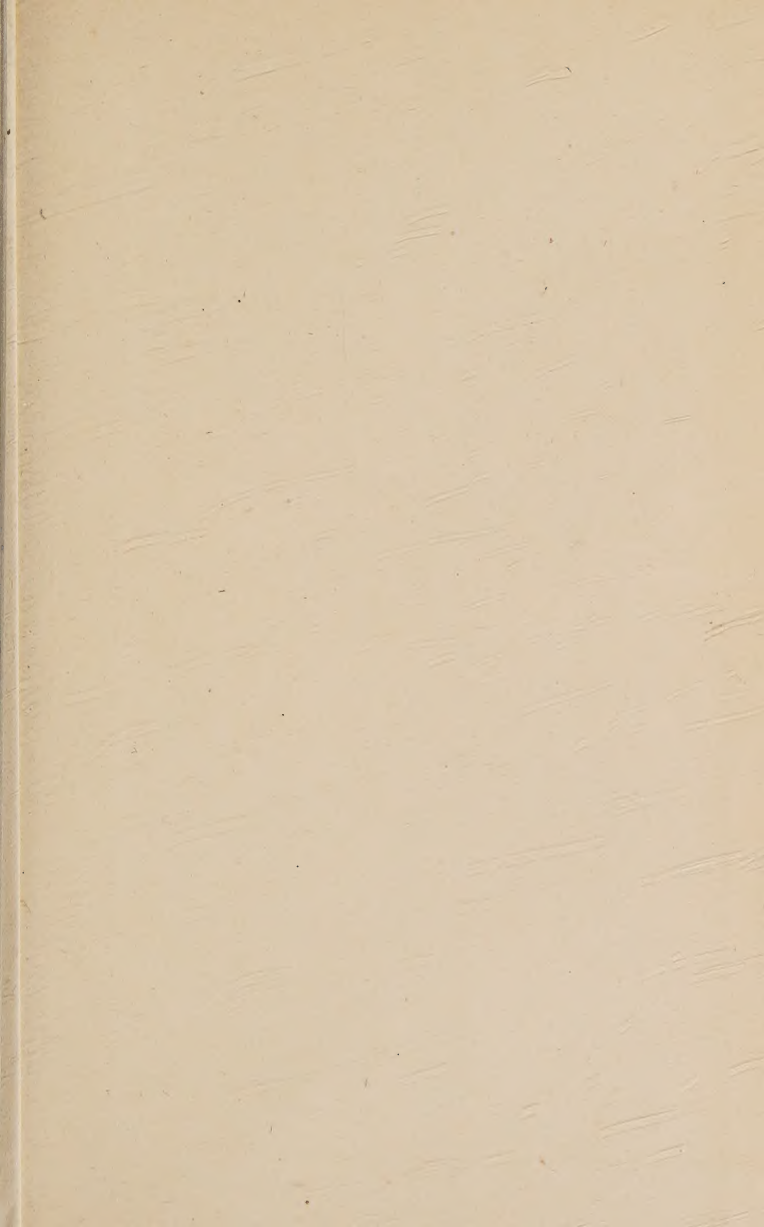
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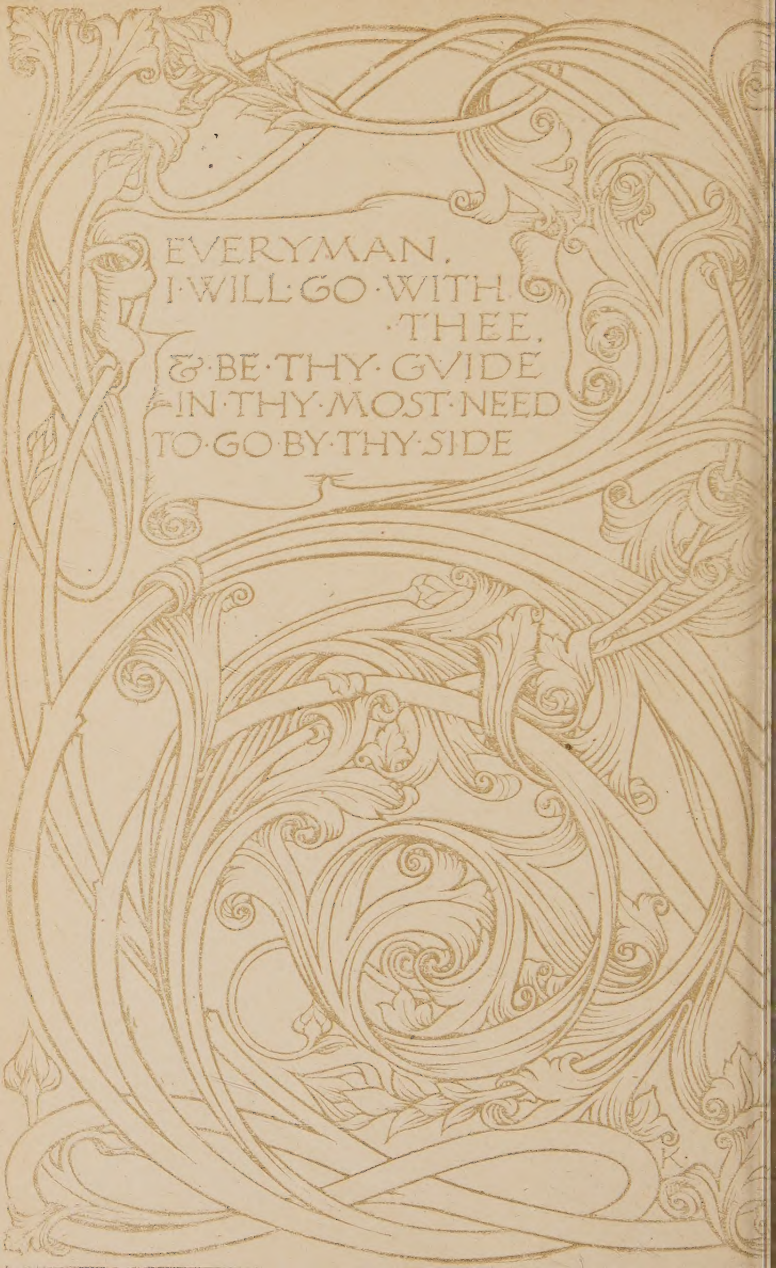
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EVERYMAN,
I WILL GO WITH
THEE,
& BE THY GUIDE
IN THY MOST NEED
TO GO BY THY SIDE

